THE

LONDON MAGAZINE:

AND

MONTHLY CHRONOLOGER.

MDCCXL.

MULTUM IN PARVO.

LONDON:

Printed for T. ASTLEY, at the ROSE over-against the North-Door of St. *Paul's*.

10
45
FEB

THE PREFACE.

AS the favourable Reception our MAGAZINE meets with, not only continues but increaſes daily, we think ourſelves obliged to conclude this Year, with a Declaration of our moſt grateful Acknowledgments to the Publick; and as a proper Encouragement gives Life and Spirit to every Undertaking, we hope the Publick will believe us ſincere, when we declare, that we ſhall endeavour, as much as poſſible, to merit the Favours we may hereafter meet with.

AT the ſame Time we ſhall take this Opportunity to return Thanks to thoſe Gentlemen, who have been ſo good as to communicate to us many excellent original Pieces, both in Proſe and Verſe: Moſt of them we have publiſhed; and as to thoſe we have omitted,

ted, we hope, the ingenious Authors will believe, the Omiſſion was not owing to a Diſapprobation, or Diſlike, of what they ſent us, but to its being, ſome way or other, not agreeable to our Deſign.

THE Year 1740 will be a remarkable *Æra* in all future Hiſtories: The unexpected Death of the *Emperor* of *Germany*, recorded in our MAGAZINE for OCTOBER, and the equally unexpected Death of the *Empreſs* of *Ruſſia*, recorded in our MAGAZINE for NOVEMBER, muſt introduce a buſy, if not a quite new Scene of Affairs in *Europe*; and as this muſt neceſſarily affect, and perhaps change the Scene of Politicks in *this Kingdom*, a well choſen *Abſtract* of all the *Political* Debates that may happen, and all the remarkable Pieces that may be publiſhed *upon that Subject* amongſt us, where alone *ſuch Topicks* can be freely handled, muſt be well worth preſerving as well as reading. As this can be found no where but in our MAGAZINE, we have ſome Reaſon to expect an extraordinary Encouragement; and therefore we ſhall conclude this PREFACE with aſſuring our Readers, that we ſhall do all we can to merit their Approbation.

THE

Mr Bayard's

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

JANUARY, 1740.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 640. of our MAGAZINE for laſt Month, VOL. VIII.

In the Debate upon the Queſtion relating to the laſt Election of a Lord Mayor, the next that ſpoke was the Hon. Phocion, *whoſe Speech was to this Effect*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

AS this Debate has drawn us in, and indeed it muſt neceſſarily draw us in, to conſider the Origin and Nature of Government, I ſhall beg Leave to follow the Example of the two Hon. Gentlemen that have ſpoke before me, by endeavouring to ſhew, what I take to be the true Difference between a free and a ſlaviſh Government; in the doing of which I ſhall agree, in the main, with the Hon. Gentleman that ſpoke firſt, but, for the Sake of Variety, ſhall differ from him in the Method of treating the Subject. The End we propoſe is, I am ſure, the ſame: It is, to inculcate the Principles of Liberty, to explode the Doctrines of Slavery, and to ſhew the Difference between an honourable Obedience and a ſlaviſh Subjection; and my Reaſon for treating the Subject in a different Manner is, becauſe one Method of arguing, may prevail with thoſe who have not, perhaps, clearly ſeen the Force of the Arguments made uſe of in the other.

I ſhall therefore, Sir, begin with obſerving, that the Dangers, the Wants, and the Neceſſities, to which Mankind are by their own Nature and the Nature of Things expoſed, render Society abſolutely neceſſary; to the End that the united Force of the Society may be applied towards the Protection and Security of each Individual, not only againſt foreign Dangers, but againſt the Violence and Craft of one another. A Man, when he ſtands ſingle and alone, is liable to be hurt in his Perſon, or to have his

Life taken away, by ravenous Beaſts, as well as by Men, that are ſtronger or better armed than he; and as Mankind ſtand in need of many Things, which cannot be had without Labour and Induſtry, therefore the Law of Reaſon itſelf gives a Man a Sort of Property in what he thus acquires; but that Property he could neither preſerve nor enjoy, if he had no other Man to aſſiſt him in its Defence. For this Reaſon, great Numbers of Men enter into Society together, by which they all engage to aſſiſt one another, and even to venture their Lives in defending the Property, as well as Perſon, of each Individual; and as Revenge for paſt Injuries is neceſſary for preventing future, they likewiſe engage to aſſiſt each other in taking ſuch a Revenge for every Injury done, as may terrify others from committing any ſuch Injury in Time to come. The Ends of Society therefore are, To protect the Perſon and Property of each Individual, and to puniſh thoſe who have been guilty of any Fraud or Violence.

Theſe, Sir, are the Ends of Society; and for attaining theſe Ends, a ſupreme and abſolute Power muſt in every diſtinct and independent Society be lodged ſome where or other. That, Sir, which I call the ſupreme and abſolute Power of a Society, is a Power to make Laws, and take Reſolutions in the Name of and for the Behoof of the Society, which ſhall be binding upon every Individual; to impoſe Taxes for defraying the publick Expence of the Society; to judge and determine in all Caſes, and upon all Emergencies, without Controul or Appeal; to appoint Magiſtrates and Officers, who are to govern and to carry the Laws and Reſolutions of the Society into Execution; and to inquire into their Conduct, and remove or puniſh thoſe who ſhall be found guilty of Neglect or Malverſation. This is a Power which, I ſay, muſt in every Society be lodged ſome where or other; and according as it is lodged the Government is to be deemed a free or an abſolute Government, the People are to be called Freemen or Slaves.

In thoſe Societies, Sir, where the People have been ſo wiſe as to reſerve in their own Hands the ſupreme and abſolute Power of the Society, the Government is a free Government, the People are not only Freemen, but they are what every wiſe People will be, they are Lords and Maſters, and the Magiſtrates or Officers of the Society are what all Magiſtrates and Officers, from the higheſt to the loweſt, ought to be, they are but the Servants of the People, becauſe they muſt receive their Inſtructions from the People, they muſt obey the Commands of the People, and they may, in a legal Way, be removed or puniſhed by the People, if they make a weak or wicked Uſe of that Power they are intruſted with.

But, Sir, in thoſe Societies where the ſupreme and abſolute Power of the Society is lodged in one ſupreme Magiſtrate, or King, or in ſeveral ſupreme Magiſtrates, or Nobles, the Government, with reſpect to the People, muſt be an abſolute Government; the People muſt be Slaves; that ſupreme Magiſtrate, or thoſe ſupreme Magiſtrates, muſt be the Maſters, or rather the Proprietors of the People; the inferior Magiſtrates or Officers they appoint under them, are their Overſeers; and the Retainers, Guards, or Army they keep, for ſome Thing of this Kind they muſt have, are only a Parcel of favourite Slaves, who are ſupported in Idleneſs, provided with Arms, and bred up to military Diſcipline, for keeping the reſt of the Slaves in Order.

In ſuch Governments, Sir, the People are not only Slaves, but the

moſt abſolute, the moſt abject of all Slaves; becauſe in moſt Societies where that which is properly called Slavery is allowed, the Power of the Maſter or Proprietor over his Slaves is generally regulated by ſome of the eſtabliſhed Laws of the Society, and the exorbitant Uſe of that Power is reſtrained by ſome legal Puniſhments. But in thoſe Societies where the ſupreme and abſolute Power of the Society is lodged in one or more ſupreme Magiſtrates, their Power over the People can be regulated by no eſtabliſhed Laws, nor reſtrained by any legal Puniſhments. They may make the moſt unjuſt, the moſt exorbitant Uſe of their Power, they may even allow their Overſeers to do ſo, without any Fear, but that which the Proprietor of the moſt abject Slaves muſt always be ſubject to, I mean a general Mutiny: This Fear they will certainly provide againſt by ſupporting, as a Guard, a great Number of their own Slaves, or of foreign Mercenaries, in Arms and Idleneſs, at the Expence of the People; and as this Fear muſt increaſe in proportion to the Oppreſſions and Cruelties they commit, the more they oppreſs, the greater Number of Guards they muſt keep in Pay; ſo that the more the People are oppreſſed, the more they muſt pay for being oppreſſed; the leſs the Ends of Society are anſwered with reſpect to them, the harder they muſt toil, the more penuriouſly they muſt live, in order to furniſh that Expence which they will be told is neceſſary for the Support of Society.

Thus it appears, Sir, that in all abſolute Monarchies and abſolute Ariſtocracies, as alſo in thoſe mixt Sorts of Government which are formed of theſe two only, the People muſt be abſolute Slaves. With regard to the People, the only Difference between an abſolute Monarchy, and an abſolute Ariſtocracy, is, that the People in the latter have the ſame Advantage over the People in the former, that the Slaves of a private Company, have over the Slaves of a private Man. The Slaves of a Company may ſuffer by the Avarice of their Maſter, but they are not liable to be deſtroyed by his Whim or Paſſion; whereas the Slaves of a private Man may not only ſuffer by his Avarice, but they may be deſtroyed by his Whim or Paſſion: So the People under an Ariſtocracy may ſuffer by the Avarice of their Maſters, but they are not ſo liable to be deſtroyed by their Whim or Paſſion, as thoſe People are that have the Misfortune to live under an abſolute Monarchy; for a *Caligula* or a *Nero* may deſtroy the People out of mere Wantonneſs. Therefore, an abſolute Ariſtocracy is a better Form of Government than an abſolute Monarchy, but a Democracy is the only Sort of Government, under which the People can be deemed abſolutely free; and in thoſe mixt Forms of Government, which have any Thing of the Democracy in their Conſtitution, that is to ſay, where the People reſerve in their own Hands any Share of the ſupreme and abſolute Power of the Society, the greater the People's Share is, the more they are to be deemed free; but in large Societies the People ought to take Care not to retain or graſp at too much; for if they do, they may probably loſe that which they retained in their own Hands by the original Form of their Conſtitution, for a Reaſon which I ſhall preſently explain.

Now, Sir, as in all Governments that have any Pretence to Freedom, the People muſt have in their own Hands, at leaſt ſome Share of the ſupreme and abſolute Power of the Society, therefore, in all ſuch Governments there muſt be an Aſſembly of the People, either at regular periodical Times, or as often as Oc-

caſion ſhall require, in order to exerciſe that Power ſo reſerved in their own Hands; and this Aſſembly muſt either conſiſt of the whole People of the Society, or ſuch of them as can perſonally attend, or it muſt conſiſt of a certain Number of Repreſentatives. In ſmall Societies the People may, and uſually do aſſemble all together, for exerciſing the ſupreme and abſolute Power of the Society, or that Share of it which they have reſerved in their own Hands. But in large Societies, whoſe People are numerous, and Territories extenſive, the People cannot all aſſemble together for any Purpoſe, and therefore the Country or People muſt be divided into ſeveral ſmall Diſtricts or ſubordinate Aſſemblies, and each Diſtrict or ſubordinate Aſſembly muſt ſend one or more Repreſentatives to the ſupreme Aſſembly of the Nation; which ſupreme Aſſembly has then the Exerciſe of the ſupreme and abſolute Power of the Society, and their Acts, whilſt they remain in Force, are as binding upon every Individual, as if they were the Acts of a general Aſſembly of the whole People; but then as theſe Repreſentatives have but a delegated Power, they ought not to give their Vote or Opinion in any Affair of a new and extraordinary Nature, without conſulting their Conſtituents, if the Affair can poſſibly admit of ſuch a Delay.

From hence it will appear, that in every Government where there is an Aſſembly of the People, either by themſelves or their Repreſentatives, it muſt have at leaſt the Appearance of a free Government, and the People muſt at leaſt ſeem to be a free People; but this, Sir, is not of itſelf ſufficient to make them really and effectually ſo. Before we can properly beſtow upon any Government the honourable Title of being a free Government, there muſt not only be an Aſſembly of the People, but that Aſſembly muſt be free and independent; for if the Majority of the Aſſembly have ſuch a Dependence upon any one Man, or Set of Men, as to be directed by them in all their Proceedings, the ſupreme and abſolute Power of the Society is not then lodged in the People, but in that Man, or Set of Men who have the Direction of the Aſſembly: Therefore, the Government ceaſes to be a free Government, and, notwithſtanding its outward Appearance, becomes either an abſolute Monarchy, or an abſolute Ariſtocracy: The People ceaſe to be a free People, and become the Slaves of an abſolute Monarchy, or an abſolute Set of Nobles or Magiſtrates; which Slavery will be fixt upon them beyond Redemption, if they do not ſoon take Care to free their Aſſembly from that Dependence, which it was, perhaps, at firſt artfully led into.

As this, Sir, is the great Danger which every free Government is expoſed to, I ſhall beg Leave to explain the ſeveral Sorts of Dependencies, which may be of pernicious Conſequence to ſuch a Government. Theſe Dependencies, Sir, are of five different Sorts; the firſt of which is, when a Man obeys the Dictates, or aſſents to the Opinion of another, not becauſe he thinks it right or reaſonable, but becauſe of the high Opinion he has conceived of the other's ſuperior Judgment or Qualifications, which often makes him agree to what the other propoſes, without being at the Pains to examine, whether it be right or wrong: This, with regard to the Perſon upon whom the People have ſuch a Dependence, may be called Authority. The ſecond Sort is, when a Man obeys the Dictates, or aſſents to the Opinion of another, not becauſe he thinks it right or reaſonable, but becauſe of the Intimacy that is between them; which

which aſſumes the generous Name of Friendſhip; a Term which in private Life deſerves the higheſt Reſpect, but when it is made the Motive in any Affair of a publick Nature, it is always weak, and often criminal; for ſurely the firſt Duty of Friendſhip, is that which we owe to our Country. The third Sort is, when a Man obeys the Dictates, or aſſents to the Opinion of another, not becauſe he thinks it reaſonable or right, but becauſe of ſome great Favours he has before received; which aſſumes the awful Name of Gratitude; a Term which in private Life likewiſe deſerves the higheſt Veneration, but when it is made the Motive in any Affair of a publick Nature, like the former, it is always weak, and often criminal; for in all Caſes we ought to ſhew our Gratitude at our own Expence, and not at the Expence of any other Perſon, much leſs at the Expence of our Country. The fourth Sort of Dependency is, when a Man obeys the Dictates, or aſſents to the Opinion of another, not becauſe he thinks it right or reaſonable, but becauſe he is afraid he may be made to ſuffer, if he ſhould diſobey or diſagree: This, with regard to thoſe who are under it, may be called Fear, and may relate to a Man's Eſtate or Revenue, as well as to his Perſon; for the Fear of loſing an Eſtate, a lucrative Poſt, or a good Penſion, is with many Men more prevalent than the Fear of Death itſelf. And the fifth Sort of Dependency which is dangerous to a free Government is, when a Man obeys the Dictates, or aſſents to the Opinion of another, not becauſe he thinks it reaſonable or right, but becauſe of ſome Profit or Advantage he then inſtantly receives, or expects afterwards to receive.

This laſt Sort of Dependency, Sir, is what is properly called Bribery or Corruption; and tho' it may not be ſo prevalent as Fear, yet it is ſufficient to overturn any free Government; becauſe it may prevail with a free People to grant ſo great Power to ſome one General or Magiſtrate, as will enable him afterwards to bring under that Sort of Dependence I have called Fear, all thoſe whom he may find he cannot bring under a Dependence by any other Method; for if *Julius Cæſar* had not, by Bribery, and other Sorts of Dependency, prevailed on the People of *Rome* to give him the Command over the *Ciſalpine* as well as *Tranſalpine Gaul*, and to continue him ſo long in that Command, to allow him to raiſe Legions at his own Expence, and to appoint all the commanding Officers in thoſe Legions; to naturalize the *Tranſalpine* or *Gallick* Legion, which he had raiſed by his own ſole Authority; to allow him to make publick Diſtributions among the People, which was a Crime of ſo heinous a Nature, that in the virtuous Times of the Commonwealth, *Sp. Caſſius*, and afterwards *Sp. Mælius*, loſt their Lives for being guilty of it: I ſay, if *Julius Cæſar* had not, by Bribery, and other Sorts of Dependency, prevailed on the *Roman* People to connive at, or conſent to theſe and a great many other ſuch Steps, he would never have been able to deſtroy the Liberties of his Country; for till he made himſelf Maſter of the City of *Rome*, he never had it in his Power to create that Sort of Dependency which I have called Fear: Nay, even after he had made himſelf Maſter of his Country, he had a Soul too generous to ſeek for ſuch a Dependence: It is a Sort of Dependence which is the laſt a wiſe Man will aim at, and ſeldom any but Fools have Occaſion for; but after the Liberties of a free People are once deſtroyed, it ſoon becomes neceſſary; for the Succeſſors of thoſe who uſurp the

So-

Sovereignty, are ſeldom endued with much Wiſdom, and whilſt the People retain any Notions of their former Happineſs, they will be every now and then attempting to regain their loſt Liberties: A Ray of Virtue ſometimes breaks forth, or is made to break forth, by the weak Management of that Power which overſhadows it; and in ſuch a Caſe, the Managers muſt neceſſarily make uſe of thoſe Means for creating Fear, which the Corruption of ſome preceding Age has put into their Hands.

Of theſe five Sorts of Dependency, Sir, the firſt is the leaſt pernicious; becauſe, tho' it may direct or influence the Judgment, it never directs or influences the Will. When I have a great Opinion of a Man's Wiſdom and Integrity, that Opinion may make me believe, that what he propoſes is right, without farther Examination; but it can never make me do what he deſires, or approve of what he propoſes, if I am convinced that it is inconſiſtent with the Good, or dangerous to the Liberties of my Country: Whereas the other four Sorts of Dependency may not only bias the Judgment, but direct the Will: That is to ſay, they may direct or influence Men to do what another deſires, or approve of what another propoſes, notwithſtanding their being convinced that it is abſolutely inconſiſtent with, or dangerous to, nay, deſtructive of the Liberties of their Country. Theſe four Sorts of Dependency therefore, muſt be dangerous not only to the Liberties, but to the Virtue and Morals of the People: They muſt in Time root out from the Minds of the People, all Regard for the publick Good; and muſt propagate ſuch a ſelfiſh Spirit, that no Man will think of getting into the Magiſtracy, but in order to have an Opportunity to plunder the People; nor will any Man appear at, or endeavour to get into, the ſupreme Aſſembly of the People, but in order to ſupport ſome private Conſpiracy amongſt his Friends, for acquiring or continuing an abſolute and tyrannical Domination over their Country. When ſuch a Spirit begins to prevail, the Liberties of the People muſt ſoon be deſtroyed, nay, it is a Misfortune for them to have any Appearance of Liberty left; for it ſerves only to corrupt their Morals, and to render them as great Knaves to one another, as they are to their Country.

This, Sir, was the State of the *Roman* People, when *Julius Cæſar* firſt appeared upon the Stage of Life; but ſo great Care had their Anceſtors taken to inculcate the Principles of Virtue, and a glorious Diſdain of being obliged to ſubmit to a Maſter, that it required no leſs a Man than a *Julius Cæſar* to ſubvert the Liberties of that brave People. They fell, but let us conſider by whom they fell. They fell by *Julius Cæſar*, who was a fine Gentleman; a Man of Gallantry, a Man of Wit, a Man of Courage, and a Man of Learning; a moſt conſummate and ſucceſsful General, a moſt eloquent Orator, and notwithſtanding his Ambition, endued with a moſt benign and generous Spirit. His extraordinary Qualities were ſome Excuſe for thoſe that followed him, and added to the Glory of thoſe that fell by oppoſing him; but if the *Roman* Armies had, for the ſame Purpoſe, followed, either in the Field or Senate, a *Craſſus*, a *Lepidus*, or any Man that had nothing to recommend him but the Bribes he had to beſtow, how infamous would thoſe Armies have now appeared? What a mean Opinion muſt we have had of a People, whoſe Liberties were overturned by ſuch an infamous Army?

From what I have ſaid, Sir, it muſt appear, that a virtuous and free

free People can never be too careful in preventing the four laſt Sorts of Dependency I have mentioned, from getting a Footing in any of their Aſſemblies; and therefore, I ſhall juſt mention the chief Methods for obviating this Danger; which are: To allow no ſuperior Magiſtrate or Officer to continue long in Office: To have no more Magiſtrates or Officers than what are abſolutely neceſſary for the Adminiſtration of Government: To allow but ſmall Salaries or Perquiſites to any Magiſtrate or Officer, that People may be prompted by their Ambition, and not by their Avarice, to ſerve the Commonwealth: Not to ſuffer any Penſions or Gratuities, exceeding the common Bounds of Charity, to be given by Magiſtrates or private Men; nor any Reward for publick Service, but what is given by an Aſſembly of the People: To take Care not to have too many penal Laws, eſpecially ſuch as any Magiſtrate or Officer may diſpenſe with or mitigate: And laſtly, to have the Conduct of ſuperior Magiſtrates and Officers often and freely inquired into by the ſupreme Aſſembly of the People; and particularly, to call every Man to a ſtrict Account, who has by his Office the Diſpoſal of publick Money. This laſt, Sir, is the peculiar Prerogative of a free People: It is a Prerogative *Sine qua non*; for unleſs the People reſerve to themſelves this Prerogative, no other Prerogative can ſignify much towards the Preſervation of a free Government. What ſignifies the Power of making Laws, or taking Reſolutions, if the Magiſtrates or Officers can execute them in what Manner they pleaſe, or declare that to be Law which ſuits beſt with their private Views? What ſignifies the Power of granting Money for publick Service, if thoſe who are intruſted with it, can lay it out as they have a Mind? If the People do not reſerve to themſelves this Prerogative, and often, and freely make uſe of it, their Magiſtrates and Officers, or ſome Chief among them, will ſoon fall upon Ways and Means to make what Laws, and to grant what Sums of Money, and for what Purpoſes he may think fit to preſcribe. A ſevere Controul over Magiſtrates and Officers is, therefore, what a free People ought never to part with; and if in this Reſpect their ſupreme Aſſembly ſhould ever be brought under a Dependence upon any Magiſtrate or Officer, it will ſoon be brought under the ſame Dependence in every other.

By theſe Methods, Sir, the four moſt pernicious Sorts of Dependency may be pretty effectually prevented; but as for the firſt Sort, there is no preventing it, in Governments that are abſolutely free, I mean, where the People have reſerved in their own Hands the Whole of the ſupreme and abſolute Power of the Society: Nay, in ſuch Governments, when a Man of real Wiſdom and Integrity gains a general Authority, this Sort of Dependence is beneficial to the Society; but the Danger is when an artful and ambitious Man gets a great Authority among the People, eſpecially when the People are numerous, and their Dominions extenſive; for in ſuch States the publick Good is often ſo remote and obſcure, and ſo little connected with the immediate Intereſt of each Individual, that few are capable of underſtanding it thoroughly, and much fewer give themſelves the Trouble to inquire into it; which renders it eaſy for an artful Magiſtrate or General, that has once got an Authority among the People, to perſuade them that thoſe Meaſures are for the Benefit of the Publick, which ſerve only, or chiefly, to promote his ſecret Deſigns upon their Liberties. This renders it extremely

tremely difficult in ſuch States, to guard againſt the ambitious Deſigns of popular Magiſtrates or ſucceſsful Generals; and this Difficulty becomes the greater, becauſe in ſuch States the other Sorts of Dependency may more eaſily be acquired, than in States whoſe Dominions are inconſiderable; ſo that the People ſeldom become ſenſible of their Danger, till the Enemy of their Liberties has paſſed the *Rubicon*, and then it is paſt Time for them to provide for their Defence.

For this Reaſon it has been found neceſſary, in all free States or Societies, whoſe People are numerous and Dominions extenſive, to eſtabliſh a Sort of mixt Government, that is to ſay, to reſerve but a Part of the ſupreme Power in the Hands of the People, and to put the Reſidue of it into the Hands of a King or Nobles, or both; and this leads me to the Conſideration of the Form of Government eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom: But before I begin, Sir, I muſt obſerve, that beſides the dangerous Sorts of Dependency I have mentioned, there is another Sort of Dependency, which muſt neceſſarily ſubſiſt in every free Society, and that is the Dependence which the ſeveral Perſons of ſuch a Society, or the ſeveral Members or Branches of ſuch a Government, have upon one another, with regard to all thoſe Affairs which muſt be agreed to by the Whole or by a Majority of them. This is what an ingenious and great Author has called a Conſtitutional Dependency; and therefore I ſhall take the Liberty to call the other Sorts of Dependency I have before mentioned, Anticonſtitutional Dependencies. Thus every Member of any free or equal Society, private or publick, may be ſaid to have a Dependence upon one another, becauſe nothing can be done, in the Name of the Society, without the Conſent of the Majority at leaſt. Thus the Seven United Provinces of the *Netherlands* may be ſaid to have a Dependence upon each other, becauſe nothing can be done by the States General without the Conſent of every one of the Seven; and yet with regard to thoſe Sorts of Dependencies which are of dangerous Conſequence to Liberty, they may truly be ſaid to be independent of each other, and the People in each Province may be ſaid to be free; but if any one of the Provinces, for Example, *Holland*, ſhould by Authority, Fear, Bribery, or other Means, get the abſolute Direction of the other ſix, the other Provinces would then be all dependent upon the States of *Holland*, and the People in each of them would be Slaves to the Province of *Holland*; and if any one Man or Set of Men ſhould then, by Bribery or otherwiſe, get the abſolute Direction of the States of *Holland*, the People of the Seven Provinces, would, in that Caſe, be Slaves to that Man or Set of Men.

In the ſame Manner, Sir, the Three Branches of our Legiſlature in this Kingdom, may be ſaid to be dependent upon each other, becauſe no Law can be paſſed, nor Tax impoſed, without the joint Conſent of the Three: Yet with regard to thoſe Sorts of Dependencies which are inconſiſtent with Liberty, they may, I hope, be as yet truly ſaid to be independent, and our People may as yet be properly ſaid to be free; becauſe by Means of an independent Houſe of Commons, they ſtill retain in their own Hands a great Share of the ſupreme and abſolute Power of the Society: But if that Houſe ſhould, by any anticonſtitutional Sort of Dependency, be brought intirely under the Direction of the Crown, and Houſe of Peers, which was too much the Caſe from the Conqueſt to the Reign of *Henry* VII. our People could no longer be ſaid to be free, they would be the

Slaves of our King and Nobles: And if both Houſes ſhould by any ſuch Dependency be brought under the intire Direction of the Crown, our free Government would from that Moment become a ſlaviſh one; both Lords and Commons would be the Slaves of our Sovereign.

Thus it is eaſy, Sir, to diſtinguiſh between thoſe Sorts of Dependencies which are dangerous to Liberty, and that Sort which muſt ſubſiſt in every free State or Government: Yet in order to find a ſophiſtical Argument againſt ſome Bills of late Years offered to Parliament, this laſt Sort of Dependency has been moſt villainouſly, or moſt ſtupidly, confounded with the moſt mean, the moſt ſordid, and the moſt dangerous Sorts of Dependency: I mean that which proceeds from the Fear of loſing a Poſt or Penſion, and that which proceeds from the ſordid Hope of obtaining one: I ſay ſordid; for it is not only ſordid, but baſe and wicked, when it is founded upon ſacrificing our Country; or even when it prevents a Man from inquiring ſtrictly, and judging impartially of what is offered to his Conſideration in Parliament.

Having thus, Sir, ſhewn the Difference between thoſe Sorts of Dependency which are dangerous to a free State, and that Sort which muſt neceſſarily be in every free and equal Society, I ſhall now beg Leave to apply what I have ſaid to the Form of Government eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, in order to ſhew wherein its Freedom, its Excellence, and its Security conſiſts, and by what Methods it may be overturned, or at leaſt brought into Danger. I have already ſhewn, that with Regard to the People, no Government can be called a free Government, but that in which the People retain the Whole, or a Part of the ſupreme Power in their own Hands, and that thoſe Governments are the moſt abſolutely free, in which the People retain the Whole. But ſuch Governments, eſpecially when the Society is numerous, and Territory extenſive, are liable to many Inconveniencies, and always expoſed to great Danger. The publick Good of the Society becomes an Affair of great Myſtery: What may affect the publick does not immediately affect the private Good of any one Individual. Nay, even with Regard to the Publick, the neceſſary Conſequences of any Meaſure may not for many Years afterwards be diſcerned, but by Men of great Penetration, and thorough Knowledge in Affairs of a political Nature; therefore it is impoſſible for the greateſt Part of the People to determine, from their own Knowledge, what may be moſt ſuitable to the Publick, in many Affairs that muſt, by the Nature of ſuch a Government, be brought before them: This they are ſenſible of, and this leads them neceſſarily into a Dependence upon the Authority of thoſe who have once gained a great Character for Wiſdom, Penetration and Integrity. When this Dependence happens to be placed upon Men of real Integrity, it is, as I have ſaid, of great uſe to the Society; but when it happens to be placed upon Men of Art and Ambition without Integrity, it often enables them to overturn the Liberties of their Country.

Another Diſadvantage, Sir, of a Government abſolutely free, or altogether popular, is, that in all ſuch, the People are often too apt to condemn, as well as they are to forgive. It is the Nature of Mankind to run into Extremes, and to run from one Extreme to another. The utmoſt Wiſdom and Prudence are required to keep always in the middle Courſe, which falls to the Share but of a ſmall Number of Men; and it often happens that

ſuch Men have not Courage to attempt to ſtem the Torrent, or have not ſufficient Weight in a numerous Aſſembly, eſpecially, when that Torrent happens to roll towards that Point, which is moſt proper for anſwering the Ends of ambitious Men, who for that Reaſon will neglect no Art that may add to its Impetuoſity. By this Means a free People have often been made to condemn their beſt Friends, and to extol their greateſt Enemies; to eſtabliſh theſe laſt in Power, and to add Weight after Weight to that Power, till at laſt it has overwhelmed their Liberties.

After having taken Notice of theſe Diſadvantages, which muſt always attend a Government abſolutely free, and which generally ſoon overturn ſuch Governments, I ſhall obſerve, Sir, that the Freedom of our Government conſiſts in the Houſe of Commons. It is in that Houſe the People aſſemble: It is in that Houſe they exerciſe that Share of the ſupreme Power, they have retained in their own Hands; and it is chiefly by Means of that Houſe, they preſerve their Liberties. But as the Majority of that Houſe, while it continues independent, muſt always be of the ſame Complexion with the Majority of the People, therefore, if the Whole of the ſupreme Power were lodged in that Houſe, our Government would always be ſubject to the Diſadvantages I have mentioned. For this Reaſon our Nobles meet in the Houſe of Peers by themſelves, and, by their negative Voice, become a Sort of Check upon the People, which prevents their being led into extravagant or dangerous Meaſures by any popular Frenzy, or by any ambitious Commoner, who ſhall by his Authority or otherwiſe get the Direction of the Houſe of Commons; and our Houſe of Commons, by its negative Voice, while it continues independent of the Houſe of Lords, will always be a Check upon the Ambition of our Nobles, or of any particular Nobleman, who ſhall by his Authority or otherwiſe get the Direction of the Houſe of Peers. But as two diſtinct Powers muſt be always contending, and as the Conſtitution would probably be deſtroyed by one of thoſe two getting at laſt the Whole of the ſupreme Power into their Hands, which was the Caſe of the *Roman* Commonwealth, therefore we have wiſely eſtabliſhed a third Power, which is that of our Sovereign, and have lodged in his Hands a Share of the ſupreme and abſolute Power of the Society; ſo that our King, by his negative Voice, becomes a Sort of Check both upon our Nobles and People; and while theſe three Powers continue independent, that is to ſay, while there is nothing but a Conſtitutional Dependency among them, while no one of them has the Direction of either of the other two, our Conſtitution and Liberties will be preſerved; but if any one of them ſhould get the abſolute Direction of either of the other two, our Conſtitution will be deſtroyed; and unleſs we recover our Conſtitution, our Liberties will ſoon be at an End; for if any one of the three ſhould get the abſolute Direction of either of the other two, it will ſoon get the abſolute Direction of both; or that one which remained independent, will get the better of, and perhaps deſtroy the other two; and then our preſent happy Conſtitution will become either an abſolute Monarchy, an abſolute Ariſtocracy, or an abſolute free Government or pure Democracy, which, like moſt other ſuch Governments, will ſoon deviate into one or other of the other two.

Theſe Conſequences, Sir, are fully juſtified by Experience. From the Conqueſt,

Conqueſt, or rather from the Reſtoration and Eſtabliſhment of our Conſtitution by the great and brave Earl of *Leiceſter*, in the Reign of *Henry* III. to the Reign of *Henry* VII. there was ſo much Power lodged in the Hands of the Crown, and Nobles, that theſe two had in ſome Meaſure the abſolute Direction of the Houſe of Commons; ſo that our Government was a continual Conteſt between the Crown and the Nobility; and which ever Side got the better, as the one generally did by the Miſmanagement and Tyranny of the other, the People were oppreſſed and held in Slavery by both. The Crown was generally obliged to careſs and court the Nobility: Even our greateſt Kings were forced to wink at their oppreſſing the People. But the artful and cunning *Henry* VII. by giving the Nobility a Liberty to alienate their Eſtates, (which they very ridiculouſly, with regard to themſelves, agreed to) put it in the Power of his very next Succeſſor to tyrannize over the Nobility, by indulging and increaſing the Power of the People in the Houſe of Commons, which continued increaſing till the Reign of *James* I. In that Interval the Power of the Nobility became ſo inconſiderable, that the Crown got the abſolute Direction of the Houſe of Lords, and aſſumed an arbitrary Power of bringing whomſoever they pleaſed into that Houſe, which is a Power that muſt, while it remains, always give the Crown the abſolute Direction of that Houſe; and King *James* I. if he had been a Native of *England*, and had had but the leaſt Share of Wiſdom or Cunning, might have got, by Degrees, the abſolute Direction of the Houſe of Commons likewiſe; but he declared his Deſign upon our Liberties before he had taken the leaſt Step towards accompliſhing it; and every Step he afterwards took, ſerved only to fruſtrate his Deſign, by rendering the Houſe of Peers as well as himſelf contemptible in the Eyes of the People. The ſame ridiculous Management was continued by his Succeſſor; which enabled the Houſe of Commons, or, more properly ſpeaking, a few leading Men in that Houſe, to aſſume the whole ſupreme and abſolute Power of the Society into their own Hands, and at laſt to deſtroy the other two Branches of our Government; by which Means it became a Sort of Government abſolutely free, commonly called a Democracy, and from thence, as it uſually happens to ſuch Governments, it ſoon deviated into an abſolute Monarchy under *Oliver Cromwell*.

By the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. Sir, our Conſtitution was in a great Meaſure reſtored; but the Houſe of Lords continued under the abſolute Direction of the Crown; and that King began to practiſe the moſt dangerous, and the only Methods, by which a Houſe of Commons can be rendered intirely dependent on the Crown, I mean that of Bribery and Corruption, and that of threatning Members with the Loſs of the Employments or Poſts they held under the Crown, if in Parliament they preſumed to diſſent from the Miniſters. Theſe Methods, I ſay, the Court began to practiſe in King *Charles*'s Reign, if they are not very much belied; but the Crown had then neither a ſufficient Revenue, nor a ſufficient Number of lucrative Poſts and Employments to beſtow, for ſecuring a Majority in the Houſe of Commons, and much leſs a Majority of Elections; and luckily for this Kingdom, his Succeſſor not only reſolved to deſtroy the outward Form, as well as the Eſſence of a free Government, but alſo at the ſame Time he reſolved to deſtroy our Religion; for had he declared himſelf of the Re-

ligion eſtabliſhed by Law, and applied the great Revenue ſettled upon him towards gaining a Houſe of Commons, inſtead of applying it towards raiſing and maintaining an Army, that Houſe of Commons would have given him an Army, and would likewiſe have given him Money for raiſing and maintaining that Army, without touching any Part of that Revenue, which had been before ſettled upon the Crown; and had this been the Caſe, he might, by Degrees, have gained ſuch a corrupt Dependency amongſt the Electors, as would have ſecured to the Crown a corrupt Majority in every future Houſe of Commons; which would have deſtroyed the Eſſence, tho' not the Form, of a free Government.

Our People, Sir, both Lords and Commons, would have been the abſolute Slaves of the Crown, and our Magiſtrates and Officers, inſtead of being the Servants of the People, would have been but the King's Overſeers, to keep his Slaves to hard Labour, to take from them what Part of their *Peculium* or Property, his Majeſty and his Slaves in Parliament thought fit to require, and to take it in thoſe Methods they thought fit to preſcribe: For guarding his Majeſty and his favourite Slaves in Parliament, and for preventing a Mutiny among thoſe deſtined to be oppreſſed, a regular Army would have been kept up; and for rendering that Army the more effectual, proper Care would have been taken to diſarm the reſt, and to prevent their accuſtoming themſelves to any Sort of military Diſcipline. Whilſt this outward Appearance of Liberty had been kept up, the People would have been more oppreſſed than they could have been without it; for the proper Revenue of the Crown would have been, from Time to Time, augmented, in order to preſerve an Influence at Elections, and in Parliament: New Poſts and Employments of all Sizes and Dimenſions would have been created, and Salaries and Perquiſites increaſed, for the ſame Purpoſe; and in order to render People the more ſuſceptible of Corruption, Vanity, Luxury and Extravagance, would have been encouraged, new Occaſions for Expence invented and induſtriouſly adminiſtred, Religion of every Kind brought into Contempt, the Principles of Virtue exploded and ridiculed, and Self-Intereſt recommended as the cardinal Virtue. But if the Court, by the Weakneſs of its Meaſures, had become ſo contemptible, as to render all theſe Methods ineffectual, for preſerving the Influence of the Crown over a Majority of the Elections in the Kingdom, a Number of penal Laws would then have been enacted, ſuch Laws as 'twas impoſſible to comply with, and upon one or other of theſe, every Man would have been proſecuted or threatned, that appeared proof againſt Corruption, and ſtrenuous in the Cauſe of his Country: Nay, 'tis not to be doubted, but that at laſt Informers would have become as frequent in our Streets and Places of publick Reſort, as ever the *Delatores* were at *Rome*, under their moſt tyrannical Emperors; and thoſe who could not be accuſed of any private Offence, would have been attacked as Republicans, or in ſome other Shape, as Enemies to the Eſtabliſhment.

Whilſt ſuch Meaſures were taking for oppreſſing the People at home, Sir, it could not be expected that the Nation's Intereſt abroad ſhould be regarded, or its Trade protected. Our beſt Friends upon the Continent would have been repreſented as our greateſt Enemies, and our moſt certain Enemies as our ſincereſt Friends. As ſuch a Government would always have been under terrible Apprehenſions of being invaded, and

as

as *France* lies moſt conveniently for that Purpoſe, therefore, a cloſe Correſpondence would have been cultivated with *France*, at the Expence of the Honour, Intereſt, and Trade of this Nation. For this Purpoſe the Houſe of *Auſtria*, which is the moſt natural Ally of this Kingdom, would either have been neglected, or repreſented as having dangerous Deſigns againſt us; and the *Dutch*, and every other Power of *Europe*, as being ſo contemptible, that we could not depend upon them for any Aſſiſtance: For this Reaſon, the Houſe of *Bourbon* would have been repreſented as a Power too conſiderable for us to cope with, and therefore that Houſe would have been allowed to preſcribe to us in all our Meaſures, and to incroach on and diſturb our Commerce, by whatever Methods they might have thought proper.

Theſe, Sir, are the Meaſures which King *James* would have purſued, had he taken the ſafeſt and moſt effectual Method for accompliſhing his Deſign againſt our Liberties, and ſucceeded in that Deſign. Theſe are the Meaſures, which he and his Miniſters muſt have purſued; and his Parliaments would have approved of every Step. The People would have been generally diſſatisfied; but they would have been kept in Awe by a ſtanding Army, kept up by Authority of Parliament; and the venal Part of the Electors would have ſold their Country upon every new Occaſion; ſo that the People could never have expected Relief by any legal Method; for when the Crown has got a Majority of Placemen and Penſioners in both Houſes of Parliament, can it be ſuppoſed that ſuch a Parliament will ever accuſe or condemn a Favourite of the Crown? Can it be ſuppoſed that ſuch a Parliament will ever refuſe what is aſk'd, or diſapprove of what has been done by the Crown? Sir, it is wrong to think, that every Man muſt be a Knave who votes in Parliament for what is to others apparently againſt the Intereſt of the Publick: When a Man has a good Poſt or Penſion depending upon the Vote he is to give, his Fears or Hopes may not only direct his Will, but they may impoſe on his Underſtanding: They may not only make him vote for that which he knows to be wrong, but they may make him believe that to be right, which to every other Perſon appears to be wrong. We eaſily believe what we would gladly have to be true; therefore we muſt ſuppoſe, that every Man is ready to believe that Side of the Queſtion to be right, upon which his Poſt or Penſion depends; and as in all Queſtions of a political Nature, a great deal may be ſaid in favour of the moſt deſtructive Meaſure that can be taken, therefore, even an honeſt Man, that has a Poſt or Penſion in View, may be induced to vote upon the wrong Side of a Queſtion, unleſs he be a Man of a very extraordinary Penetration and Judgment; and thus, between weak Men, and thorough-paced Knaves, we muſt ſuppoſe, that whilſt the Crown had had a Majority, or near a Majority, of Placemen and Penſioners in both Houſes, it would have had the intire Direction of both, and conſequently the whole ſupreme Power of the Society; from which Moment our Government would have ceaſed to be a free Government, and would have become what is properly called an abſolute Monarchy.

From what I have ſaid, Sir, we may ſee, that the Freedom of our Conſtitution depends upon our having a Houſe of Commons, independent both of the Crown and Houſe of Lords; and that its Excellence and Security conſiſts in our having a Houſe of Peers independent

dent both of the Crown and the Commons, and a King whoſe Power is reſtrained both by the Houſe of Peers and Houſe of Commons; which it never can be as long as he has the Direction of either: And we may likewiſe ſee, that the greateſt Danger, to which our Conſtitution can be expoſed, is, that of the Crown's getting the intire Direction of both Houſes of Parliament, by Means of the Places and Penſions it has to beſtow, and the Proſecutions, Penalties, and Forfeitures, to which Men may be expoſed by a Multitude of penal Laws. Theſe laſt, no Adminiſtration will ever make uſe of, till they are drove to it by the Weakneſs of their own Meaſures: It is what no *Roman* Emperor ever made uſe of, till he was drove to it by ſome very ridiculous Piece of Management. But the People of *Rome* ſeverely felt, that moſt of their Emperors did make uſe of it; and we may expect the ſame Fate, if ever the Crown ſhould, by Means of Places and Penſions, prevail upon the Parliament to grant ſuch Powers, and to paſs ſuch Laws, as may render it not only in vain, but unſafe for any Man in the Kingdom to oppoſe the Miniſters of the Crown, either at Elections, or in Parliament. If this ſhould ever happen to be the Caſe, I muſt tell the venal Electors of this Kingdom, if there are any ſuch, that the wicked Profits they now make by Elections will ſoon be at an End, becauſe there will be then no Oppoſition to the Court Candidates in any County, City or Borough in the Kingdom; for as ſoon as Gentlemen find that it is unſafe, as well as in vain to oppoſe an Adminiſtration, no wiſe Man will, and no vain Fool will dare to ſet up for a Member, without a Recommendation from the prime Miniſter. We may have Knights, Citizens and Burgeſſes, regularly choſen by the People, as the Conſuls, Pretors, and other Magiſtrates were at *Rome*, even under their moſt tyrannical Emperors; but that of being a Member of Parliament will become a Poſt, which will be conferred by the King's Prime Miniſter, as the Magiſtracies were at *Rome* by the Emperor's favourite Slave, to cheriſh the Vanity of rich Fools, that he may have the greater Number of lucrative Poſts to beſtow upon wiſe Sycophants.

Having now, Sir, ſhewn the Danger to which our Conſtitution is moſt expoſed, I muſt obſerve, that tho' by the late happy Revolution, we got free of King *James* and his arbitrary Views, yet we were far from getting ourſelves freed from this Danger: Nay, I'm afraid, it is ſince become greater than ever it was in any former Period; and I muſt ſay, it is a little ſurprizing, we did not upon that Occaſion take Care to make ſome Regulations for ſecuring our Rights and Liberties, inſtead of contenting ourſelves with declaring them only. We made, indeed, a Declaration of our Rights and Liberties, and we got that Declaration made Part of an Act of Parliament; but we made no Regulations, for rendering that Declaration effectual, tho' the Meeting of the Convention was declared to be, *In order to ſuch an Eſtabliſhment, as that our Religion, Laws and Liberties might not again be in Danger of being ſubverted.* We declared, that Parliaments ought to be held frequently; but we left it as much in the Power of the Crown to call Parliaments or no, as it was before that Period. We declared, that the Elections of Members ought to be free; but we left it as much in the Power of the Crown as it was before, to prevent that Freedom. We declared, that the Freedom of Speech and Debates in Parliament ought not to be queſtioned in any Place out of Parliament; but we took no

Care

Care to prevent ſuch queſtioning, by any new Regulation; ſo that it may truly be ſaid that, with regard to this Declaration, the Power of the Crown did not in the leaſt ſuffer, by our Crown's being ſet on the Heads of King *William* and Queen *Mary*. But what is moſt ſurprizing, we did not ſo much as declare, that new Parliaments ought to be frequently choſen, or that the bribing or corrupting of Members of Parliament was inconſiſtent with the Liberties of the People; tho' every Man, that was a Friend to the Revolution, was convinced, that the Nation had ſuffered greatly by the long Continuance of the firſt Parliament, called by King *Charles* II. and by the Endeavours then uſed for corrupting the Members. Nor did we take Care to ſecure the Houſe of Lords againſt the Crown's ſending in to that Houſe, a Dozen or a Score of new Peers at a Time, in order to carry a favourite Point. Nay, we did not ſo much as declare, that ſuch a Step was inconſiſtent with our Conſtitution, tho' every one might have then foreſeen, that it would be done, if there ſhould ever be Occaſion for it. Accordingly, this Method of ſecuring a Majority in that Houſe has been once practiſed ſince that Time, but whether there will ever again be Occaſion for it, is what I much queſtion.

It is therefore ridiculous, Sir, to ſay, that our Conſtitution was fully eſtabliſhed and ſecured by the Revolution; for the firſt real and effectual Security we obtained, with Regard to our Civil Rights and Liberties, was in the Year 1694, when an Act of Parliament was paſſed, by which 'twas enacted, *That no Perſon concerned in the Exciſe, ſhould by Word, Meſſage, or Writing, or in any other Manner whatſoever, endeavour to Perſuade any Elector to give, or Diſſuade any from giving his Vote for the Choice of any Perſon to be a Knight of the Shire, Citizen, Burgeſs, or Baron of any City, Borough or Cinque-Port, to ſerve in Parliament; under the Penalty of* 100*l. and of being incapable of ever holding any Office or Place of Truſt under his Majeſty*. This, Sir, was a real Security againſt a corrupt Influence of the Crown, or rather of the Miniſters of the Crown, at Elections; and it ſhews that the Opinion of Parliament then was, that no Officer of the Exciſe could be ſuppoſed to be abſolutely independent of thoſe, by whoſe Favour he held his Commiſſion; but why the Officers of Exciſe ſhould have been then, or ſhould be now, thought leſs independent than other Officers, who hold their Commiſſions by the ſame Tenure, is what I cannot account for. Perhaps the Friends of Liberty thought, that if they had at that Time aſk'd too much, they would have got nothing; but this is a good Reaſon for aſking it upon ſome other Occaſion.

The next real and effectual Security we got for our Civil Rights and Liberties, and the only other I can think of, which we got in that Reign, beſides ſome Laws for regulating Elections, and for preventing Members of Parliament from being concerned in the Management or Collection of ſome of the Branches of the Revenue, was the famous Law for Triennial Parliaments, which was obtained with great Difficulty; for King *William*, notwithſtanding his natural Attachment to the Liberties of Mankind, was prevailed on to refuſe it the Royal Aſſent the firſt Time it was offered, whereby he certainly riſk'd loſing the Affections of faithful Subjects, for the ſake of protecting, very probably, treacherous Servants; a Dilemma he would not probably have been brought into, if the Miniſters of the Crown had then had as much Money, and as many

many Poſts and Offices, at their Diſpoſal, as they have now; and unleſs the Quantity of the former, and the Number and Value of the latter be very much diminiſhed, I do not believe that ever any future King of *Great Britain* can be brought into ſuch a Dilemma.

Theſe, Sir, were all the real Securities we got during the Reign of King *William*, at leaſt all that were to take Effect in his Reign; and the many new Regulations that were made by the firſt Act for ſettling the Crown upon the preſent Illuſtrious Family ſhew, that the Parliament then thought our Conſtitution was far from being fully reſtored, or abſolutely ſecured, by the Revolution. It is what no human Wiſdom can pretend to do by any Regulation or Revolution; for as the Excellence and Security of our Conſtitution depends upon an equal Diſtribution of that which I have called the ſupreme and abſolute Power of a Society, among the three ſeveral Branches of our Legiſlature or Government, ſo as that no one of them ſhall ever come to be under the abſolute Direction of either or both of the other two; and as Power is in its own Nature fluctuating, and with reſpect to each Branch muſt always be either upon the Flux or Reflux, our Conſtitution can never be abſolutely ſecure, but muſt always depend upon a mutual, a continual, and a laudable Jealouſy's being kept up, between the three ſeveral Branches of our Government. It is to this Jealouſy we owe its having been ſo long preſerved, and ſo often recovered from the Brink of Deſtruction; and as the Freedom of our Government, with regard to the People, depends upon the Houſe of Commons being independent, that is to ſay, not under the Direction either of the King or Houſe of Lords, or both, therefore our People ought always to be extremely jealous of any Thing, that may tend towards bringing that Houſe under any ſuch Dependency.

This Danger, Sir, to which our Conſtitution muſt be always expoſed, is confirmed by the whole Tenor of our Hiſtory: In every Age, almoſt in every Reign, ſome new Power has been aſſumed, or ſome old one made a bad Uſe of, by one or other of the Branches of our Legiſlature, by which our Conſtitution has been endangered, and often for a Time, in ſome Meaſure, ſuſpended. By an Act of the 16th of *Charles* II. which enacted, *That the holding of Parliaments ſhould not be intermitted or diſcontinued above three Years*, tho' it repealed a much better Law, yet we thought we provided againſt that Danger, which had been ſo ſenſibly felt in the two former Reigns; but in that Reign two new Dangers began to appear, which was that of continuing the ſame Parliament for a great Number of Years, and that of the Crown's having a corrupt Influence both at Elections and in Parliament. Againſt the former we provided by the Triennial Act I have mentioned; and againſt the latter we in part provided in King *William*'s Reign, by preventing Members of the Houſe of Commons from being concerned in the Management or Collection of ſome Branches of the Revenue, and by prohibiting Officers of Exciſe being Sollicitors at Elections; but theſe Proviſions were by Experience found inſufficient, therefore many Laws have ſince been made, from Time to Time, for guarding againſt this Danger; and if the Danger is not yet ſufficiently guarded againſt, the ſame Reaſons, which juſtified the paſſing of theſe Laws, muſt hold good for paſſing other Laws for the ſame Purpoſe.

The Queſtion, Sir, whether or no it would be dangerous, or rather a total Overthrow of our Conſtitution, to

to have a Majority, or near a Majority, of Placemen and Penſioners in the Houſe of Commons, is a Queſtion that cannot now admit of any Diſpute; it is already determined by the Laws that have been made for preventing Penſioners of all Sorts, and Placemen of ſeveral Sorts, from having Seats in the Houſe of Commons. Therefore, thoſe ſtupid Tools of Power who pretend to diſpute this Queſtion, do not know what they are about: They do not know that they are diſputing againſt the ſtanding Laws of their Country. The only Queſtion that can now be brought into Diſpute is, Whether this Danger be ſufficiently guarded againſt by the Laws now in being; and in order to anſwer this Queſtion, I muſt beg Leave to ſtate theſe three other Queſtions: Whether there be, in the Nomination of the Crown, ſuch a Number of Placemen, not yet excluded from having Seats in the Houſe of Commons, as may make a Majority, or near a Majority, in that Houſe? Whether Penſions may be ſo privately given, as not to be diſcoverable by any of the Laws or Regulations now in being? Whether Men who have no Eſtates, may not have Seats in Parliament, notwithſtanding any Law or Regulation yet made for preventing it? If theſe three Queſtions are to be anſwered in the Affirmative, as they certainly muſt, nay, if either of the firſt two muſt be anſwered in the Affirmative, every one muſt allow, that the Danger we are in, of having the Houſe of Commons brought under the abſolute Direction of the Crown, by Means of the Number of Placemen and Penſioners in that Houſe, is not as yet ſufficiently guarded againſt; and that therefore ſome new Law is abſolutely neceſſary for that Purpoſe. For as the Crown, in ſome Meaſure, may be ſaid to have already the abſolute Direction of the Houſe of Lords, by Means of that unlimited Power it claims of ſending whomſoever it pleaſes, and as many as it pleaſes, into that Houſe, if it ſhould get, by Means of Bribery and Corruption, and by Means of the Poſts and Preferments it has at its Diſpoſal, the abſolute Direction of the Houſe of Commons, our Government would that Moment ceaſe to be a free Government, it would become an abſolute Monarchy, and one of the worſt Sorts of abſolute Monarchies; for an abſolute Government, founded upon Corruption, muſt neceſſarily endeavour to debauch the Morals of the People, in order to widen and eſtabliſh the Foundation of its Power. Virtue and publick Spirit would be its moſt dangerous Enemies, and therefore, it would endeavour to deſtroy every Man that ſhould ſeem to be infected with either.

As the Houſe of Commons, Sir, is the Grand Inqueſt of the Nation, as it is the Buſineſs of that Houſe to inquire into the Conduct of all Miniſters, Magiſtrates, and Officers appointed by the Crown, or rather the Miniſters of the Crown, and of all thoſe who are intruſted with the Fingering and Diſpoſing of publick Money, it is as ridiculous to have the Majority of that Houſe conſiſting of Placemen and Penſioners, as it would be in a Lord to give his Steward the Nomination of his under Servants, and then appoint thoſe under Servants, to examine and controul his Steward's Accounts. It is by a ſtrict and impartial Inquiry into the Conduct of our Miniſters, Magiſtrates and Officers, that they continue to be our Servants; if we ever appoint them to inquire into one another's Conduct, which will be the Caſe, if ever ſuch a Number of them get themſelves choſen Members of the Houſe of Commons, as to make a Majority of that Houſe, they will ſoon come to be our Maſters. This is ſelf-evident; and is declared to

be ſo by the Laws that have been paſſed for preventing Placemen and Penſioners from having Seats in the Houſe of Commons: The paſſing of any one ſuch Law, is a Confeſſion that no Placeman or Penſioner can be an impartial Judge, when the Conduct of that very Miniſter, perhaps, who gave him his Place or his Penſion, comes to be the Queſtion that is to be determined by the Majority of that Houſe. It is not to be ſuppoſed that a Majority of Placemen or Penſioners will vote for removing, or cenſuring the Conduct of the Miniſter, that gave them their Places or Penſions; and a Servant that can neither be removed nor cenſured, becomes the Maſter of him whoſe Affairs he has under his Management. Therefore, if we have a mind to preſerve our Liberties, we muſt guard againſt the Poſſibility of this ever happening to be the Caſe. For this Purpoſe no Time can be improper: If we have the leaſt Suſpicion, that ſuch a Law would, at any Time, by the Advice of wicked or guilty Miniſters, be oppoſed by the Crown, the moſt proper Time is, when the Crown has the greateſt Occaſion for the Hands and Purſes of the People. Let us ſay with the brave *Romans*, *Ultra decipi plebem non poſſe. Nunquam unum militem habituros, ni præſtaretur fides publica. Libertatem unicuique prius reddendam eſſe, quam arma danda; ut pro patria civibuſque, non pro dominis pugnent* *.

In the virtuous Times of the Commonwealth of *Rome*, when the People had an unfeigned Regard for their Liberties, no foreign Danger could prevent their guarding againſt domeſtick. When the Enemy was almoſt at the Gates of their City, it was then the People inſiſted moſt ſtrenuouſly upon thoſe Regulations they thought neceſſary for preventing their being brought into Bondage by the Patricians. In this our brave Anceſtors followed their Example: In the Reign of *Richard* II. when the *French* had actually prepared a moſt prodigious Fleet, and a numerous Army to invade this Iſland, a Parliament was called to provide againſt this threatned Invaſion; but notwithſtanding the immediate Danger the Nation was then in, the Parliament refuſed to grant any Supplies, *till the Lord High Treaſurer, and Lord High Chancellor ſhould be diſmiſſed, and all thoſe called to an Account, through whoſe Hands the publick Money had paſſed*; and theſe Demands that haughty and petulant young Monarch was at laſt obliged to comply with, before the Parliament would do any Thing for ſecuring the Nation againſt the foreign Danger it was threatned with: Nay, they appointed *fourteen* Commiſſioners, who were to take Care of the publick Affairs jointly with the King; and this too his Majeſty was obliged to ſubmit to: This is a clear Teſtimony, that our Anceſtors thought no Time improper for doing their Duty in Parliament; and that a Time of foreign Danger is the beſt Time for obtaining from a wicked Miniſter, or obſtinate Prince, thoſe Securities which he would probably refuſe upon any other Occaſion.

When ſome new Laws or Regulations appear to be abſolutely neceſſary for ſecuring the People's Liberties, or when ſome Miniſters, Magiſtrates or Officers ought to be removed, or called to an Account, for their wicked or weak Conduct, or for the Miſapplication of publick Money, it is the Buſineſs, Sir, it is the Duty of thoſe who are the Repreſentatives of the People in Parliament, to inſiſt upon it, and to take the moſt proper Method for obtaining it. This can create no Diſcord or Diviſion in the Nation, unleſs there be a ſettled Deſign to incroach

* *Tit. Liv. Lib.* II. *Cap.* 28.

incroach upon or deſtroy the Liberties of the People, and a numerous Party of weak or corrupt Tools to ſupport that Deſign, When this happens to be the Caſe, it is not the Friends of our Liberties and Conſtitution, that create Diſcord and Diviſion; it is that weak or corrupt Party that are the Authors of Diſcord and Diviſion, and they only are anſwerable for all the fatal Conſequences that may enſue. If *Richard* II. by the Advice of wicked Counſellors, had inſiſted upon refuſing to diſmiſs his Treaſurer or Chancellor, or to allow thoſe to be called to an Account who had miſapplied the publick Money, and the *French*, in the mean Time, had landed and plundered the Country; who would have been anſwerable for that fatal Conſequence? Would not thoſe wicked Counſellors, who adviſed the King to protect publick Criminals, have been anſwerable for that, or any other fatal Conſequence that could have enſued? In the ſame Reign, when that King got a corrupt and mercenary Parliament, and a mercenary Army, to ſupport him in his Deſigns againſt the Liberties of his People, were not the Adviſers of ſuch Meaſures, and the wicked Supporters of ſuch Deſigns, anſwerable for the Civil War, or rather ſudden Revolution, that enſued, by which that Prince loſt both his Crown and his Life?

Therefore, Sir, if a new Law be neceſſary for preventing an Anticonſtitutional Dependency in the Houſe of Commons, by excluding, more generally and more effectually, Placemen and Penſioners from having Seats in that Houſe, no Time can be improper, nor can thoſe who inſiſt upon it be accuſed, as the Authors of any Diviſion, or any Conſequence that can enſue from its being refuſed; and that ſuch a Law is neceſſary muſt be acknowledged by every Man who conſiders that, notwithſtanding the Laws now in being, ſuch a Number of Placemen and Penſioners may get themſelves choſen Members, as will make a Majority, nay, a very great Majority of that Houſe. I ſhall grant, that it may be neceſſary to have ſome of the Miniſters or Servants of the Crown in that Houſe. A General of the Army, an Admiral of the Navy, a Commiſſioner of any of our ſuperior Boards, and ſome other great Officers may, in my Opinion, be allowed to have Seats in the Houſe of Commons. Such Officers, eſpecially when they deſerve the Truſt that is repoſed in them, may by their Authority, tho' not by their Numbers, prevent the People both within Doors and without, from running into any extravagant or dangerous Meaſures; but to have that Houſe filled with Clerks of Offices, and inferior Officers of the Army or Navy, whatever they may do by their Numbers within Doors, I am ſure their Authority among the People without Doors, can add no Weight to the Reſolutions of that auguſt Aſſembly. For this Reaſon, I humbly think, a general Law ought to be made for excluding all Placemen and Penſioners, except thoſe who, by the Importance of their Offices, may be thought worthy of having Seats in the Houſe of Commons; for it will be much more eaſy to enumerate thoſe who can be thought worthy, than to enumerate thoſe who ought not to be admitted.

Having now, I hope, clearly ſhewn, Sir, that the Liberties of this Nation muſt always depend upon our having a Houſe of Commons independent both of the Crown and Houſe of Lords, that is to ſay, not liable to any Anticonſtitutional Dependency; and having likewiſe ſhewn that a Houſe of Commons, conſiſting chiefly of Placemen and Penſioners, muſt be ſuppoſed to be

under an Anticonſtitutional Dependency upon the Crown, the Neceſſity of having ſome new Law for preventing this Dependency muſt evidently appear; therefore, if ever the Friends of Virtue and Liberty ſhould make ſuch a Propoſition in Parliament, the People, I think, will have Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that every Man who votes againſt it, is under ſome Anticonſtitutional Dependency; and they will likewiſe, I think, have Reaſon to conclude, that every Man who does not, upon ſuch an important Occaſion, attend his Duty in Parliament, ought to be look'd on as a Betrayer of his Country, or at leaſt as one who deſerted his Poſt in the Time of Danger. In this Light their Characters will, I believe, be handed down to Poſterity: In this Light the People will, I believe, conſider them at all future Elections; for till ſuch a Law be paſſed, the People have no Method for preventing ſuch a Dependency, but by refuſing to put a Truſt or Confidence in any Man who has betrayed or deſerted his Duty, or who has rendered himſelf ſuſpected of being under a corrupt Dependency upon the Crown, or rather upon the Miniſters of the Crown. This alone, Sir, is ſufficient for juſtifying the Conduct of the Citizens of *London* at their laſt Election of a Lord Mayor; and from this Principle it would be eaſy to anſwer all the Objections that have been made againſt it; but as I have already taken up too much of your Time, and as an Honourable Member, more capable than I am, ſtood up at the ſame Time with me, to give his Sentiments upon this Subject, tho' he inſiſted upon giving me the Preference, yet, I hope, he will again riſe up, and therefore I ſhall leave to him the anſwering of thoſe Objections, that have been made againſt the Conduct of the Citizens, upon that great Occaſion. For this Reaſon, I ſhall add no more, but conclude with addreſſing myſelf to my Countrymen in the Words of the celebrated *Cato*, *Sed per deos immortales, vos ego appello, qui ſemper domos, villas, ſigna, tabulas veſtras pluris quam rempubl. feciſtis: ſi ita, cujuſcumquemodi ſint, quæ amplexamini, retinere, ſi voluptatibus veſtris otium præbere vultis, expergiſcimini aliquando, & capeſſite rempublicam* *.

[*This Journal and Debate to be continued in our next.*]

We are well inform'd, that Dr. Stukeley *intends to publiſh, next Year, his Account of* STONEHENGE, *a Work of the* Britiſh Druids. *A Friend of his, not without his Knowledge, has given us the following Sketch of that Performance.*

THE Purpoſe of the whole Work (of which, *Stonehenge* is a Part, and will be firſt publiſh'd) is an Inveſtigation into the firſt and true, Patriarchal Religion. Our antient *Druids* were of this Religion, with little or no Idolatry, as being planted here very ſoon after the Time of *Abraham*. Their Temples and Groves were copied from him and his Family, only more magnificent, as being a numerous and potent Nation. They had an Expectation of the *Meſſiah*; a Notion of the Time of Year when he was to be born, *viz.* the Winter Solſtice, which they celebrated by their Miſletoe Solemnities.

That the Patriarchal Religion was the ſame as Chriſtianity; Chriſtianity being a Republication of it, the *Moſaic* Diſpenſation as a Veil intervening, till the World was in a proper Diſpoſition for its Reception. That the Myſteries of the Antients were the firſt Deviations from true Religion; a Perverſion of that Knowledge, which the Patriarchs had, of the diſtinct Perſonalities in the Deity.

That the Greatneſs and Number of the Works of the *Druids*, ſtill left in *Britain*, is conformable to what *Cæſar* relates of them. That the Diſcipline of the *Druids* began in *Britain*, and thence paſſed into *Gaul*. Of their Works, *Abury* and *Stonehenge*, both in *Wiltſhire*, are the chief, either in the *Britannick* Iſles, or elſewhere. *Abury* is by far the greateſt and moſt antient: *Stonehenge* the moſt polite; tho' that is earlier than *Cæſar*'s Invaſion here, and cannot poſſibly be thought

* *Saluſt. Bellum Catalin.*

a *Roman* Work, as having not the leaſt Reliſh of *Roman* Architecture, no Footſteps of the *Roman* Meaſure therein. They are truly Temples of the *Druids*, made like thoſe of the Patriarchs, call'd Altars, in Scripture; large and rude Stones, ſet upright in the Earth, in circular Figures, with a Stone for an Altar, properly, laid flat on the Ground, and encompaſſed with Ditches, to ſeparate the ſacred from common Ground, and always on elevated Places. Here they aſſembled, ordinarily on Sabbath Days, where the Memory and Uſe of the Sabbath remain'd; extraordinarily, to ſacrifice, on the four Quarters of the Year, the Equinoxes, and Solſtices.

In this Work of *Stonehenge*, the Dr. gives the true geometrical Groundplot of that magnificent Structure, and many copper Plates, being Proſpects and Sections of it, and of ſeveral other Places relating to it. He gives the true Scale or Meaſure, upon which *Stonehenge* and all other Works of the *Druids* are erected; which is the antient *Hebrew*, *Phœnician* and *Egyptian* Cubit. The Admeaſurement of *Stonehenge* falls into whole and apt Numbers, when this Scale is apply'd to it; and tho' it has not *Roman* Delicacy, yet its Symmetry and Proportions are, in the Kind, equally beautiful and agreeable; the Geometry of it is well projected, and even the Maſonry, and executive Part of the Deſign, is excellently well adapted to the Purport, and to the Materials. The Mechanicks are truly admirable, by which they brought theſe immenſe Stones, of 30 Tuns Weight apiece, from *Marlborough-Downs*, and ſet them up here, with great Exactneſs, in their proper Places. As for the Fancy of the Stones being factitious, 'tis merely childiſh.

Next, the Dr. gives us an Account of the magnificent Avenue leading up to the Temple, two Miles in Length, not hitherto obſerv'd; as alſo of another Work belonging to this Temple, unobſerv'd before, which he calls the *Curſus*. 'Tis an *Hippodrom*, or Place made for Horſe and Chariot Races of the antient *Britons*, which they celebrated at the Time of their great annual Feſtivals, with Sacrifices, *&c.* as was the Practice of the *Phœnicians*, *Greeks*, *Romans*, and other antient Nations. This *Curſus* is made by two parallel Ditches, upon the delightful Plain *North* of *Stonehenge*, about half a Mile off, and is two Miles in Length, in a ſtraight Line *Eaſt* and *Weſt*.

Next, he ſpeaks of the numerous *Barrows*, or ſepulchral *Tumuli*, all around the Temple, being the ſingle Burial-Places of Kings and great Perſonages; as alſo of what Diſcoveries he made, by digging into many of them.

Laſtly, he offers a Conjecture, to ſhow the Time when *Stonehenge* was erected, from an Obſervation he has made, that proves the *Druids* uſed the magnetical Compaſs; a critical Diſquiſition, as to the Antiquity of its Uſe: He concludes, if this Conjecture is well founded, that *Stonehenge* was built about 400 Years before our Saviour's Time.

The following comes to us from a great Trading Town in the *North*.

To the Author of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR,

I BELIEVE it is often thought of by moſt Men, that think at all, what Advantages they frequently neglect, of making themſelves either wiſer, or more fit for Society, than they generally are. One wou'd think, indeed, that we were born to converſe, and be helpful to each other, when we liſten to Reaſon and our kindeſt Propenſions; but when we give ourſelves up to our worſt Adviſer, Appetite, all ſocial Virtues ſeem to vaniſh, and we are then no more than juſt what our Paſſions are pleas'd to make us. But after all, that Life, which endears us to our Friends, muſt certainly be the moſt deſirable; and we muſt be truly miſerable, when incapable of that Felicity. I cou'd not omit this Reflection, to introduce what I'm going to trouble you with, as I think it is an Example that may be of Uſe to others, who may have an Inclination to follow it. It is an Account of a Company of young Gentlemen, who have, for ſome Time, entertained, and improv'd themſelves, by as pretty an Inſtitution, as any, perhaps, that has yet been thought of. I don't know, among all the Variety of *Clubs* taken Notice of by the *Spectator*, that ſuch a one, or any Thing like it, is to be met with, in that agreeable *Melange*: And if he were now in being, I ſhou'd not doubt of having his Approbation, and ingenious Remarks, on what cannot but be beneficial to Society. As I am myſelf a Member of this *Club*, I ſhall ſay nothing that is merely ſpeculative, but repreſent it, as it is in Fact. In the firſt Place, our Number is no more than nine: We meet once a Week at Six in the Evening, and part at Eleven. The Preſident, (for we ſit in the great Chair by Turns) introduces a Book of ſome kind or other, wherein he propoſes a Part of his Author to be read up aloud; after which we refreſh ourſelves with ſomething that may ſafely chear our Hearts, and then reaſſume our Subject; for whatever it be, the Converſation, for that Night, naturally turns upon every Thing that can be thought to have any Relation to it; by which Means, we are accuſtom'd to ſpeak freely, and give our Opinions without Reſerve. We place a juſt Confidence in each other, and tho' none of us ſhew the leaſt Want of Spirit, or any Heſitation in our Speeches, yet there is always a great Regard paid to every one's Judgment; and whoever

ever desires to be heard, there is a Rule amongst us, to observe him with the strictest Silence. At our first Institution, we were sensible that many Inconveniences might grow upon us in this singular Article; we therefore agreed upon such Restrictions, as make it scarce possible that we shou'd differ, without Temper and Reason; which we always chearfully submit to. This Affair well settled, we thought ourselves secure of the rest; and proceeded to add some other Rules, which have produc'd all the good Fellowship we cou'd wish for. The Expence of the Night, to each Member, is fix'd to eighteen Pence, a Part of which makes up a Fund for any charitable Use; and sometimes we have it in our Power, to prevent a poor, unfortunate, (tho' perhaps industrious and useful) Mechanick, from going to Goal: And often relieve a distress'd little Family, on a Market-Day; or rescue them from the mercileſs Threatnings of a surly Landlord. These we take to be the proper Objects of Charity, in a trading Nation; and that we may not be impos'd upon, we always take care to lay no Temptations in the Way of any Person employ'd to distribute our Bounty: On the contrary, we are cautious in our Enquiry; and as no one knows, when, or where, we intend our Relief, or from whom it comes; so we are not deceiv'd with false Complaints, nor undeserving Objects. By this particular Management, we have the Pleasure of seeing some other Good, than that of merely entertaining ourselves, attend this our weekly Indulgence. The rest of our Articles are not of so much Consequence, but such as are chiefly calculated to the Humour of our Company; as, forfeiting a small Thing, for every Sentence in an unknown Tongue, without immediately explaining it; or asserting any Thing we know to be false; or speaking, or but even hinting a scandalous or malicious Thing of any Person whatever: But it is remarkable, that none have yet incur'd a Penalty; nor has there been one absent Member, who is also to pay a Forfeit, which, with the others, is to go to the above charitable Fund. With all these seeming Restraints, I can't say that the least Uneasiness, or Confinement, ever appear'd amongst us; but we are always easy, as tho' unlimited in our Conversation.

I shou'd leave this Account imperfect, if I did not acquaint you what Authors are most in Favour amongst us; and as we admit of all Subjects, you may imagine they are numerous; but I shall reduce them to these few, which may be said to comprehend all Things, *viz.* Religion, and Morality; Politicks, and History; Philosophy, with Arts and Sciences; Poetry, and the *Belles Lettres*; And to judge of our Taste, the Heads of the following Authors are the Furniture of our Club-Room, *viz.* Lord *Bacon*, Mr. *Boyle*, Lord *Shaftsbury*, Mr. *Bayle*, Sir *Isaac Newton*, Mr. *Locke*, Mr. *Wollaston*, Abp. *Tillotson*, Dr. *Clarke*, *Grotius*, *Puffendorf*, *Algernoon Sidney*, Sir *Wm. Temple*, Mr. *Trenchard*, *Rapin*, *Shakespear*, *Milton*, *Waller*, *Prior*, *Congreve*, *Addison*, *Pope*. The Writings of some of these Worthies, are generally the Theme of our Discourse; and as we take care, in particular, to be inform'd of the Life of our Author, and the Character of his Works, we can sometimes imagine ourselves as intimately Acquainted with all his Perfections, as if he were in Person dictating what he wrote. But as it is possible we may admit the Errors, as well as Excellencies of an Author, we always read him with some other, equal in Fame; and so discover what, perhaps, might have deceiv'd or perplex'd us. For Instance, whatever is not quite clear in my Lord *Shaftsbury*, may be corrected by Mr. *Wollaston*; and if *Algernoon Sidney* has gone too far in a republican Scheme, Mr. *Trenchard* has shewn us the happy Mean: *Shakespear*'s and *Milton*'s Beauties are charmingly distinguish'd by that good-natur'd Critick, Mr. *Addison*: *Clarke* and *Tillotson* (whatever has been said of them, by the Enemies to our Religion) have left us no Errors to mislead us; for every Thing there is clearly, and honestly stated. If it be objected, that it is a difficult Matter, to meet with a sufficient Number of Men, equally endu'd with Good-will and Learning, to constitute such a Society; I answer, that every Man of common Sense, that has read the best of our *English* Authors, may be capable of maintaining an Argument with many of our Logicians, and Grammarians. I think it is Mr. *Pope*, that has defin'd Learning, to be no more than our Knowledge of the Antients; if so, how many are rank'd amongst the Illiterate, that are more learned than the ostentatious Pedant? Have we not the good Fortune to read *Homer*, in a much better Dress than ten Thousand good Scholars are able to shew him? Are not all the most valuable Classical Authors to be found in every Bookseller's Shop? For my part, I think we can never enough admire those great Genius's, that our Country has produc'd. What wou'd have signify'd all the natural, easy Flow of *Horace*, to many Thousand good Judges, if *Pope* had not given us a Relish of him? How much of *Virgil*'s Fame wou'd have been lost, if the *English* Reader cou'd not speak of his inimitable Beauties? And even *Sallust* and *Tacitus* shine in a Northern Language. I wou'd not, by this, be suppos'd to believe, that the Scholar has not greatly the Advantage; or, that there is not a mutual Obligation between the Antients, and Moderns; or, that the latter shou'd not give up the Preference, since nothing can be added to what has been said, so many hundred Years ago: All that can occasion a Dispute in this Case, is,

s, Whether we cou'd have boasted of so many great Authors, if *Greece* and *Rome* had not done it before us.

I am, SIR, &c.

Common Sense, Dec. 29. N° 152.

The Roman *People would not assist in the Wars, till their Grievances were redress'd.*

WE took Notice, in a late Paper, of that sensible Spirit of Liberty which the *Romans* exerted in the Case of the *Decemvirate*, when, their Neighbours falling upon them, they refused to contribute towards the War as long as those Men continued in Power: (See Vol. VIII. p. 612, E.) By adhering to this Resolution they demolish'd a pernicious Gang of Placemen, whose Male-Administration must, for their own Safety, have put them upon attempting to destroy the *Roman* Liberties; and who, in all Probability, would have succeeded in it, had they (according to their own modest Request) been unmolested at home, till they should no more stand in Need of the Peoples Assistance to repel Enemies abroad.

All who look into a *Gazetteer* (which, I own, are very few) have taken Notice of the Distress of those poor Devils, the hundred and fifty Authors of that Paper, for Want of something to say in Relation to the Place-Bill. ——Authority, History, as well as common Sense, are against them; and they must follow the Example of their best Friend, and try to bear down Truth and Reason by the Force of a matchless Assurance.

One of these Writers tells us, that the wise *Romans* always defer'd demanding a Redress of Grievances, if the Commonwealth was ingaged in War, till the War was over; or to that Effect. (Vol. VIII. p. 610.) Sure this Man never read a Line of *Roman* History, or if he did, it is so long ago he hath forgot it.

The *Roman* History abounds with Instances directly contrary to what is asserted in that Paper: If there are also some on his Side of the Question, why did not he quote them, and shew us what was the Consequence? He thought fit to let that Matter alone, and it was prudently done of him, for those very Instances make as strong against his Side of the Question as the other.

Since those People have not thought fit to quote any Examples of that Kind, we shall do it for them.

In the 255th Year of the Building of the City, the People call'd for two new Laws; one to ascertain the Interest of Money, which not being settled, the Rich took Advantage of the Necessities of the Poor, and every Man got as high an Interest as he could.

The second was to rectify an Abuse in relation to the conquer'd Lands, half of which, in former Times, were sold to the highest Bidders, to reimburse the Expences of the War; the other half let out to the poorer Citizens at an under Rent; but now a Faction in the Senate, like true Placemen, having a Mind to engross the Riches of the Commonwealth, granted out to several of their own Members, *i. e.* among one another, such Parcels of this Land as lay contiguous to their other Estates, by which not only the Poor were defrauded, but the Burden of Wars began to fall upon the People. Tho' all the *Latin* Cities had enter'd into a Confederacy against *Rome*, the People insisted upon a Redress of these Grievances before they would contribute to a War.

The Senate, to get over this Difficulty, proposed to pass an Edict, that no Person should be sued for any Debt till the End of the War, and that then these Affairs should be taken into Consideration. This would not go down, the People telling the *Patricians*, (whom upon this Occasion we may call the Placemen) that it was the Business of those who enjoy'd the Revenues of the Commonwealth to maintain its Wars, and fight its Battles.

The Enemy being now near their Gates, the Senate gave out, there was not Time in this dangerous Situation to settle the Grievances complain'd of; they proposed therefore, that a Magistrate, with absolute Power to do what he pleased, should be created for six Months, to which the People consented; and this was the Original of the high Office of *Dictator*, by which the *Roman* Liberties were at last destroyed.

A *Dictator* being created, he soon defeated the Enemy, by which the *Patricians* being deliver'd from their Fears, they troubled themselves no more about the Grievances of the Commons.

The next Year the *Volsci* invading the *Roman* Territories, *Servilius*, one of the Consuls, prevail'd upon the People once more to defer their Demands. When this War was ended, they were used by the Senate just as they had been before.

The Year following the *Samnites*, the *Æqui*, and the *Volsci* falling upon them, the *Patricians* were oblig'd once more to have Recourse to the People; but, as they expected the Commons would refuse to contribute to the War, a *Dictator* is created, who, being vested with absolute Power, might by his own Authority make Levies. *Manius Valerius* was the Man, a Person wise, virtuous, and extremely popular, who, resolving not to make Use of rigorous Measures, obtain'd a Promise from the Senate to pass the Laws required by the Commons: Wherefore, summoning the People, he assured them, in the Name of the Senate, that they should have full Satisfaction the Minute the War was ended.

They now thought themselves safe; but

no

no ſooner were their Enemies without defeated, than their Enemies within ſent to the *Dictator* to keep his Army ſtill in the Field, as if the War was not ended, in order to amuſe the People, that they might not expect the Performance of the Senate's Promiſe: But the generous *Dictator* diſdain'd ſo baſe a Commiſſion, he abſolv'd the Army from their Military Oath, and return'd to *Rome*, to demand that Edicts ſhould be paſs'd conformable to the Promiſe made the People; but, inſtead of complying, they told him, that were he not *Dictator*, and therefore not to be call'd to an Account, they would puniſh him for diſbanding the Army. To which he only anſwer'd, I perceive you will force the Commons into Seditions, which I had rather ſee as a private Man than as a Magiſtrate; wherefore I ſhall reſign my high Office: Then convening an Aſſembly of the Commons, he ſaid to them:

"As you have behaved like brave Citizens, no Doubt you expect to ſee the Promiſe made to you fulfill'd; but there is a Faction in the Senate more powerful than even the Authority of the *Dictator*, which hinders it. I know in what Manner, in the Vigour of my Youth, I wou'd have behaved in this Matter; but an old Man, who hath ſeen more than 70 Years, is deſpiſed by thoſe who reſolve to engroſs the Power and Riches of this Commonwealth; ſince therefore I am not able to do you Juſtice, I here reſign my Office of *Dictator*. If any Citizen reproaches me for the Breach of my Promiſe, I willingly put the Remainder of my Life into his Hands, to diſpoſe of me as he pleaſes."

I have quoted theſe Tracts of Hiſtory to ſhew, that the *Romans* never defer'd their Grievances to what was call'd a proper Time, but they were impoſed upon and abuſed; and had they not been encompaſſed by warlike Neighbours, which put the Senate under a Neceſſity of applying to the People to defend the Commonwealth, the Commons of *Rome* would have been greater Slaves to a few *Patrician* Families, than ever they had been to the *Tarquins*; ſo that it may be truly ſaid, that the Enemies of *Rome* ſav'd *Rome*; for the People grew wiſer by Experience, and the very next Year, when two Conſular Armies were to be rais'd, the People, inſtead of contributing to the War, march'd out of the City to the *Sacred Hill*, and there encamp'd; and when the Senate ſent a Deputation to them, to repreſent the Danger the Commonwealth was in from its Enemies, they anſwer'd, The People were not ſo weak but they knew their Enemies were within the City, nor would they ſtir till Satisfaction was given them.

The ſame Conduct they afterwards obſerv'd upon the like Occaſions, of which there is a remarkable Inſtance with Reſpect to two Laws, one made in the Time of the *Decemvirate*, which forbids Marriages betwixt *Patrician* and *Plebeian* Families, and another which confined the Dignity of the *Conſulate* to *Patricians* only.

The People demanded a Repeal of thoſe two Laws, upon which Occaſion the Faction had Recourſe to the old Argument, *Was this a Time to bring on Things of this Nature, when the Commonwealth was entring into War?* Upon which Occaſion *Canuleus*, *Tribune* of the People, in a Speech to the Conſuls, ſays,

"Hear me, *Conſuls*; whether the News of the War be true, or a falſe Rumour rais'd for nothing but to draw the People out of the City, I declare, as *Tribune*, that this People, who have ſo often ſpilt their Blood in our Country's Cauſe, are again ready to arm for its Defence and Glory, if they may be reſtored to their natural Rights. But if you account us unworthy of your Alliance by Intermarriages, if you will not ſuffer the Entrance to the chief Offices of the State to be open to all Perſons of Merit indifferently, talk of Wars as much as you pleaſe, paint the Power of our Enemies ten Times more dreadful than it is, I declare, that this People, to whom you are indebted for all your Victories, ſhall never more take Arms; not a Man of them will expoſe his Life for imperious Lords, with whom he can neither ſhare the Dignities of the State, nor in private Life have any Alliance by Marriage."

If we make a right Uſe of Hiſtory, we may profit by the Errors as well as improve by the right Meaſures of this brave People; they truſted and were deceiv'd, and then grew wiſe enough to truſt no more.

Thoſe who think that our preſent Set of Placemen have more Virtue and more Honour than the *Patricians* of *Rome*, may tell us, this is not a proper Time; but if a Law ſo eſſential for the Security of Liberty, which has been puſh'd for ſo often in vain within 20 Years, when we were in a perfect State of Tranquillity, ſhould be put off upon the trifling Pretences now made, the People may wait till the Day of Judgment before the Placemen will allow it to be a proper Time.

Craftſman, Dec. 29. N° 703.

The Reaſonableneſs of a PLACE-BILL.

SIR,

I THINK the following Poſition will not be controverted by any, *That* Deſtruction *is the ſame, as to Conſequences, both with Regard to* Individuals, *and to* States, *let it come from what Hand, or what Power it will.* A Man is as much dead, who is kill'd by *Chance-Medley*, as he, who is kill'd by *Malice prepenſe*; and the private Stab of an *Acquaintance* will as ſoon ganger, as if it had been given by a *Robber*. The ſame holds good as to *States*;

for the Oppreſſion is the ſame, whether it is ſaid on by the Edict of an *abſolute Prince*, or as the Badge of *foreign Conqueſt*, or by the Conſent of the *Repreſentatives of the People*.

How therefore can Mankind guard againſt all Events?—Without ſome Confidence in one another, no *Commerce* can be carried on; all Society muſt be at an End; and conſequently, with Relation to *Government*, the *People of a free State* muſt be ſo jealous of their *Liberties*, as to reſerve immediately to themſelves the ultimate Determination of all publick Acts. *Such Conſtitutions* there have been; but they have been all ſubject to Confuſion, which hath generally ended in Tyranny. To preſerve Order therefore in the *State*, when founded upon a true *Equilibrium*, (which is the great Barrier both to *Government* and *Liberty*) the *People of England* repoſe a Truſt, and yield a certain Degree of Power to a *ſmall Number*, for aſſiſting in, and carrying on, in Conjunction with the *other Branches of the Legiſlature*, the great Buſineſs of the Nation; and tho' they have an equal Right to Juſtice and Liberty from the *other Branches*, it muſt be imagin'd that they place the moſt immediate Confidence in *their own Repreſentatives*, who are inveſted with as high a Truſt as a *free People* can be ſuppos'd to delegate; no leſs than the Preſervation of the *State*, and the Protection of *their Rights*. It is therefore eſſential to *Liberty*, that *theſe Delegates* ſhould be ſent up by the free and unpolluted Votes of *their Principals*; and I conceive it to be as high an Offence againſt the *Conſtitution* for a *Miniſter* to corrupt the *Conſtituents*, or to corrupt the *Delegates*, when ſo conſtituted, as an actual Rebellion would be in the *People*.

It may, perhaps, appear abſurd to ſuppoſe that an *elected Senate*, where there are ſuch a Number of *Conſtituents*, can poſſibly be return'd of different Sentiments from the *People*. But the Queſtion is, how ſmall a Number of *Conſtituents* may be ſufficient to return a *Majority of the Houſe of Commons*; for tho' there may be *ſome Counties*, that have 16 or 18,000 *Voters*, there are *ſmall Boroughs* which return as many Members, that have not *half a Score of Voters*. I am not at preſent prepar'd to make an exact Computation; but I ſhould think that leſs than 10,000 *Voters* might be ſufficient to return a *Majority*. This cannot be thought ſo much out of the Way, when it is conſider'd what a Number of *ſmall Boroughs* there are, and that many People have Votes in *ſeveral Boroughs*. But however, what I have ſaid is ſufficient to ſhew that it is poſſible for the *little dependent Boroughs* to ſend up a *Majority of the Houſe of Commons*, of different Sentiments from the *Majority of the whole Conſtituents*; which Biſhop *Burnet* calls the *rotten Part of our Conſtitution*.

The People of *Great Britain* are ſuppos'd to be upwards of *ten Millions*; and thoſe, who have not any Votes for *Repreſentatives*, as well as thoſe who have, are equally intitled to the Protection of their *Rights*, *Liberties*, and *Properties*. So that a Vote in the *Houſe of Commons* may give up the Happineſs *of ten Millions of People*.

Is it not therefore highly juſtifiable, is it not commendable, may it not be neceſſary, for *larger Corporations* (if they apprehend any impending, or growing Danger) to inſtruct, to animate their *Repreſentatives*, that they may add Weight to their *Debates* and *Counſels*, by ſhewing what are the general Sentiments of the People? This is the only Influence, which a *Corporation*, compos'd of *Thouſands*, can have, more than one, compos'd perhaps of not above the *thouſandth Part*. Tho' I think it might have been wiſe at firſt, in forming, and afterwards in renewing the *Conſtitution*, effectually to have provided againſt *ſmall Boroughs*, I would not be thought to propoſe having the Privilege, of *any Corporation* deſtroy'd, be it ever ſo ſmall: Taking away the *Temptation* may, I hope, be ſufficient to guard againſt the Danger: *Eight* or *ten Men*, if they can be kept uncorrupt, may think as juſtly as *ten Thouſand*.

Let *Corruption* come from any Hand; let it appear in every Shape; and view it in all Lights, nothing is more deteſtable: But as a *concerted Scheme*, ſupported by *many*, and to be executed by *Confederacy*, muſt carry greater Force than the Actions of *ſingle Perſons*, ſo the Corruption of Voters by *Placemen* muſt threaten more Danger to the State, than when it happens between *private Perſons*. Giddineſs and Folly of Youth, Pride, Reſentment, and many other unjuſtifiable Motives, may induce *private Perſons* to bribe their *Conſtituents*; and tho' ſuch Proceedings are ſufficient Grounds for the honeſt Part of a Corporation to lay aſide Candidates dealing in ſuch dirty Work, and chuſe ſome worthy Men of better Morals; yet ſuch a Corruption, wicked as it is, may end in *that Corporation*, and its bad Influence may extend no farther—Much more dangerous to the State may be *Corruption*, ſeconded by the *Arm of Power*. If a *Seat in Parliament* ſhould be ever look'd upon as the Way to *Preferment*, or the Tenure to a *Place*; if ever a ſufficient Number of *Voters* ſhould be corrupt enough to chuſe a *Majority of Placemen*, becauſe they can afford to bribe them high, without having any Regard to *perſonal Merit*, or *Integrity*; if *Placemen* ſhould ever confederate together in *Schemes of Corruption*; if *Corruption* ſhould ever be uſed as the Spring and Movement of *Government*; if ever an *artful*, *vicious*, and *laviſh Miniſtry*, or *Miniſter*, ſhould be able, by *undue Influence*, to gain over a *Majority of the Houſe of Commons*, ſo as to prefer his or their *private Intereſt*, or *Protection*, to the real Good of the *Commonwealth*; I ſay, if this ſhould ever come to paſs, what Influence

would be able to ſtem ſuch an Innundation of *Corruption*; or where muſt *Virtue* be placed, ſufficient to defend and preſerve our *Conſtitution?*

Have not the united Dominions which now belong to the *French* and *Spaniſh* Crowns, had their *Cortez*, their *Deputies*, and *other elected Aſſemblies*, the very Names of which are now forgot, and worn out by *Corruption* more than by *Violence?* At leaſt, *one* always made Way for the *other*. They once thought *their Liberties* to be upon as firm a Foundation as we now think *our own*. Are not *Engliſhmen* as much prone to *Vice* as their Neighbours? Nay, inſtead of excelling them in *Virtue*, do we not imitate their *Vices?* Does *Virtue*, *Oeconomy*, and *Wiſdom* ſhine ſo conſpicuouſly in the preſent Age, that *Engliſhmen* are better proof againſt *Corruption* now, than *Normans*, *Caſtilians*, and other People, were in former Times.

Lead us not into Temptation, was enjoin'd us in a Prayer by *him*, who beſt knew our Nature—All the *Temptations* which worldly Wealth can beſtow (we cannot ſay how ſoon, or how late) may be employ'd againſt the *Liberties of the People*; and the moſt effectual Way to ſecure us againſt ſuch a future Evil, is to withdraw the *Temptation*. The *whole collective Body of the People*, a very *few* excepted, ſeem to be unanimous in the Purſuit of ſo equitable a Settlement of their *Rights*. With what Grace, with what Juſtice can it be deny'd them; or who can pretend to reaſon againſt it?

I beg to aſk one general Queſtion, *viz.* whether *thoſe Perſons* deſerve beſt, both of *Prince* and *People*, who put the royal Virtues of *their Sovereign* in a mild, natural, clear, and amiable Light, or *thoſe*, who repreſent them in ſuch a Manner as to dazzle the Eyes of their Fellow-Subjects, in order to prevent them from purſuing what may be thought a farther, and a reaſonable Security to their *Liberties?* Can a *free People*, ought a *free People* to be ſupinely at Eaſe, tho' at preſent they may enjoy all the outward Shew, or even the real Bleſſings of *Liberty*, if they apprehend *that Liberty* to be in Danger, which they think may be ſtill prevented? Can it ever be the Intereſt of a *People* to diſguſt *their Prince*, or wantonly diſconcert his *Government*; or can it ever be the Intereſt of a *Prince* to have his *People* diſcontented? But may it not be the Intereſt and Policy of *particular Perſons*, out of Fear that *ſuch an Eſtabliſhment* and *Union* may prove fatal to *their Machinations*, or lead to ſome open Diſcovery of their pernicious and wicked Schemes, to keep *Prince* and *People* at as great a Diſtance as their helliſh Arts can compaſs?——But to return to my Point.

His *preſent Majeſty* is wiſe, juſt, and merciful; and we have an happy Proſpect of the ſame Virtues in Succeſſion. But precarious muſt be the Liberties of that People, which depend more upon the Lives of Men, than their own firm Baſis. If therefore the *People* ſee any Thing amiſs in the *Conſtitution*, which they think wants mending, can they hope for a more favourable Opportunity than the *preſent auſpicious Reign?*

The *three capital Cities of the united Kingdom* have inſtructed *their Repreſentatives* to uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to obtain a *Place-Bill*. Many *great Corporations* have followed their Example. If the *Counties* have not done ſo too, it is becauſe they cannot ſo eaſily meet as *Corporations* can; for it is well known that the *Freeholders* throughout the whole Kingdom have ſet their Hearts upon it. The *Britiſh* Nation ſeems to expect it, and I hope it will raiſe no other Contention in proceeding upon it, than who ſhall move it firſt, and render it moſt effectual and permanent.

It hath become more general, of late Years, for *Gentlemen in Places* to get into *Parliament*, than formerly, and even Perſons in *inferior Places*, which was not then uſual. Beſides, it hath been thought proper to keep on Foot a *very large Army*, for many Years paſt; in which there are many *lucrative Commiſſions*; for the *Officers* upon all Eſtabliſhments are allowed to ſit in *Parliament*, and many more of them than in former Times do actually ſit there. The growing Increaſe of theſe Practices makes the *People* deſirous of having *ſome Limitations*, with Regard to *Seats in Parliament*, in order to prevent any *miniſterial Influence*, which may be hereafter practis'd upon *ſuch Members of Parliament*, to the Deſtruction of the *Conſtitution*.——If the Conſtituents of the *ſmaller Boroughs* ſhould become mercenary, the *preſent Limitation*, which vacates their *Seat in Parliament*, by accepting of a *Place*, will be of no Security; for ſhould *venal Men* get themſelves return'd by *venal Boroughs*, will their Conſtituents diſlike them the more, becauſe they have enlarg'd *their Income?* But even this ſmall Security does not extend to the *Army*; as if the Salary of a *military Commiſſion* could not carry as much Influence as the Salary of a *civil Employment*.—*Miniſters* are apt to copy after their *Predeceſſors*; what hath been once thought of may be thought of again, and poſſibly put into Practice, ſome Time or other, if not timely prevented.——Lord *Strafford*, as to Abilities, was almoſt as great a Man as any that hath appear'd upon the Stage of Politicks. The Uſe he propos'd to make of *military Men* in *Parliament* may be ſeen in his Letter to King *Charles* I. inducing him to call a Parliament in *Ireland*, from whence I ſhall cite a Paragraph by Way of Concluſion; for it wants no Comment but itſelf.

" * I will labour to make as many *Captains*, and *Officers*, *Burgeſſes*, as poſſibly I can; who having immediate Dependance on the *Crown*, may

* *Raſhworth's Coll. Vol.* 2. *p.* 212.

may almoſt ſway the Buſineſs betwixt the *two Parties*, which Way they pleaſe."

I am, Sir, &c.

COMMON *Senſe* of *Jan.* 5. is in Anſwer to an old Letter in the *Gazetteer*, in Defence of the Miniſtry, which aſſerts that Miniſters would often have perfected the Conſtitution, if they had not been hinder'd by the Oppoſition they met with from falſe Patriots: But as we have taken no Notice of that *Gazetteer*, and it is ſo long ſince it was wrote, we ſhall alſo omit the Anſwer to it.

Craftſman, Jan. 5. N° 704.

A new Project for the entire Removal of CORRUPTION, *and a thorough* REFORMATION *in the Kingdom.*

SIR,

MANKIND being grown ſo exceſſively corrupt, and becoming every Day worſe and worſe, you will excuſe me, if I communicate to you a Scheme, and the only one I believe will be effectual, for reſtoring a *little Honour* and *Honeſty* to the World; endeavouring to ſhame *Men*, by a juſt Degradation of them, out of their preſent Profligacy, and bring them by Degrees to their priſtine Integrity. I am perſuaded that all other Schemes for the Reformation of *Mankind*, by good and wholſome Laws, to prevent *Luxury*, or reſtrain *Corruption*, will be of little Uſe. *Place-Bills*, or any ſuch-like Expedients, will be at beſt but *palliating Remedies*. *Slow Alteratives* will not do: A *total Change* ſeems abſolutely neceſſary; for when the *whole Body politick* is overſpread with Sores, like a *Leper*, the Conſtitution ought to be, as it were, regenerated, before the Cure can be perfected.

This being the Caſe, I would humbly propoſe, that a *Law* might be paſs'd, to take Place at the Determination of this preſent P——t, by which all *Men*, of what Rank, Degree, or Quality ſoever, ſhould be depos'd from their ſeveral Stations, Dignities, and Employments; and that all ſuch Vacancies ſhould, by Way of Reproach, be immediately fill'd up by proper Perſons of the *other Sex*. When this is done, the *Men* are not to be ſuffer'd to reaſſume their *Prehemineuce*, or *Places*, till a certain Space of Time is paſs'd over, in which they may be ſuppos'd to have ſeen their Follies, repented of their Iniquities, and grown aſham'd of their Proſtitutions. By thus exhibiting a righteous Band of *female Patriots*, and ſetting *Virtue* in ſo fair and amiable a Light, it is to be hoped that, after a certain Chaſm for *Purgation*, (or, if I may ſo call it, an *Interregnum of the Miniſtry*) ſuch *Men* as are not quite loſt to all Senſe of *Honour* may be recover'd from *Pollution*, and a Set of *young Patriots* likewiſe ſprout out undefil'd, and undebauch'd, who may in Time, from the Example of their *Mothers*, be able to fill an Adminiſtration, and govern this Kingdom with Integrity and Ability.

I have often heard it ſaid, that an *Act of Parliament* could do any Thing but make a *Man* a *Woman*, or a *Woman* a *Man*. Now tho' this may be phyſically true, yet I am ſure it is not politically ſo; and that being ſufficient for my Purpoſe, I will humbly propoſe and recommend the following Sketch of ſuch an Act.

"Whereas, for many Years paſt, *Luxury* and *Extravagance* have been ſuffer'd to prevail and increaſe in this Kingdom; whereas *Venality* hath been thought no Crime, and *Corruption* is become ſo faſhionable a Vice, that *few Men* are aſhamed of it; and whereas the Expence of *Corruption* is now grown beyond what even the *worſt Government* can ſupport, and the Miſchief of it ſuch as the *beſt Miniſtry* cannot prevent.

For Remedy whereof, and that a certain Time of *Purification* may be appointed, during which *Men* may recover their Morals, and the *State* hereafter be fix'd on a righteous and laſting Foundation; be it enacted by the *K*—'s moſt ex——t M——ty, by and with the Conſent of the *L——ds Sp——l* and *T——l*, and *C———ns* in this preſent *P———t* aſſembled, that from and after the Day of which ſhall be in the Year of our Lord all *Employments*, of what Nature and Degree ſoever, whether they be *eccleſiaſtical*, *civil*, or *military*, ſhall from henceforwards be fill'd with Perſons of the *feminine Gender*; and that no *Man* or *Male* whatſoever ſhall, from the Commencement of *this Act*, to the End of the Term hereby preſcribed, hold, occupy, or enjoy, or be capable of holding, occupying, or enjoying any Place, Penſion, Honour, Grant, or Gratuity whatſoever from the *Crown*; but the ſame ſhall be holden, occupy'd, and enjoy'd by *Females* only.

This Act to be continued in Force for *ſeven Years*, and no longer; when *each Male* is to reſume his Dignity, Employment, and Authority, which the *Females* are hereby requir'd to reſign and relinquiſh forthwith, under the Forfeiture of

Provided always, and it is hereby enacted and declared, that the *Common Council of the City of* London, in Conſideration of their ſteady Adherence to the Principles of *Virtue*, during a Courſe of many Years, and againſt the ſtrongeſt Temptations, may ſtill continue to act in their *corporate* and *maſculine Capacity*, any *Influence* or *Corruption*, or any *Law* or *Statute* whatſoever to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding."

Had *this Law* taken Place a little ſooner, I am perſuaded, it would have redounded very much to the *Honour* of our Nation, and might

have proved of infinite Advantage to the *Trade* and *Commerce* of it. I may venture to ſay, that no *Woman* living could have born the Inſults, and put up the many Affronts, which *ſome Perſons*, to the Scandal of *our Sex*, have ſo tamely ſubmitted to. I am as poſitive that in a *female Adminiſtration*, the *Convention* would never have been heard of; and probably none of *thoſe Treaties* would have been made, which were calculated only to *gain Time*; for the *Ladies* love *Diſpatch* in all their Affairs, and are great Enemies to *Procraſtination*. The Queen of *Spain* herſelf, who is but a *Woman*, (tho' I muſt do her the Juſtice to ſay that ſhe is a very high-mettled one) would never have been able, by all her Intrigues and Cunning, to impoſe on her *whole Sex*, however ſhe hath on ſome of the *other*; nor would the *Ladies* of this Kingdom have ſubmitted to a *Search*, which they always look upon, when done by Compulſion, to be baſe and diſhonourable; eſpecially in *Places*, where *no Search* ought to be allow'd. *War* would long ago have been proclaim'd, and not only proclaim'd, but immediately proſecuted with the utmoſt Vigour. A Body of *Marines*, in the Shape of *Sea-Goddeſſes*, would have been ſent to the *Havanna*; and I make no Doubt that we ſhould have been, at this Time, in full Poſſeſſion of the Iſland of *Cuba*.

Whatever Apprehenſions we may have at preſent, with Regard to *France*, under a *female Adminiſtration* we might ſet them at Defiance. A Nation fam'd for Gallantry and Politeneſs, like the *French*, would ſcarce be able to look an Army of *Engliſh Beauties* in the Face, without deſiring to ſurrender up their Arms, and yielding themſelves an eaſy Conqueſt to the Victors. So that *France* muſt even repeal their *Salique Law*, and convert their Government likewiſe into a *female State*, if they will pretend, in ſuch a Situation, to cope with us.

I likewiſe apprehend that *this Scheme* muſt have an extream good Effect, by totally extinguiſhing the Hopes of the *Pretender*, and all his Adherents. It is impoſſible for him to lay the leaſt Claim to any *unalienable*, *hereditary*, or *indefeazable Right*, when the whole Conſtitution ſhall have legally undergone ſuch a *total Change*; a *Revolution*, I may venture to aſſert, more conſiderable than the *laſt*, as it will be an abſolute Migration of Power from *one Sex* to the *other*.

When the *Treaſury*, the *Admiralty*, the *Board of Trade*, and all the other Employments of the Kingdom ſhall fall, as the *French* call it, *en Quenouille*, what Huſwifry may we not expect? The *Ladies*, like ſo many new Brooms, will no Doubt ſweep the *Offices* clean, and by Degrees purge thoſe *Augean* Stables of their preſent Filth and Ordure. When our *publick Treaſure* ſhall be placed in *female Hands*, it will be in clean ones at leaſt; I hope in ſkilful ones too; and ſince we have ſeen *one Man*, who vaunted of the *Sinking Fund* as his *own Child*, prove a very *unnatural Father* to it, I ſhould be glad to ſee it, for a Time, under the Care of a *tender and nurſing Mother*.

Both Houſes of P———t, when this Scheme takes Place, being to be fill'd with *Petticoats*, I would recommend it to the ingenious Architect of the *lower Houſe* (in Caſe we are ever to have a new one) to buil'd it upon ſomething of a larger Scale, in Conſideration of the *Hoops* that are to enter into it. The *Council-Table* muſt likewiſe admit of ſome Extenſion, on the ſame Account, as well as the *two Houſes of Convocation*, ſhould they ever be allow'd to ſit again.

I rejoiced extreamly upon hearing a Motion made by a *noble Lord*, ſome Days ago, for ſtopping up the Chinks of *that Houſe*. It was acknowledg'd by every one that the *Houſe of L—ds* had been exceeding cold of late; that it was *Domus rimarum plena*; and that a little more *Fire* and *Warmth* amongſt them would not be amiſs.

With a View therefore to my Scheme, this Motion for filling up the *Chinks* will be of great uſe, by preventing, in the firſt Place, all improper *Peep-holes*; and conſidering that Wind riſing upwards muſt certainly be more inconvenient, as well as dangerous to the *Ladies*, who are ſo little guarded againſt it.

To fill the *lower Houſe* with proper Repreſentatives, it will be neceſſary that a Clauſe or Clauſes be inſerted in the Bill, to transfer all Right of Election in the ſeveral Counties, Cities, and Boroughs, to the reſpective *Wives* of the Freeholders, Freemen, and Burgeſſes, that they may chuſe *ſuch Ladies* as they judge proper for their Repreſentatives; ſtill reſerving to themſelves, as Conſtituents, the Power of *inſtructing* them from Time to Time, as they ſhall ſee Occaſion. All *Ladies*, ſtanding for any of the before-mention'd Places, are to have full Liberty allow'd them of applying to the *Huſband of the Voter* for his Intereſt in his *Wife*, in the ſame Manner as the Members now do to the *Wives*, for the Votes of their *Huſbands*. Provided always that no *Money* be given.

It will be abſolutely neceſſary, before the *female P———t* meets, to appoint a Committee to examine and reviſe the *ſtanding Orders of the Houſe*, with Power to vary from, or make ſuch Alterations therein, as the Caſe may require. I know there is one Order, which I am of Opinion may be of ſingular Utility; and I have ſometimes, on proper Occaſions, heard it pronounc'd from the *Chair*, with great Dignity and Authority; I mean that, which ſays no Member ſhall be ſuffer'd to ſpeak more than once in any Debate; and ſince this is to be a *female Aſſembly*, it may not be improper to ſubjoin, that no more than

two

two or *three Ladies* at moſt ſhall be ſuffer'd to ſpeak at a Time; for as they are now to meet in a ſolemn Manner, I cannot be ſo complaiſant as to allow them to *ſpeak all together*.

As for the *upper Houſe*, which will be made up generally of the *Ladies* of the preſent Poſſeſſors of it, excepting ſuch as are to be choſen by *Election*, (who ſhall not be nominated by any *one Perſon* whatſoever, no *Cloſet* or *Pocket-Liſt* being to be allow'd) it is to have the ſame Powers and Privileges as at preſent, eſpecially with Regard to *Appeals*; and I hope no Man can have ſo little good Breeding to the *Ladies* as to fancy that it will not be fill'd with Perſons of as much Senſe, Virtue, Knowledge, and Literature, as it is at preſent.

I muſt confeſs that it may, at firſt Sight, look a little odd to ſee 26 *venerable Matrons*, with Lawn-Sleeves on their Arms, and Trencher-Caps on their Heads; but this, perhaps, may be amply made up by a ſtricter Attendance on the Duties of their Dioceſes, and at leaſt as conſcientious a Conduct in the *Houſe of Ladies*, no *Tranſlations* being to be allow'd on any Pretence whatſoever. I am inclin'd to think that, during the *feminine Hierarchy*, the Dioceſs of every Biſhop, which at preſent goes under a Male Denomination, ſhou'd from henceforth be ſtil'd only by the Name of the *Biſhop's See*, ſtrictly forbidding the *inferior She-Clergy* to write *See* with a ſingle Letter, thro' falſe Orthography, or for Brevity's Sake.

I likewiſe apprehend that ſome great Advantages might accrue to *our Religion* from this *feminine Diſpenſation*. Controverſies, with Regard to *Myſteries*, may not probably be ſo frequent, nor *Smoaking* and *Drinking* be altogether ſo much practiſed by the *female Clergy*.

As a Stagnation, or Interruption of Buſineſs, might ariſe both in *Church* and *State*, if her Grace the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Lady *Chancellor*, the *Preſident of the Council*, the *Speaker of the Houſe of Commons*, or any of the *Judges*, &c. ſhould happen to be with Child, and near her Time, I would propoſe that a proper Deputy, or Deputies ſhould be appointed to officiate in their Stead, till ſuch *Biſhop*, *Chancellor*, or *Judge*, is brought to Bed; and when her full Month of Lying-in ſhall be expir'd, then to reſume her Station, as if Nothing had happen'd.

What a glorious Sight will a *female Army* on *Hounſlow-Heath*, or in *Hyde-Park*, make at a Review? What can reſiſt 32,000 *brave and beautiful Engliſh Amazons*, drawn up in Battle Array? Old Legends aſſure us that, once on a Time, 11,000 *ſimple Virgins*, under one General *Urſula*, quitted this Kingdom in Diſguſt. Now we ſhall ſee 32,000 (tho' poſſibly not all *Virgins*) appear Cap-a-pee in Defence of their *King*, and ready to encounter at leaſt double the Number of a *ſtanding Army* of *Men*, for the Laws and Liberties of their Country. *Such an Army* muſt be terrible to the whole World, without giving the leaſt Jealouſy, or threatening any Danger to this Conſtitution. Their Eyes will dart Fire on the bold Invaders of their Country, whilſt they warm and cheriſh ſuch as they are willing to receive into their Boſoms.

A There is one Evil indeed, againſt which many loud Complaints have been made; and that is the abominable Practice of opening *Letters*, which I fear will hardly be remedied by my Scheme; for when the *principal Perſons of the Poſt-Office*, as well as all the *Under-Clerks*, ſhall be of the *feminine Gender*, I am very apprehenſive that the natural Curioſity B of the Sex, and their great Propenſity to pry into one another's Secrets, may tempt a *female Adminiſtration* rather to increaſe than diminiſh this wicked Practice, which is not only highly flagitious and diſhonourable of itſelf, but muſt of courſe tend great'y to the Prejudice of the *Revenue*. Should this be the Caſe, who knows whether the *Male Species*, when they ſhall come to reſume their Power, will C think themſelves bound to make up this Deficiency of the *Civil Liſt*, and ſecure it at all Events 800,000*l. per Annum*? A Chaſm of 7 *Years* may be pleaded in Excuſe, and the *Statute of Limitations* ſets aſide all *ſimple Contracts*, not demanded in leſs than that Time—Whether this can be call'd a *ſimple Contract*, or not, I will not preſume to determine.

D I have thus, Mr. *D'Anvers*, given you an Hint of my Project, which I do with a ſincere and honeſt Deſign to ſerve my Country, and become beneficial to Mankind. The whole is founded on one ſingle Propoſition, *viz.* a diſhonourable, but juſt Degradation of the *Men*, for their Depravity and Corruptions, and an Exaltation of the *Females*, till ſuch Time as an honeſter Race of *Males* ſhall ariſe. E If your *Patriots* conſent to this Propoſal, it will clear their Characters from the Imputation of ſeeking the Employments of *Thoſe*, whom they oppoſe, and prove that their only View is the Good of their Country.

I will conclude the Whole with a little Paſſage out of *Horace*.

—— Si quid noviſti rectius iſtis,
F *Candidus imperti; ſi non, his utere mecum.*

I am, SIR, your humble Servant,
MATTHEW MENDALL.

Common Senſe, Jan. 12. N° 154.

Of the Tribunes of Rome, *and farther Thoughts on a* PLACE-BILL.

G THE Tribunes of *Rome* were Magiſtrates elected by the Commons, to be a Check not only upon the *Patricians*, but upon the very *Conſuls*, and nothing could paſs into a Law without their Conſent; therefore, when any

any new Law was propoſed, they ſummon'd the *Comitia*, or *Tribes*, to know their Sentiments, and receive their Inſtructions; as was formerly practiſed by our Repreſentatives in this Kingdom.

If the *Tribunes*, after their Election, had ſet up for themſelves and declared, they would not be influenc'd or inſtructed by the Mob, (meaning thoſe from whom they deriv'd their Authority) the *Romans* could never be impoſed upon to believe that the Laws were made by themſelves, and that they were govern'd by their own Conſent: Moſt certainly they would have done with electing of *Tribunes*, they would have tranſacted their Buſineſs themſelves, with all the Inconveniencies attending it, or have found out ſome other Method to prevent their being ſold and betray'd by their own Repreſentatives. I won't pretend to determine, whether our Conſtitution and that of the *Romans* are alike in this Particular. If the Placemen ſhould tell us, that our People have no Right to act for themſelves, it will be natural to aſk them a plain Queſtion, free from all Sophiſtry: Can any Man have a Power of acting for another, where the Perſon from whom he derives his Authority had not firſt a Power of acting for himſelf?—— But God forbid the People ſhould ever be driven to the Neceſſity of doing their own Buſineſs themſelves, to prevent their being enſlaved by a Gang of Placemen.

Let us ſee how the *Romans* behaved with Reſpect to a treacherous Repreſentative.

There being frequent Struggles for Power betwixt the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, *Octavius*, a Tribune of the People, favoured the *Patrician* Party, upon which the People degraded him from his Office, and elected another in his Place. This being a Step that had ſcarce ever been taken before, the *Patricians* exclaim'd againſt it as a violent Proceeding; upon which another of the Tribunes ſpoke to the Senate as follows:

"A Tribune of the People is ſacred, and ought to be inviolable, becauſe, in a Manner, conſecrated to be a Guardian and Protector of the People's Liberties; but if he degenerates ſo far as to oppreſs the People, and to take away, or even retrench their Privileges, he then deprives himſelf of that honourable Station, by the Neglect of his Duty; otherwiſe a Tribune might not think himſelf obnoxious tho' he demoliſh'd the Capitol, or burnt the naval Stores.

Certainly, he that is guilty of ſuch Extravagancies can't be look'd upon as a good Tribune, much leſs can he who dares to diminiſh the Liberties of the People; becauſe he ceaſes, from that Time, to be the Peoples Tribune. Is it not very unreaſonable that a Tribune ſhould have Power to impriſon a Conſul, if the People muſt have no Power to degrade him, when he uſes that Authority he receiv'd from them to their Prejudice?

The Kingly Government, which comprehends in itſelf all Sorts of Authority, and is confirm'd with the greateſt and moſt religious Solemnity imaginable, as being a Government which does moſt reſemble that of Heaven, was ſet aſide, and, for the Injuſtice of one ſingle Man, the antient Government, under which *Rome* was built, was aboliſh'd for ever. What is there in all *Rome* ſo ſacred as the Veſtal Virgins? Yet if any of them proves ſo unguarded as to depart from her Character, ſhe is buried alive; for, when they preſume to commit any Offence againſt their Gods, they inſtantly loſe that Veneration which they claim'd as Attendants on their Service: So, likewiſe, a Tribune is no longer to be reſpected by the People as a ſacred Perſon, when he offends againſt that Authority from whence he deriv'd his own. We always eſteem that Perſon choſen Tribune, who is elected by a Majority of Votes; and is not, therefore, the ſame Perſon much more lawfully degraded, when not only by a Majority of Votes, but by general Conſent, it is agreed to depoſe him?"

It was by this Vigilance over their Liberties that this brave People arriv'd at the Empire of the World.——Tho' I am far from thinking it our Buſineſs to conquer the World; yet, I hope, it is our Buſineſs to defend ourſelves from being baſely conquer'd at home, which muſt ſoon follow whenever publick Truſts are betray'd with Impunity, and Preferment becomes the Reward of Proſtitution to the Will of a Miniſter.

If there be any Thing in this Conſtitution worth preſerving, let it be conſider'd, whether this be not the Time to take Care of it?——Do not the Placemen begin to look dangerous? They have ſeparated themſelves from the reſt of the People, they have different Intereſts, they are a cloſe connected Body, that, like a *Macedonian Phalanx*, moves as one Man; they are a great Machine conſiſting of numerous Wheels, all put in Motion by the Touch of the ſame Hand.

If ever we ſhould ſee a Parliament of Placemen, will they not look upon themſelves as their own Repreſentatives, and diſclaim all other Authority?——They will ſtand betwixt King and People, alike oppreſſive to both; they will ſow the Seeds of Diſtruſt betwixt them; like ſubtle Enemies, they muſt prevent a Junction betwixt two natural Allies, whoſe Union muſt be their Ruin; the Prerogative of the firſt, and Liberties of the laſt, will be abſorb'd by them; all Power and Dominion muſt center in them alone.

To ſee Dominion fix'd in a mercenary Band of Placemen, headed by a corrupt Leader, muſt (to uſe the Expreſſion of the Author of the Diſſertation on Parties) *be the Quinteſſence of Political Miſery:* To ſee them devouring the Fertility of the Land, and, at the ſame Time,

Time, like ſo many *Lord Danes*, oppreſſing and inſulting all Ranks of Men, their Betters, thoſe very Men from whoſe Pockets their Luxury is ſupported, is the melancholy Proſpect which a Parliament of Placemen would afford us.

The Grand Vizier, or Head of ſuch a Gang, cannot want every Power neceſſary to perpetuate his own Dominion and the publick Miſery; the Purſe of the People will be put into his Hands. I aſk, will he employ it in paying off publick Debts, and ſupporting the Honour of the Nation, or in paying thoſe very Perſons the Wages of their Proſtitution, who are to defend him in his Iniquity? Suppoſe that Frauds and Abuſes in every Branch of the Adminiſtration ſhould be known to the World, where muſt the Publick apply for Redreſs? Muſt they petition theſe Gentlemen to impeach and hang themſelves, or their own Creatures without Doors? No ſure, a Man will think it to no Purpoſe to bring a Criminal to a Trial, if that Criminal is to be his own Judge.

A very ſmall Share of Cunning will inſtruct the Head of ſuch a Gang how to chuſe his Men; the Low and the Vicious, with a few of the mercenary Great, will do the Buſineſs; there may at all Times be found a ſufficient Number of Men with bad Hearts and wrong Heads, to fill all the Employments in a very great Kingdom. If our Vizier ſhould now and then commit a Miſtake, and bring a Man who had ſome Feeling for the Sufferings of his Country, into Buſineſs, he may turn him out again the Minute he hath made the Diſcovery.

Let us ſay all the fine Things we can upon the Happineſs of Liberty, there are ſome Men not to be converted. I don't expect we ſhould be able to perſuade any Set of inſolent Upſtarts, that it is not better for them to be at the Head of an arbitrary Government than at the Tail of the freeſt in the World; for there is this Difference betwixt the Fortunes of Men in theſe different Governments, that he who under one might be employ'd to negotiate Treaties, under the other might be cleaning Shoes.

P. S. I had no ſooner ſent the foregoing Paper to the Preſs, but the News-Man brought me a Phamphlet, entitled, *A State of the Riſe and Progreſs of our Diſputes with Spain*, of which I have not Room at preſent to give any Account: However, I ſhall recommend it to the Peruſal of all thoſe that have any Senſe or Feeling left for the Intereſt and Proſperity of this Nation, being perſuaded, that every Man who reads it, will be convinced that the Preſervation of Liberty muſt depend upon the Succeſs of an Affair in Agitation. It is hoped therefore, that neither Deſpair nor Indolence will prevail upon thoſe Gentlemen in whom the Nation places its Hope, to give up the Cauſe. Let them remember what the Friends of the Corruptor ſaid, not a Year ago, upon another Occaſion; that every One of the O———n who was abſent upon a certain Day, was p—d for it.

Craſtſman, Jan. 12. N° 705.

Whether HONESTY *or* ROGUERY *be the beſt Policy.*

Mr. *D'Anvers*,

IN this illuminated Age, when Darkneſs is brought to Light, and many Maxims, after being canvaſs'd with a full Freedom of Thought and Debate, are carried in the *Negative*, contrary to the long-receiv'd, but erroneous Principles of the foregoing cloudy Times; I hope it will not be unacceptable to the preſent Set of Philoſophers, Logicians, Stateſmen and Politicians, to ſubmit the following Queſtion to their Conſideration, with a few of my own Thoughts upon the Subject, *viz. Whether it would be for the Intereſt of Mankind, (I mean with Regard only to this Life) that every Man ſhould be honeſt, and every Woman virtuous; or that every Man ſhould be a Rogue, and no Woman chaſte.*

I ſhall make ſhort Work with the *Women*; for as I believe very *few Women*, who are unchaſte, are ſo for the Subſiſtence or Proſperity of their Families; and as I cannot foreſee how the State can receive any Detriment from the *Chaſtity of Women*; and as it is a conſtant Maxim with me, *cæteris paribus*, to give the Preference to *Virtue*, I will venture to pronounce, that it would be for the Advantage of Mankind, that *all Women* ſhould be chaſte—I hope the *fair Sex* will not be angry at my haſty Determination. What I ſay in Speculation will not in the leaſt alter their Affairs one Way or the other.

I ſhould be glad to bring the other Queſtion, relating to my *own Sex*, to ſo happy an Iſſue; but am apprehenſive that the Argument on the *other Side of the Queſtion* will be moſt concluſive. I own that if every Man was to be conſider'd with Regard only to domeſtick Life, as *Huſband* and *Wife*, *Father* and *Son*, *Maſter* and *Servant*, or perhaps even *Landlord* and *Tenant*, I do not ſee how the State could ſuffer from *ſuch a reſtrain'd*, and as it were *local Honeſty*; for it being known where *Honeſty* had only found Refuge, every Body might be upon their Guard to avoid its ruinous Influence. I think there would be no Miſchief in tolerating *Honeſty* thus far. But when we come to open the Scene of *publick Affairs*; when we come to view the wide Field of *Profeſſions*, and the infinite Tranſactions between *Man* and *Man*, *Corporation* and *Corporation*, *States* and *States*, *Princes* againſt *People*, *People* againſt *Princes*, and *Miniſters* againſt *both*, we ſhall find *Honeſty*

too ſcanty a Foundation for ſuch extenſive and noble Tranſactions, as well as too feeble a Spring to put ſuch various and mighty Machines in Motion.

I am appriz'd of one Objection, that may be urg'd againſt ſome Part of my Reaſoning in the Sequel of this Diſcourſe, *viz.* that *Evil* muſt not be done, that *Good* may come of it. To obviate which, I deſire it to be conſider'd that I am talking only as a *Stateſman*; and I don't remember ever to have met with that Maxim in any *Compendium of Politicks*. Beſides, *Charity* is a cardinal Virtue, and great Regard ought to be had to the Employment of the *Poor*, which in *England* are already become ſo numerous, that in many Pariſhes they can ſcarcely be ſupported without ſtarving the *Rich*. If therefore it ſhould appear that, by ſuch a Metamorphoſis of *Roguery* into *Honeſty*, Millions of Perſons, with their helpleſs Families, ſhould be ſent ſtarving upon the World, perhaps many tender-hearted and well diſpoſed People, who are now partial to *one Side*, might remove their Prejudice, and caſt a more gentle Eye upon *Roguery*.——But, to inſtance Facts in Juſtification of my Aſſertions.

I ſhall begin with the *Law*. If all Men were *honeſt*, what would become of infinite Numbers of *that Profeſſion*, with their *Retainers*, who now maintain their Families in a decent, handſome Manner, and may leave plentiful Fortunes behind them? I don't mean that a *Lawyer* may not be an *honeſt Man*. I have the Happineſs to be acquainted with many ſuch. But this will not mend the Matter in general; for if all Men were *honeſt*, the very *Profeſſion* would be uſeleſs, and muſt be dropt—Could People, us'd only to talk and write, get their Bread by hard Labour? What muſt become of all *Proctors*, *Doctors*, *Chancellors*, *Apparitors*, *Barriſters*, *ſpecial Pleaders*, *Conveyancers*, *Attorneys*, *Sollicitors*, *Maſters*, *Judges*, *Serjeants*, *Protbonotaries*, *Philizers*, *Curſitors*, *Clerks*, *Tipſtaves*, or *Hackney Writers*?

The next Profeſſion to be conſider'd is the *Army*. What muſt all *thoſe Men of Honour* do, were the whole World to become *honeſt*? Ambition, the Life and Nouriſhment of thoſe daring Souls, would ſleep and be at Reſt. *Princes* would not then contend with mighty Armies; but if Difficulties ſhould ariſe, they would be referr'd to and ſettled by *Conventions*. ——Here, Mr. *D'Anvers*, if you are to be convinc'd, you may plainly ſee that *all Conventions* (tho' you have lately made ſuch a Pother about *one*) are founded upon the very Principles of *Honeſty*.——But to return:

Were all Men to be *honeſt*, there would be no Jealouſies between *Princes* and their *People*; ſo that *Soldiers* would be uſeleſs even in Times of *Peace*. What therefore muſt become of thoſe elevated Spirits, who now keep Mankind in Awe, and are the great Umpires of the World? Muſt they ſtarve? *Heroes* never hoard up Money, as an ingenious old Officer once obſerv'd upon a *certain Treaty*, which was voted in Parliament to be *juſt*, *wiſe*, and *honourable*.

And muſt then heroes nibble Cheſhire cheeſe?
Oh! curſt effects of honourable peace!

There is *one Profeſſion*, which I forbear to mention; tho' I make no Doubt that they will be very ſtrenuous for *ſuch a Scheme*; but before they determine too raſhly, I would adviſe them to conſider how it may ſhorten their Buſineſs; and that at preſent thoſe amongſt them, who have leaſt to do, are not the greateſt Ornaments to the Calling. Beſides, it may be conjectur'd from very good Grounds, that the *Heads of their Occupation* would not be the moſt pleaſed with *Tranſlations* of this Sort.

It would be endleſs to enumerate the Inconveniencies, which might occur to every Profeſſion, if the preſent Scheme of *Honeſty* was to be purſued. By what *Trade*, or *Occupation*, can a Man live like his Neighbours, and bring up his Family with Credit, if he was to have nothing but what he got *honeſtly*; no *Perquiſites* but only his *nett Salary* to ſupport his Grandeur? What a poor Figure would a *Prime-Miniſter* make, when diveſted of *Secret-ſervice Money*, *Jobs*, *Bribes*, *Penſions*, and *Sine-cures*, to fill his own Coffers, enrich his Family, and reward his Creatures? Would *maudlin Honeſty* excite a *Stateſman* to ſtretch his Faculties for the *publick Good*, when by the greateſt Oeconomy he would not be able, at his Death, more than to have trebled his Fortune?

There is yet a Conſequence left unconſider'd, which may prove more fatal than all the reſt, by bringing ſuch an Innovation upon the Conſtitution as would endanger the very Foundations of it.

Suppoſing all Men to be *honeſt*, might it not put us upon ſome pernicious Schemes of leſſening *Taxes*; ſtriking off ſeveral *Places*; and a Diſcovery made that *one Man* could do as much as *Ten* do now? This muſt make ſuch a Reduction of *Places*, that it is to be fear'd there would not be found a Number ſufficient to ſit in a *certain Aſſembly*, where the Gentlemen, who diſtinguiſh themſelves in Favour of the *Ad*——*on*, pronounce them ſo abſolutely neceſſary for the Preſervation of our Conſtitution.

Having thus far convaſs'd the Queſtion, on *one Side*, it is but juſt for us to enquire what bad Conſequences would follow, if all the World ſhould turn *Rogues*.

I will lay down this preliminary Maxim, that *Roguery* is full as beneficial to *Politicks* as *Luxury* is to *Trade*. But then all People ought to be *Rogues*, as well as all People ought to be *luxurious*;

luxurious; for if ſome People ſhould be luxurious and extravagant, whilſt others are frugal and ſaving, it will follow that *thoſe*, who ſave their Incomes would grow rich, and the *honeſt Commonwealth's Man*, after having thrown away his Money for the Good of the Publick, will come to ſtarve. So in *Politicks* the *Rogue* will always have the Advantage of the *honeſt Man*, which muſt end in the Proſperity of *one*, and the Ruin of the *other*.—— What therefore brings Men upon a Parity muſt be right, and it will only prejudice *thoſe*, who had the Advantage before.

I am one of thoſe People, who form their Judgment from the Actions of their *Betters*. As what I am about is only Speculation, and for Argument's Sake, let us for once ſuppoſe the *preſent worthy Set of Place-Patriots* to undergo ſuch a wonderful Change as to grow no better than they ſhould be; can we imagine that it would make them lay on more *Embargoes*, or raiſe more *Marines* than they otherwiſe would do?——Undoubtedly, No. Would it have made them precipitate the War againſt *Spain*?—No. Would it have put them upon leſſening the *Debt of the Nation*? —No. Would it have encourag'd them to reduce our *Taxes*, and by thoſe Means have burthen'd ſeveral Pariſhes with a vaſt Number of *Exciſemen* and *Salt-Officers*?—No. Would it induce them to cramp an *Adminiſtration*, and reſtrain the exalted Genius of a *firſt Miniſter* within the narrow Limits of *Honeſty*? —No. Is it not a general Maxim that *honeſt Men* make the *worſt Stateſmen*, and ſo *è contrario*? This no Doubt is the general Opinion, though ſome particular Inſtances may be given to the contrary.——May we apprehend that ſuch a mighty Change would engage them to attempt any Innovation upon our Conſtitution, by leſſening the Number of the *honourable Place-Patriots* in the above-mention'd Aſſembly?—No.

I ſhall ſubmit this Point to the ſerious Conſideration of your Readers, whether they think ſuch an Alteration could be attended with any bad Conſequences, by making the *preſent Set of Placemen* leſs attentive to the Good of their Country than they have been theſe 20 Years paſt, or whether they may not diſcharge their Offices as truſtily as they have hitherto done?

Let us now conſider thoſe People, call'd the *Country Party*, with whom I ſhall be very ſhort, and will only aſk this ſingle Queſtion, *How would they ſuffer*?—Why not at all— They might then act againſt their Conſciences, join the *Courtiers*, and get into *Places*— Now let us briefly recapitulate the Whole.

1*ſt*, If *this Scheme* ſhould not withdraw the uſual Attention of the *worthy Place-Patriots* from the Good of their Country, it could do no Harm, as to that Reſpect.

2*dly*, The *Country Party* might be prevailed upon to concur in Meaſures with the *Court*, which muſt end in that *Unanimity* and *Concord* ſo ſtrongly recommended to us, at this critical Juncture.

3*dly*, No *honeſt Man* could be injur'd; for there would be none ſuch left, when *this Scheme* takes Effect.

4*thly*, As the Increaſe of Shares muſt leſſen the Dividends, ſo only the *preſent Set of Rogues*, by adding to their Numbers, would be Loſers.

5*thly* and *laſtly*, Muſt not that be a very *honeſt Scheme*, by which only *Rogues* could ſuffer?

I therefore deſire, as ſome Encouragement to ſo *uſeful a Scheme*, that the old Proverb, *Honeſty is the beſt Policy*, may be alter'd, and that for the future it may run thus, *Policy is the beſt Honeſty*.

Common Senſe, Jan. 19. N° 155.

SIR,

THERE is a Book newly come out, which I would recommend to you, and your Readers. It is Lord *Moleſworth*'s Account of *Denmark*, republiſh'd together with an Account of *Sweden*, wrote in 1688: Theſe Tracts ſhew us two free Nations, in their Repreſentative Bodies, making a voluntary Ceſſion to their Kings, of their original Liberties, committing a *kind of ſelf Murder*, and deſtroying themſelves.

In *Denmark*, it was purely the Effect of the unbounded Inſolence of the Nobles, and the Reſentment of the Commons, and Clergy, work'd up to a Pitch of Diſtraction. Inſtead of thinking how to make themſelves free, they cared for nothing but to make the Nobles as much Slaves as themſelves; and with ſo much Violence did they purſue this Point of Revenge, that they almoſt forced the King to enſlave them whether he would or not. He was himſelf an honeſt Man, and made a Conſcience of accepting abſolute Power, which he knew in the End would be neither good for *them* nor *himſelf*; but he had *a Queen*, and *a Miniſter*, who had no ſuch Scruples, and they, joining with the Madneſs of the Commons, ſeduced, and *teiz'd him into Tyranny*.

Thus the Kings of *Denmark*, from elective, limited Princes, became at once indefeaſable, uncontroulable Monarchs, *who might make, alter, diſpenſe with or repeal Laws, as they pleas'd, and whom neither Covenant, nor Oaths ever can bind*; as is expreſsly declared *in the Royal Law* made at this Time.

In *Sweden* too, Reſentment againſt the Nobility had ſome Share in helping the King to abſolute Power: But it not being done *in a Heat*, and *at one Stroke*, as in *Denmark*, but by *three different Diets*, *gradually*, and *at ſome Diſtance of Time*, it can't be conſider'd, like the other, as the mad Work of Paſſion alone,

but muſt be otherwiſe accounted for, and is ſo in the Book I am recommending.

Speaking of the firſt Diet that gave up their Liberties in 1680, the Author ſays thus, "So favourable was this Conjuncture for the Advancement of * the King's Authority, that he ſcarce needed to aſk whatever he deſir'd, each Body of the States ſtriving which ſhould out-bid the other in their Conceſſions. The Nobility, and Gentry, *who univerſally depend on the King, as not being able to ſubſiſt upon their private Fortunes, were under a Neceſſity to comply with every Thing, rather than hazard their preſent Employments, or future Hopes of Advancement; their Intereſt therefore obliged them to keep Pace with the Officers of the Army, that ſat in their Houſe, and ſome others of their Brethren who vigorouſly promoted the King's Affairs.*" (Page 243.)

"At the next Aſſembly of the States in 1683, beſides a Benevolence equal to that granted the laſt Seſſion, his Majeſty obtained ſuch further Conceſſions as the Ends he deſign'd did require. The Article *of Ruling the Kingdom according to Law* was further explain'd, and the States declared, that his Majeſty was not thereby tied to the Laws then in being, but might alter the ſame, and add thereto ſuch Conſtitutions, as he thought moſt uſeful for the preſent State of the Kingdom, and that *whatever Inſtructions he pleas'd to give any † College, or Officer, the ſame were a Law to them, and all others that they concern'd:* Adding only this, that they hoped his Majeſty would communicate to the States ſuch Laws as were of a general Nature, and intended to be binding to the whole Kingdom." (Page 248.)

"The next Aſſembly of the States in 1686, renew'd the uſual Benevolence, *which was aſk'd to enable the King to pay his Debts*, and made ſome further Conceſſions in the Matter of the Re-union of Grants, *rather to take off the Odium from the King and his Miniſters*, than to add any Authority to his Majeſty's Proceedings.

Theſe and the like Conceſſions have render'd his Majeſty an abſolute Monarch, to which his Subjects ſubmit without any Conteſt; and had not thoſe other Preſſures that accompanied it, made it uneaſy, there would ſcarce have been found in that loyal Kingdom any one Perſon diſaffected to the Government; but the Loſs of Eſtates they ſuppos'd themſelves to have a Right to, has created Diſcontents in many of the Nobility and Gentry, and the frequent, and heavy Taxes impoſed by the States are no leſs ſenſible to thoſe of inferior Degrees; ſo that perhaps the King of *Sweden* has loſt as much in the Affection of his Subjects, as he has gain'd in his Revenue. Yet this is not likely to produce any bad Effects, ſince the King knows ſo well how to make himſelf obey'd, *and has ſuch effectual Means in his Hands not only to reſtrain any Diſorders, but to engage ‡ the greateſt Part of the Nation to his Intereſt. For the Diſtribution of all Employments of any Value in the Kingdom belongs to his Miniſter, and the Nobility and Gentry, as well as others, are under a greater Neceſſity than ever of rendering themſelves acceptable to him, that they may get Employments.*" (Page 250.)

"The boundleſs Liberality of the three laſt Seſſions of the States, has left that Body *little more than its ancient Name, and a Power of Conſent to ſuch Impoſitions as the King's Occaſions require, which he chuſes rather to receive thro' their Hands, than employ his Authority in a Matter ſo apt to adminiſter Occaſion of Diſcontent.* Their uſual Time of Aſſembly is once in 3 Years, or oftener, if the Affairs of the Kingdom require it. With the Nobility and Gentry, *the Colonel, Lieutenant-Colonel, Major, and Captain of each Regiment ſit, and vote.*" (Page 252, 253.)

Thus did the Indigence of its Members, and *a corrupt Influence* in the Diet of *Sweden*, bring it, upon mature Deliberation, and *with Folly Præpenſe*, to be *Felo de ſe*, and deſtroy its own Power, as well as the Liberties of thoſe whom it was choſen to protect from Oppreſſion. How inſignificant it became, one Inſtance will ſufficiently ſhew. While *Charles* XII. was at *Bender*, the States preſumed to take ſome Care of the Government, which he thinking an Encroachment upon his Prerogative, ſent them Word, that if they did not inſtantly ſeparate, he would ſend *one of his Boots* to preſide in the Diet, and they ſhould pay it Obedience as if he were there in his own Perſon.

But the Queſtion may be aſk'd, whether the Acts of ſuch a Legiſlature are binding to the People, and whether their Liberties can be ſo given up? It is plain, the *Swedes* think *not*; ſince they have now reſumed them again; and if *Denmark* has not, it is Want of Power, not of Right in that People; for a King can no more have a Right to deſtroy a free Conſtitution *by the Conſent* of the Repreſentative Body, than *without their Conſent*; ſince the Repreſentative Body cannot give ſuch a Conſent conſiſtently with the Powers they act by, and the Extent, or Deſign of their Truſt. Yet as Liberty, once parted with, is not retriev'd without great Difficulties, the Beginnings of Corruption in Legiſlatures ſhould be carefully watch'd; it being much ſafer for the People to exert that Authority, they muſt be ſuppos'd to retain over their own Repreſentatives,

* *Charles* XI. † *College here ſignifies a publick Office, as the Treaſury, Admiralty, &c.*

‡ *By the greateſt Part of the Nation, the Author muſt mean of the Repreſentatives of the Nation; for the greateſt Part of a Nation are not to be bribed out of their Liberties. In all theſe Caſes the Few ſell the Many, not the Many the Few.*

tives, *in ſetting a Brand on thoſe they ſuſpect of betraying their Truſt*, and inſiſting on *ſuch Regulations* as will check the Growth of Corruption, than to diſavow their Conduct when the Miſchief is done, and right themſelves by Force againſt what will have an Appearance of Law. *That* is the laſt, and worſt Neceſſity under which a Nation can act: It is the Diſſolution of Government; it is, *next to Slavery*, the greateſt political Evil; and hardly ever can it be brought upon a Nation, without ſhameful Negligence, Indolence, and Inſenſibility in the People themſelves. Had the *Swedes* been attentive to have ſtopt in due Time that Influence of the Crown over their Deputies, which broke the Balance of the Government, *and made thoſe Deputies dependent Tools of the Court*, they would neither have been enſlaved by *Charles* XI. nor, upon the Death of his Son, have run into ſuch Extreams the contrary Way, as to leave their King only the Name of regal Authority.

Between theſe two Exceſſes lay the true Poize, and Intereſt of their State; a little Caution and Prudence would have ſecured it at firſt; but when *Neglect* encouraged *Corruption*, and *Corruption* brought on *abſolute Power*, no Wonder if, on the Ruins of *that*, a republican Syſtem aroſe, and the *moderate, antient Conſtitution* could never be recover'd again.

Craftſman, Jan. 19. N° 706.

The CRAFTSMAN's *Anſwer to the King of* SPAIN's *Declaration of War againſt* GREAT BRITAIN. (See Vol. VIII. p. 652.)

I.

WHEREAS the King of *Spain*, his Vaſſals and Subjects have, for many Years paſt, committed the groſſeſt Inſults, Indignities, Depredations, and Cruelties, againſt the Honour of his Majeſty's Crown, and the juſt Rights of my Fellow-Subjects, contrary to Treaties and the Law of Nations; and whereas his Majeſty was at laſt oblig'd, out of his paternal Affection for his People, to declare War againſt the ſaid King of *Spain*, which he is reſolved to proſecute with the utmoſt Vigour; and whereas his Majeſty hath been graciouſly pleas'd to deſire the ready Concurrence and Aſſiſtance of all his loving Subjects in ſo juſt a Cauſe; I think myſelf bound in Duty to declare, that I am reſolv'd to annoy, diſtreſs, and commit all Sorts of Hoſtilities againſt the ſaid King of *Spain*, the Queen of *Spain*, their Vaſſals and Subjects; and that I will never lay down my Pen till the ſaid King and Queen of *Spain* have made us ample Reparation for all our Loſſes, Satisfaction for our injur'd Honour, diſclaim'd all Right of *ſearching* our Ships upon the high Seas, either in *Europe* or *America*, and actually *paid us full Coſts* for all their former Depredations, and for the *Expences*, which have been neceſſarily brought upon us, in Order to chaſtiſe their Inſults, Robberies, and Barbarities.

II.

Whereas the ſaid King of *Spain* hath thought fit to prohibit the Importation of all Kinds of Goods, Commodities, and Merchandizes, being the Produce and Manufactures of *Great Britain*; I do hereby moſt earneſtly exhort all my loving Readers not to give the leaſt Encouragement to the Importation of *Lemons*, *Oranges*, *Raiſins*, *Cocoa*, *Wines*, *Olives*, *Snuff*, *Onions*, *Cheſtnuts*, or any other Commodities, which are really the Produce or Manufacture of *Spain*, in whatever Bottoms they may be introduced into theſe Kingdoms.—And I do hereby ſtrictly forbid all Printers, Bookſellers, Mercuries, Publiſhers, Hawkers, and other Perſons whatſoever, who are concern'd in this Paper, or have any Dependance upon it, to deal in the before mentioned prohibited Goods, under Pain of my higheſt Diſpleaſure, unleſs it can be proved that they are taken from the *Spaniards* by our Men of War, Merchant-Ships, or Privateers.

III.

Whereas the ſaid King of *Spain*, his *Queen*, and her *Miniſters*, in Confederacy with a *certain Engliſh Don*, who is now at home, agreed to ſacrifice the Rights, Intereſts, and Property of the *South-Sea Company*, unleſs they tamely ſubmitted to redeem themſelves upon moſt ſcandalous Terms; I do hereby farther declare, that I will never give my Conſent to any ſuch *pretended Liquidations*, or *Balances of Accounts*, but inſiſt upon it that the *whole Sum*, which hath been proved to be due to the *Company*, and acknowledg'd ſo by the Court of *Spain*, be firſt paid and diſcharg'd.

IV.

Whereas the ſaid King of *Spain*, his *Miniſters*, or *miniſterial Writers*, have ſince publiſh'd a moſt inſolent Juſtification of his *Manifeſto* and *Declaration of War*, intitled, the *Conduct of his* Catholick Majeſty *compared with that of the Britiſh* King, *&c.* in which our Sovereign and his injur'd Subjects, except *two* or *three* Perſons, are treated in the moſt ignominious and unprincely Language; I farther declare, that I will make ample Repriſals upon him the ſaid King of *Spain*, and all his Adherents, as far as it lies in my Power; and I do hereby invite my good Friend and Ally, the Author of *Common Senſe*, to aſſiſt me *totis Viribus*, in ſo juſt and laudable an Undertaking.

V.

Whereas the Cruelties, Outrages, and Depredations, which have been ſo juſtly charg'd upon the *Spaniards*, are retorted and exaggerated againſt the *Engliſh*, in this ſcurrilous

and execrable Pamphlet; we appeal to the whole World, whether they are not plainly copy'd from the Writings of their *unnatural Advocates* here, who have long furnish'd the Court of *Spain*, and her *Ministers* with Arguments against *their own Countrymen*; particularly the Author of an infamous Libel, intitled, *Popular Prejudices*, and his Coadjutors the *Gazetteers*, from which this *Spanish Libel* is little more than a Transcript, as 'tis therein express'd, where our Cruelties and Robberies are said to be a *Truth, which even their* own Authors, (meaning *these scandalous Writers*) *seem to acknowledge.*

VI.

As to the *Protest*, or *Declaration*, made previous to signing the *Convention*, I shall say nothing farther upon it, but leave it to that *excellent Gentleman*, who had the Honour of being concern'd in that Transaction, whether this Charge of the *Spaniards* is true, that he accepted it as a *precise and invariable Presupposition to the Convention.* (Vol. VIII. p. 86 B.)

VII.

Of the same Nature is the Charge against *our Minister*, or *Ministers*, that Orders having been given for Admiral *Haddock* to return with his Squadron to *England*, as soon as the *Convention* was ratify'd, these Orders were revok'd, and others given him to remain in the *Mediterranean*. But as I cannot be suppos'd to know the precise Truth of this Fact, or the Reasons either for giving such Orders, or for revoking them, let *those Persons* answer this Article, who are in the Secret of Affairs, and to whom it properly belongs.

VIII.

To the *same honourable Gentlemen* I likewise refer another peremptory Assertion, which hath been often solemnly deny'd, *viz.* that some Body or other did absolutely promise the Restitution of *Gibraltar*, in the Year 1721.

IX.

But whereas the said King of *Spain*, his *Queen*, and her *Ministers*, have had the Insolence to charge our most gracious Sovereign with *false Appearances*, in order to disguise the *capricious Irregularities of his Subjects*, and the *Necessity he lies under to condescend to them*, (which is only a Repetition of the same Charge in his *former Manifesto*) I am determin'd to prove, in my future Papers, that the *present War* is not occasion'd by any *capricious Irregularities* on our Side, as a *Nation*, but to the long-continued and insupportable Provocations of the Court of *Spain* and her *Vassals*; for I will not suffer the *British Subjects* to pass under that Denomination.

Lastly, Whereas there are several dark Insinuations in the said *Manifesto*, *Declaration of War*, and *Comparison between the Conduct of his Catholick Majesty and the* British *King*, which Nobody can understand but those concern'd; I do hereby declare, that if his *Catholick Majesty*, or any of his *Abettors*, will speak out plainly what is his true and genuine Meaning, as to those Points, he shall have an immediate and explicit Answer.

In the mean Time, I thought it proper to make my Will and Pleasure, as to the abovemention'd Premises, publickly known, that Nobody may plead Ignorance of what is contain'd in *this Ordinance*, which shall be punctually obey'd and executed.

Given at our Printing-Office in Fleet-street, *this 12th Day of* January, *in the 14th Year of our Craftsman-ship.*

I THE CRAFTSMAN.

Sign'd underneath.

H. GOREHAM.

The following is the Speech of his Grace *John Sheffield*, late Duke of *Buckingham*, made in the House of Lords in King *William*'s Time, against *Placemen*; taken from his Grace's Works, lately printed; which in this Conjuncture cannot be unacceptable to our Readers.

The Earl of Mulgrave's *Speech in the House of Lords, for the Bill touching free and impartial Proceedings in Parliament.*

THIS Debate is of so great Consequence that I resolv'd to be silent, and rather to be advis'd by the Ability of others, than to shew my own Want of it; besides, it is of so nice a Nature, that I who speak always unpremeditately, apprehend extremely the saying any Thing which may be thought the least reflecting; tho' even that ought not to restrain a Man here from doing his Duty to the Publick, in a Business where it seems to be so highly concern'd.

I have always heard, I have always read, that foreign Nations, and all this Part of the World, have admir'd and envy'd the Constitution of this Government. For not to speak of the King's Power, here is a House of Lords to advise him on all important Occasions, about Peace or War; about all Things that may concern the Nation, the Care of which is very much entrusted to your Lordships. But yet because your Lordships cannot be so conversant with the Generality of the People, nor so constantly in the Country as is necessary for that Purpose, here is a House of Commons also, chosen by the very People themselves, newly come from among them, or should be so, to represent boldly all their Grievances, to express the true Mind of the Nation, and to dispose of their Money, at least so far as to begin all Bills of that Nature; and if I am not mistaken, the very Writ for Elections sent down to the Sheriffs, does impower them to chuse. What? Their Representatives. Now, my Lords, I beseech you to consider the Meaning of the Word *Representative*:

ſentative: Is it to do any Thing contrary to their Mind? It would be abſurd to ſuppoſe it; and yet how can it be otherwiſe, if they, after their being choſen, change their Dependency, engage themſelves in Employments plainly inconſiſtent with that great Truſt repoſed in them? And that I will take the Liberty to demonſtrate to your Lordſhips they now do, at leaſt according to my humble Opinion.

I will inſtance firſt in the leaſt and loweſt Incapacity they muſt be under, who ſo take Employments.

Your Lordſhips know but too well what a general Careleſneſs there appears every Day more and more in the publick Buſineſs: If ſo, how is it likely that Men ſhould be as diligent in their Duty in Parliament as that Buſineſs requires, where Employments, and a great deal of other Buſineſs, ſhall take up both their Minds and their Time?

But then in ſome Caſes 'tis worſe; as in Commands of the Army, and other Employments of that Kind, when they muſt have a divided Duty: For it does admirably become an Officer to ſit voting away Money in the Houſe of Commons, while his Soldiers are perhaps taking it away at their Quarters, for Want of his Preſence to reſtrain them, and of better Diſcipline among them: Nay, perhaps his Troop or Regiment may be in ſome Action abroad, and he muſt either have the Shame of being abſent from them at ſuch a Time, or from that Houſe, where he is entruſted with all our Liberties. To this I have heard but one Objection by a noble Lord, That if this Act ſhould paſs, the King is not allow'd to make a Captain or a Colonel, without diſabling him to ſit in Parliament, by ſuch a Commiſſion.

Truly, if a Captain has only deſerv'd to be advanced for expoſing himſelf in Parliament, I think the Nation would have no great Loſs in the King's letting alone ſuch a Preferment.

But, my Lords, there is another Sort of Incapacity yet worſe than this; I mean that of Parliament-Mens having ſuch Places in the *Exchequer*, as the very Profit of them depends on the Money given to the King in Parliament. Would any of your Lordſhips ſend and entruſt a Man to make a Bargain for you, whoſe very Intereſt ſhall be to make you give as much as he can poſſibly?

It puts me in Mind of a *Farce*, where an Actor holds a Dialogue with himſelf, ſpeaking firſt in one Tone, and then anſwering himſelf in another.

Really, my Lords, this is no *Farce*; for it's no laughing Matter to undo a Nation: But 'tis altogether as unnatural for a Member of Parliament to aſk firſt in the King's Name for ſuch a ſort of a Supply, give an Account from him how much is needful towards the paying ſuch an Army, or ſuch a Fleet, and then immediately give, by his ready Vote, what he had before aſk'd by his Maſter's Order. Beſides, my Lords, there is ſuch a Neceſſity now for long Seſſions of Parliament, and the very Privileges belonging to Members are of ſo great Extent, that it would be a little hard and unequal to other Gentlemen, that they ſhould have all the Places too, as well as the Privileges.

All the Objections that have been made, may be reduced to theſe.

Firſt 'tis told us, that it is a Diſreſpect to the King, if his Servants or Officers be excluded.

To this, I deſire it may be conſider'd, that 'tis in this Caſe, as when a Tenant ſends up any Body to treat for him; would any of your Lordſhips think it a Diſreſpect, nay, would the King himſelf think it any, if the Tenant would not wholly refer himſelf to one of your own Servants, or the King's Commiſſioners in the Caſe of the Crown? And if he chuſes rather ſome plain honeſt Friend of his own, to ſupply his Abſence here; will any blame ſuch a Proceeding, or think it unmannerly?

All we would prevent, is, that a good rich Corporation ſhould not chuſe to entruſt with all their Liberties, a plain honeſt Country Neighbour, and find him within ſix Months changed into a preferr'd, cunning Courtier; who ſhall tye them to their Choice, tho' he is no more the ſame Man than if he were turn'd Papiſt; which by the Law, as it ſtands already, puts an Incapacity upon him.

Another Objection is, that this Act may, by its Conſequence, prolong this Parliament; which they allow would be a very great Grievance; and yet ſuppoſe the King capable of putting it upon us: I have too much Reſpect for him to admit of this; but I am glad however that 'tis objected by Privy-Counſellors in Favour; who conſequently, I hope, will never adviſe a Thing, which they now exclaim againſt as ſo great a Grievance.

But pray, my Lords, what ſhould tempt the King to ſo ill a Policy? Can he fear a Freedom of Choice in the People, to whoſe Good-will he owes all that Power, which theſe Lords ſuppoſe he may uſe to their Prejudice?

Therefore give me leave to ſay, as I muſt not ſuſpect him of ſo ill a Deſign as the perpetuating this Parliament, ſo he cannot, he ought not to ſuſpect a Nation, ſo entirely (I was going to ſay, ſo fondly) devoted to him.

My Lords, no Man is readier than myſelf to allow that we owe the Crown all Submiſſion, as to the Time of calling Parliaments according to Law, and appointing alſo where they ſhall ſit. But with Reverence be it ſpoken, the King owes the Nation entire Freedom, in chuſing their Repreſentatives; and it is no leſs his Duty, than his true Intereſt, that ſuch a fair and juſt Proceeding ſhould be uſed towards us.

Con-

Conſider, my Lords, of what mighty Conſequence it may be, *that ſo many Votes ſhould be free, when upon one ſingle one may depend the whole Security or Loſs of this Nation. By one ſingle Vote a general Exciſe may be granted, and then we are all loſt. By one ſingle Vote the Crown may be impower'd to name all the Commiſſioners for raiſing the Taxes, and then ſurely we ſhould be in a fair way towards it.*

Nay, whatever has happen'd may again be apprehended; and I hope *thoſe reverend Prelates* will reflect, that if they grow *once obnoxious to a prevalent Party, one ſingle Voice may be as dangerous to that Bench*, as a general Diſſatisfaction among the People prov'd to be once in a late Experiment; which I am far from ſaying by way of Threatning, but by way of Caution.

My Lords, we may think, becauſe this concerns not the Houſe of Lords, that we need not be ſo over-careful of the Matter; but there are Noblemen in *France*, at leaſt ſuch as were ſo before they were enſlav'd, who, that they might domineer over others, *and ſerve a preſent Turn perhaps*, let all Things alone ſo long, *till the People were quite maſter'd, and the Nobility themſelves too, to bear them Company.* So that I never met a *Frenchman*, even of the greateſt Rank (and ſome had 10,000 Piſtoles a Year in Employments) that did not envy us here for our Freedom from that Slavery which they groan under: And this I have obſerv'd univerſally, except in Monſieur *De Louvois*, Monſieur *Colbert*, or ſuch People; becauſe *they were the Miniſters themſelves who occaſion'd theſe Complaints, and thrived by the Oppreſſion of others.*

My Lords,

This Country of ours is very apt to be provok'd; we have had a late Experience: And tho' no wiſe Man but would bear a great deal rather than make a Buſtle; yet really the People are otherwiſe, and at any time change a preſent Uneaſineſs for any other Condition, tho' a worſe. We have known it ſo too often, and ſometimes repented it too late.

Let them not have this new Provocation, in being debarred from a Security in their *Repreſentatives*. For malicious People will not fail to infuſe into their Minds, *that all thoſe vaſt Sums which have been, and ſtill muſt be raiſed towards this War, are not diſpoſed away in ſo fair a Manner as ought to be*; and I am afraid they will ſay their Money is not *given*, but *taken*.

I am ſure, whatever Succeſs this Bill may have, there muſt needs come ſome good Effect of it; for if it paſſes, it will give us *Security*; if it be obſtructed, it will give us *Warning*.

Beſides the *Inſtructions* concerning a *Place-Bill*, which we have already mentioned in former Months, there were a great many others from other Places, to their reſpective Repreſentatives, upon the ſame Subject; among the reſt, were thoſe from *Worceſter*, *Cheſter*, *Briſtol*, *Leominſter*, *Litchfield*, the County of *Forfar*, the County of *Huntingdon*, and the Borough of *Carmarthen*. We ſhall give our Readers the two laſt, by which they may judge of the reſt.

To Robert Pigott *and* Charles Clarke, *Eſqrs. Knights of the Shire for the County of* Huntingdon.

Gentlemen,

AS nothing can ſo ſenſibly affect a true *Engliſhman*, as an Apprehenſion that his own and Fellow-Subjects Liberties are in Danger, ſo we the Gentlemen, Clergy and Freeholders of the County of *Huntingdon* cannot forbear expreſſing our Fears, (with the reſt of the Nation) that the great Number of Placemen which now are, and may be in Parliament, muſt be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to our Conſtitution; and therefore as we have an undoubted Right, in extraordinary Caſes, to ſend Inſtructions to our Repreſentatives, we inſiſt that you promote as much as poſſibly you can, the paſſing of a Bill to limit the Number of Placemen to ſit in the Houſe of Commons; and that you alſo oppoſe all Votes of Credit, except on the moſt urgent Occaſions, and then under the moſt cautious Reſtrictions: For tho' we have nothing to fear from his preſent Majeſty, yet the putting ſuch unlimited Power in the Hands of a prime Miniſter, may be of fatal Conſequence.

And we do this, not out of any factious Principles, but as we judge it the moſt effectual Means to unite all Perſons in a vigorous Proſecution of the War we are ſo juſtly engag'd in againſt the *Spaniards*, who have ſo long infeſted us by repeated Depredations on our Traders at Sea.

And we cannot doubt of your exerting yourſelves on theſe Occaſions, ſince it will be the ſecureſt Way of gaining the Love and Eſteem of the Country.

To Arthur Bevan, *Eſq; Repreſentative of the County Borough of* Carmarthen *in this preſent Parliament.*

WE the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Burgeſſes of the County Borough of *Carmarthen*, being highly ſenſible, that the great Number of Places of Profit under the Government, enjoy'd by the Members of the Houſe of Commons, muſt neceſſarily tend to take away the Freedom of their Votes in that Houſe, and to render them dependent on a Miniſter, in whoſe Diſpoſal thoſe Places are, think it our Duty to uſe all honeſt Methods in our Power to prevent ſo great an Evil: Therefore we take this Opportunity to exert our antient and undoubted Right of inſtructing our Repreſentative,

preſentative, and do hereby enjoin and require you, Sir, to take Part with, and aſſiſt thoſe honeſt and worthy Members, who, we are inform'd, are reſolv'd to bring in and promote a Bill to reduce and limit the Number of Placemen in the Houſe of Commons; which, as it is a Bill to redreſs a National Grievance, will we hope (according to antient laudable Cuſtom) paſs into a Law, before any new Supplies are granted: We are the more ſanguine in this our Repreſentation and Addreſs, becauſe it is as clear to us as the Noon-Day Sun-ſhine, that if the lucrative Offices poſſeſs'd by Members of Parliament, ſhould ſubſiſt in the ſame Numbers that they have done for ſome Years paſt, ſo wide a Door will in a very ſhort Time be open'd to Corruption, as muſt at length ſap the Foundation of our Conſtitution, and make Cowards and abject Slaves of a People, once as brave and free as any in Chriſtendom: We heartily wiſh it was now in our Power to return Thanks, as well as to inſtruct. The late diſhonourable Convention with *Spain* was diſagreeable to the Body of the Nation in general, and greatly ſo to us in particular: Its Conſequences undeniably prove it was only a mean Expedient to amuſe for a Seſſion, without any one Advantage: Had you oppos'd it at the Time you concurr'd with the Gentlemen we have mention'd, who receive ſo many Boons, it would have redounded greatly to your Honour, and never would have been forgot by the Burgeſſes of this Corporation. What remains to retrieve their Love, but to promote vigorouſly a Bill, that ſo evidently tends to reſtore a Conſtitution, almoſt already loſt, to its primitive Purity and Glory, and to preſerve a ſinking Nation from immediate Ruin? Self-Love, Ambition and Avarice, are, perhaps, now combining to make many turn a deaf Ear to this ſalutary Counſel; but conſider the imaginary Good they bring to your View, are in Reality nothing but the Wages of Corruption, the Trophies of Slavery, and the Spoils of your Country.

Common Senſe, Jan. 26. N° 156.

Conduct of the M———l Writers, and the great Importance of a PLACE-BILL.

SIR,

WHILE the Partizans of Slavery were buſy in laying down fallacious Rules for unmaſking falſe Patriots, unluckily for them, there was a Neceſſity for declaring War, which unmaſk'd both them and their Patron; for, from arguing againſt War as a moſt deſtructive Meaſure, they chang'd their Note at once, and cried it up in much ſtronger Language, than what they had a little before condemn'd as ſeditious in others.

They acted in the ſame ſcandalous Manner with reſpect to the *Spaniards* Claim to a Search, which, according to them, was both juſt and reaſonable, tho' ſince the Declaration of War, they allow the contrary.

If any Thing could have ſet the People againſt the War, the Writers of this Faction arguing for it might have done it; for they no ſooner chang'd their Note with reſpect to the Points before named, but when any Man took up one of their Papers in a Coffee-Houſe, he threw it down again, with the utmoſt Indignation, before he had read half thro', beſtowing many ignominious Epithets upon its Authors.

Their next Attack was upon the Place-Bill, againſt which they made uſe of ſuch miſerable Reaſons, as muſt confirm all Men in their Opinions that it was abſolutely neceſſary. I think their chief Argument was, that it was very hard that the Friends of the Adminiſtration ſhould be excluded from receiving Favours from the Miniſters, for no other Reaſon but becauſe they were Members of Parliament.

Suppoſing the Friends of the Miniſter to be all Men of Virtue and Honour, which is more than any Man will allow, I don't know what the People have to do with them: It is a ſtrange Doctrine, that the Liberties of the Nation ought to be taken away, rather than a Miniſter ſhould want an Opportunity of gratifying his Friends.

Another of their ingenious Arguments is, that thoſe in the Oppoſition have nothing in View but to turn out the preſent Miniſters, and to get into their Places. What Relation this has to the Merits of the Place-Bill I believe no Man alive can find out. But if we ſhould allow it to be true, ſure thoſe that are willing to give the People Security for their Liberties, deſerve to be truſted with theſe Places much better than thoſe that refuſe ſuch Security. But not content with this, they go farther, and aſſert what cannot be proved, and what no Man alive believes, *viz.* that if the Gentlemen in the Oppoſition were once in Power, they would forget all their Promiſes, and act juſt as others have done before them. —This is a deſperate Puſh indeed, it is the dernier Reſort of the Felons at the *Old Bailey*, who, when they can make no Defence, impudently charge all Mankind with being as great Rogues as themſelves.

To ſhew how eaſy it is to defeat theſe People with their own Weapons, let us ſuppoſe, that all Men are villanouſly diſpoſed, and that every Man becomes an Enemy to Liberty the Minute he acquires Power. This is the ſtrongeſt of all Reaſons, why the People ſhould inſiſt upon the Security demanded, ſince there is no Truſt to be put in Miniſters; nay, it is a Reaſon why they ought not to be at Reſt till they procure a Change of Perſons: It is a Reaſon why they ſhould inſiſt upon frequent Changes, for the ſhorter Time any Set of Men

Men are in Power the leſs Miſchief they can do, and nothing can check their wicked Inclinations but the Dread of being ſuddenly turn'd out, and call'd to a ſtrict Account.—So that their Arguments are every Way ſilly and fallacious.

I ſhall make no Scruple to pronounce, that whenever a Place-Bill paſſes, Employments will not be ſo numerous, and that the Salaries of the reſt will be reduced; that we ſhall never ſee an Army but in Time of War; that the publick Debts will be diminiſh'd; that Corruption, which hath made ſuch Progreſs thro' the Land, will be check'd; that the People will not complain of infamous Conventions, nor ſee the low Inſtruments concerned in them triumph in their Impunity; that the Parliament and People will be of one Mind; that ſhort Parliaments, according to the antient Conſtitution, will be reſtored; and that every Bleſſing which can attend good Government will be the Conſequence.

A Change of Perſons without a Change of Meaſures, muſt always make Things worſe; —— the People would no more fall in Love with Country Plunderers, than with Court Plunderers; and a Rotation of Baſhaws is not what the Nation contends for.

It was certainly the Opinion of thoſe who made the Act of Settlement, that Placemen and Penſioners cou'd not be the proper Guardians of publick Liberty; for which Reaſon, a Clauſe was inſerted in the ſaid Act to render them incapable of ſitting in the Houſe of Commons. I ſhall make no Obſervations now, how the Nation came to be depriv'd of the Benefit of this Clauſe; but, after an Experience of many Years of the Evils ariſing from the Want of it, and an Apprehenſion of ſtill greater, the whole Nation is become unanimous, to inſiſt upon a Place-Bill.

It is not a Bill for Form's Sake that will content, a Bill that by a little Chicane may be render'd uſeleſs; but a Bill ſo well concerted and ſtrenuouſly worded, that it cannot be evaded or explain'd away; and that will be ſo unalterably made a Part of the Conſtitution as never to be repeal'd, or ſo much as weaken'd, by any ſubſequent Act.

When ſuch a Bill ſhall be obtain'd, the Nation will have nothing to fear from falſe Patriots.——Suppoſing thoſe in the Oppoſition as much inclined to Baſhaw it, as others; when thoſe that are influenced by Places are remov'd, they cannot be able to overthrow what is ſo firmly eſtabliſh'd, and by attempting it they might bring on their own Deſtruction.

I take it for granted, that when once this Bill paſſes the Adminiſtration may be truſted in any Hands, becauſe a Miniſter cannot hurt this Nation unleſs the Parliament joins with him: And it is impoſſible that an unplaced and an unpenſioned Parliament ſhould join with a Miniſter in doing Miſchief.

I ſee no Reaſon to ſuppoſe that the Heads of the Oppoſition are aiming at the Places; but if ſo, we are the more obliged to them for labouring to give the Nation Security againſt themſelves.

As to the People, they claim this Bill not only as a natural Right, but as a Part of the Conſtitution, made ſo by the Act of Settlement. Every Tittle of this Act, which related to the Security of the Succeſſion, hath been complied with by the People without the leaſt Chicane or Prevarication: It is very hatd if thoſe Parts of it which related to the Security of the Subject (of which the Excluſion of Placemen was one of the moſt material) ſhould be explain'd away; I ſay explain'd away, for it hath not been repeal'd by any ſubſequent Act.

POSTSCRIPT.

WHEREAS the moſt ſerene Author of the *Craftſman*, in his Anſwer to his Catholick Majeſty's Declaration of War againſt *Great Britain*, has invited us to aſſiſt him againſt the ſaid Prince and all his Adherents: (ſee p. 35.) We, moved thereto as well by the Juſtice of the Cauſe as out of the ſingular Love and Friendſhip we bear to our ſaid Ally, hereby declare, that we accede to the Treaty offenſive and defenſive propoſed by him in all its Form, and that we will aſſiſt him againſt all the Enemies of this Nation, whether foreign or domeſtick, particularly a certain domeſtick Enemy who, for many Years paſt, hath join'd in all his Catholick Majeſty's Meaſures for diſtreſſing this Nation; and who, as it appears not only by that Prince's late Manifeſtos, but alſo by that Perſon's preſent Conduct, ſtill maintains a ſecret and unnatural Alliance with that Prince, notwithſtanding his being in open War with this Nation.

Given from our Garret,
White-Fryars, Jan.
the 19th, in the Third
Year of our Reign.

COMMON SENSE.
Underſign'd,
J. PURSER.

Craftſman, Jan. 26. N° 707.

Remarks on the Gazetteer *of the 17th Inſtant, which, Mr.* D'Anvers *ſays, ſmells very rankly of* Court Air.

THIS Writer ingenuouſly confeſſes, *that a* Seat in Parliament *is the Road to* Preferment, and juſtifies it as the moſt effectual Means to preſerve that *due Balance in the State*, which is ſo neceſſary for the Support of the *Conſtitution*, and to prevent us from falling under the Dominion of a *ſingle Perſon*, on the one hand, or what is infinitely worſe, the

Ty-

Tyranny of a few *popular Leaders*, on the other. This to me ſeems an extraordinary Method of Reaſoning. I think the contrary demonſtrable both from Reaſon and Experience; for what can tend more effectually to make a *ſingle Perſon* abſolute than having all Places at his Diſpoſal, and bribing the *Repreſentatives of the People* with them? Were not all the former Complaints againſt *Placemen* and *Penſioners* in the *Houſe of Commons* founded upon this Argument? Was not this the Reaſon for inſerting a Clauſe in the *Act of Settlement* for excluding all *Placemen* from a *Seat in that Houſe?* And tho' this Clauſe is now in Part repeal'd, yet the preſent Excluſion of ſeveral *Officers of the Revenue* can be built on no other Foundation.

Then follows the old courtly Invective againſt *Patriotiſm*, or the *Love of our Country*, which this Writer calls a *very weak Paſſion*, which generally, if not always, acts in Subordination to ſome other, ſuch as *Pride* or *Ambition*, *Anger* or *Malice*, *Vanity* or *Avarice*; for which Reaſon, we are told very plainly that there will always be wanting *ſome other Incentive* to engage People in the Service of their Country, beſides merely the *Love of the Publick*.—I verily believe the *Author* ſpeaks from his Heart in this Paragraph; for the whole Drift of his Paper ſhews that *Patriotiſm* is a very weak Paſſion in his Breaſt, and that he will never be engag'd either in the Service or Diſſervice of his Country, without *ſome other Incentive*, that is, a *Bribe*, a *Penſion*, or a *Place*. But why muſt every Body be as profligate as himſelf?

"But, *ſays our Author*, ſuppoſing a Man to have ever ſo good Intentions, or ever ſo honeſt an Heart, will the *Love of his Country* alone make him neglect his *private Affairs* to take upon him a Truſt, which will put him to conſiderable Expence, and require a great deal of his Time to execute, without the leaſt Proſpect of perſonal Advantage to himſelf? On the contrary, would he not enter upon it with as much Reluctance, and perform the Functions of it with as much Indifference and Diſtaſte, as if it was of no Moment or Concern to him? Would not *a Seat in Parliament* be look'd upon, like the Office of *Sheriff*, as a chargeable and troubleſome Thing, and Men of Figure and Conſideration take as much Pains to prevent being elected into *one*, as they now do to avoid ſerving the *other?*"

In the firſt Place, I think it both unreaſonable and unjuſt, to ſuppoſe that a *Man of good Intentions, and an honeſt Heart*, would not be at ſome Expence, and ſacrifice ſome Part of his Time to the Intereſt of *his Country*, tho' it might happen to be a little prejudicial to his *private Affairs*, without any Proſpect of *perſonal Advantage to himſelf*. This *Author* is oblig'd to acknowledge that there are many *ſuch Gentlemen*; but then he trumps up the old threadbare Argument, *that the Hopes and Expectations of a Place* may have as much Influence over a Man's Conduct as the *actual Poſſeſſion of one*. But have not ſeveral of *theſe Gentlemen* been in the *actual Poſſeſſion of Places*, and either given them up, or been turn'd out of them, for no other Reaſon than becauſe they refus'd to violate the Dictates of their Conſcience, and to act in ſubſerviency to the Commands of an *arbitrary Miniſter*.

Secondly, It is abſolutely falſe that a *Seat in Parliament* may not be of any *perſonal Advantage* to the Member, without any *lucrative Employment*, or *Corruption*; for what is of Benefit to the Nation in general, muſt be of Advantage to every Individual; eſpecially thoſe who are poſſeſs'd of large Fortunes and Eſtates. Is it not in the Power of every Member of Parliament to oppoſe all *exorbitant Taxes*, *Votes of Credit*, *Exciſe-Schemes*, and other pernicious Projects, which naturally tend to the Subverſion of the Conſtitution, and conſequently to their own Ruin? Is not this *Incentive* enough for a Gentleman of large Fortune to get into the *Houſe of Commons*, without any other View, or Conſideration? Hath not this Motive ſolely prevail'd upon ſeveral Noblemen and Gentlemen, in great Employments, to vote againſt ſome *Court-Meaſures*, in Oppoſition to *their own private Intereſt* and *perſonal Advantage?*

Thirdly, No juſt Compariſon can be made between a *Seat in Parliament* and the Office of *Sheriff*, which laſt is not only *chargeable* and *burthenſome*, but even *dangerous*; for a *Sheriff* in anſwerable for all Perſons in his Cuſtody, whether for *Debt*, *Felony*, or other Crimes, and I have known ſeveral Gentlemen very much harraſs'd upon thoſe Accounts; whereas a *Member of Parliament* runs no ſuch Hazards, and is at full Liberty, unleſs he ſells himſelf, to vote as he pleaſes, without any Danger, and at a trifling Expence, if he is really a Man of Fortune, as *Members of Parliament* ought always to be, according to our *modern Conſtitution*; for if it ſhould be thought proper to fill the *Houſe of Commons* with indigent Perſons, let them have *Wages* paid, as formerly, by their *Conſtituents*, and not by the *Crown*.

But *our Author* adds, that if the *Employments of the State* are not diſtributed amongſt the *Members of the Houſe of Commons*, it will not only be fill'd with Men of *low Rank* and *little Fortunes*, but likewiſe of *mean Talents*.—Let me aſk *this modeſt Writer*, whether he cannot recollect a Time, when a very great Part of the *Houſe of Commons* hath been filled with Gentlemen thoroughly endow'd with all theſe Qualifications, whilſt the *Employments of the State* were diſtributed amongſt them; ſuch as *little Clerks*, *Stockjobbers*, *Bankrupts*, and ſome Perſons of an higher Rank, who had no other Qualification to ſit there than their neceſſary Dependency on the *Court*, and their Support from it.

But we are farther oblig'd with a Computation, that, ſuppoſing the Account given in the Liſt of thoſe who voted for the *Convention*, to be true, *viz.* that 200 Members poſſeſs *Places* to the Amount of 200,000*l.* *per Annum*, and that *thoſe Places* are worth *three Years* Purchaſe, the whole of them all, at that Rate, will be but 600,000*l.* He then ſuppoſes, on the other Hand, that *thoſe Members* are, one with another, worth in Money and Eſtates 20,000*l.* a-piece, which he calls a low Way of Reckoning, and what undoubtedly falls infinitely ſhort of the real Value.—To which I ſhall only give the following ſhort Anſwer.

If *all the Placemen* are lump'd together, I believe their Fortunes in Money and Eſtates, may amount, one with another, to 20,000*l.* each. Nay, I don't know whether the landed and money'd Eſtates of *one Family* only, beſides their numerous Employments, which are known to exceed the whole *Land-Tax* of the County, where they reſide, may not make up the Deficiency of all the reſt.—But is this a fair way of calculating?—Is it not (to uſe a *Norfolk* Phraſe) coupling *fat Rabbits* with *lean ones?*—The true Objection is, that no Man of *low Rank*, *little Fortune*, or *mean Talents*, ought to ſit in the *Houſe of Commons*, becauſe they will neceſſarily become the Tools of an *ambitious*, *deſperate*, and *corrupting Miniſter*, who hath not only rais'd a *beggarly paternal Eſtate* into *Princely Poſſeſſions*, within a few Years, but built *Princely Palaces* too, at the publick Expence, and to the Diſhonour of our Nation.—I may ſafely aſſert that he hath, directly and indirectly, a much larger Income than the *Heir Apparent of the Crown*.

I never dropt the leaſt Inſinuation, as *this Writer* ſuggeſts, *that there was any* Magick *within the Circle of a Court*; and I heartily wiſh there may be no *Corruption* in it.—But how can I, or *this worthy Author*, be able to convince a baſe, degenerate, prejudiced, and obſtinate People, that there is no ſuch thing amongſt us as *Bribery*, *Corruption*, and *Venality?*

I ſhall conclude with a ſhort Remark upon Sir *Richard Steele*'s Comedy, call'd the *Funeral*; where Mr. *Sable*, the Undertaker, tells one of his *Hireling Mourners*, *that the more Money he gave them to look* diſmal, *the* merrier *they were*.—The Caſe is directly oppoſite, with Regard to an *omnipotent Miniſter*; for his Profits increaſe by the Diſtreſſes of the *People*, and whilſt they look *diſmal*, he grows *merry*.

Poetical ESSAYS *in* JANUARY, 1740.

The following Lines were wrote by *William Somervile*, Eſq; Author of a Poem, call'd the *Chace*.

To the AUTHOR *of the* ESSAYS ON MAN.

WAS ever work to ſuch perfection wrought!
How elegant the diction! pure the thought!
Not ſparingly adorn'd with ſcatter'd rays,
But one bright beauty, one collected blaze,
So breaks the day upon the ſhades of night,
Enliv'ning all with one unbounded light.
To humble man's proud heart thy great deſign,
But who can read this wondrous work divine,
So juſtly plan'd, and ſo politely writ,
And not be proud, and boaſt of human wit?
Yet juſt to thee and to thy precepts true,
Let us know man, and give to God his due;
His image we, but mix'd with coarſe allay,
Our happineſs, to love, adore, obey,
To praiſe him for each gracious boon beſtow'd,
For this thy work, for ev'ry leſſer good,
With proſtrate hearts before his throne to fall,
And own the great Creator *all in all*.
The muſe which ſhou'd inſtruct, now entertains,
On trifling ſubjects, in enervate ſtrains;
Be it thy taſk to ſet the wand'rer right,
Point out her way in her aerial flight,
Her noble mien, her honours loſt reſtore,
And bid her deeply think, and proudly ſoar.
Thy theme ſublime and eaſy verſe will prove
Her high deſcent and miſſion from above.
Let others now tranſlate, thy abler pen
Shall *vindicate the ways of God to men*,
In virtue's cauſe ſhall glorioufly prevail,
When the bench frowns in vain, and pulpits fail.
Made wiſe by thee, whoſe happy ſtyle conveys
The pureſt morals in the ſofteſt lays,
As angels once, ſo now we mortals bold,
Shall climb the ladder *Jacob* view'd of old;
Thy kind reforming muſe ſhall lead the way,
To the bright *regions of eternal day*.

The COUNTRY GENTLEMAN.

O Rus, quando ego te aſpiciam? &c.

A Rural 'ſquire, to crowds and courts unknown,
In his own cell retir'd, but not alone;
For round him view each *Greek* and *Roman* ſage,
Polite companions of his riper age.
Impurpled kings, with all their pomp and ſtate,
Might envy here a monarch truly great.
Fond of no frolicks, but content with eaſe,
And pleas'd himſelf when he can others pleaſe,
His calmer thoughts no wild ambition fires,
Nor frets his peaceful ſoul with new deſires.

Tho' neat his dreſs, he hates all tinſel ſhow,
No ſloven pedant nor unletter'd beau:
With unaffected mien and open heart,
He wears no maſk, and acts no double part.
Warm for his friend, to all his virtues kind,
And to his faults perhaps a little blind.
Honours true worth in men of low degree,
But wiſhing merit where it ought to be,
He ſcorns the rotten branch of an illuſtrious tree.
Among the buſy ſwarms that buz around,
With noiſe and nonſenſe potent to confound,
While harmleſs inſects wave their gaudy wings,
Locuſts devour, the ſpiteful hornet ſtings,
Fops he can ſpare, pities the weak and young,
But not the gameſter and the ſland'rous tongue.
Seeks no by-paths, but keeps his antient road,
In politicks not wholly *a la mode*.
For tho' he loaths a greedy ſcraping knave,
To make a nation great, preſcribes to *ſave*.
Since they who laviſh, waſte the publick ſtore,
And to enſlave, wou'd make our country poor,
Drain our heart's blood: earthquakes, and ſtorms, and ſeas,
And fire and ſword, more innocent than theſe.
Firm to his truſt, was never bought with gold,
Nor for a meſs his antient birth-right ſold:
What monſters theſe! can *Phalaris* invent,
For ſuch a crime an equal puniſhment?
Help us, kind heaven! O worſe than parricide!
Sack them up all, and roll 'em down the tide.
True to his country's weal, he hopes the beſt,
Great Britain's honour glowing in his breaſt;
Sincere he wiſhes parties wou'd agree,
What deſperate wretch is ſick of liberty?
While our diviſions animate the foe,
We ſnap at ſhadows, let the ſubſtance go.
If juſtice calls him in his country's cauſe,
To hold her balance, and ſupport the laws,
As well he knows one day he muſt be try'd,
With mercy wou'd another's cauſe decide;
But if the widow's cries, and orphan's tear,
Invite his melting eye and patient ear,
In their defence, proud to be thought ſevere.
Nor raſh to promiſe, but once paſs'd his word,
The vows of prieſts, the honour of a lord,
Not half ſo ſacred; did mankind act ſo,
Oaths were in vain, and laws wou'd uſeleſs grow;
Nor rods, nor axes, wou'd diſgrace the throne,
But nature and right reaſon rule alone.
To firſt-rate wit perhaps has no pretence,
But common honeſty, and common ſenſe
Are his juſt claim; there wants no higher flight
For ſpeaking wiſely, and for doing right.
Yet he can joke, and o'er his bottle gay,
Convert *December* to the bloom of *May*,
And melt in flowing cups the froſt of age away.
Coxcombs his butt, nor can his arrows miſs
The groupe of fools in ſuch an age as this.
Here is his portrait, ſir, 'tis plain, you ſee,
Deck'd with no flowers, nor vain phylactery;
Not perfect — true — but cou'd each country ſhow
Ten ſuch as theſe, t'avert the impending blow,
Our *Sodom* yet were ſafe, and *France* and *Spain*
Might plan new ſchemes, and draw their ſwords in vain.

HORACE, ODE 9, BOOK IV. *Imitated.*

Ne ſortè credas interitura, &c.

LEST you, my friend, perhaps may think,
Oblivion, with her gloomy hand,
Will to the ſhades of ſudden night
The labours of the muſe command;

Tho' *Homer*'s trumpet loudeſt ſound,
That ſets two rival worlds in arms,
Alcæus' lofty ſtrains are read,
And ſtill a tender *Sappho* warms.

By love and wine *Anacreon* fir'd
Seems ſtill to ſmile in eaſy lays,
Whether he ſing the nect'rous bowl,
Or in ſoft lines ſome beauty praiſe.

Before the gilded, *Trojan* barge
Had ſtem'd the rolling, *Græcian* tide,
Many a ſhameleſs *Helen* ſold
Her virtue for the glare of pride.

Nor *Hector* firſt, or *Diomed*,
In virtue's cauſe were ſtain'd with blood;
But gen'rous heroes long before
Had greatly fall'n for publick good.

Are they unknown? No muſe embalm'd
In deathleſs verſe their ſhort-liv'd name,
But envious night their deeds involves,
And hides the ſplendor of their fame.

When god-like virtue yields to fate,
And lies forgotten in the grave,
The diff'rence here is none, betwixt
The hero, and the bury'd knave.

But let the muſe her odours ſhed,
New fragrance from the tomb will riſe,
The demigod revive again,
And charm th' admiring earth and ſkies.

Hail virtuous man!—I *Talbot* name;
All *England* echoes with the ſound:
No venal muſe wou'd ſpread thy fame,
Where'er the glorious ſun goes round.

Thou with immortal virtue ſhon'ſt,
Thy country's patron, common friend:
Methinks I ſee her grateful weep,
And at thy tomb in ſorrow bend.

J. DINSDALE.

O D E.

JAM nimis probri tulimus Britanni
Deſides: ludo nimis inſolenti
Imperî jus & violare famam
Auſus Iberus.

Auſus & læſi populi furores
Spernere; & vultus toties paventi
Horridos ultro petere, & per altum
Vivere rapto.
Vidimus cives laceros protervè;
Liberum pœnas tolerare tergum
Criminis ficti; indomitamque pubem
Compede vinctam.
Teſtis Indorum mare, barbarumque
Littus, infeſti gregis; otiante
Splendida claſſi, nefas! & ſtupente
Non ſua ſigna.
Riſit abjectos, ſolitus timere,
Gallus; & ſævos animos puſillæ
Gentis accendit, timidis minatus
Bella Britannis.
Ah pudet priſcæ monumenta laudis
Volvere, & faſtos celebres per omne
Tempus, oblitæ heu! ninium ſuorum opprobria prolis.
Quid tamen priſcas memorem, Britanne,
Res, & heroas proavos? memento,
Tarde, quam victor facilis ſurebat
Byngius armis.
I, vigor quo te rapit, & parentum
Gloria: O rurſus dominere alto;
Et parum juſtis inimica mittas
Fulmina terris.

SEPHALISSA *ſleeping.*

'TWAS on one ſultry ſummer's day,
When *Phœbus* ſhot his hotteſt ray,
With ſlow ſoft-treading ſteps I crept
Where beauteous *Sephaliſſa* ſlept.
The windows up, the ſhutters clos'd,
Receiv'd the air, the ſun oppos'd.
A duſkiſh light ſhone faintly through,
Such as in gloomy woods we view.
The air ſoft-breathing gently blow'd
Sweet ſcented jeſſamin, that grow'd
Around the ſaſh, and waving lent,
Beſt of perfumes, its ſweeteſt ſcent.
The room with curious figures glow'd,
Which the nice art of *Titian* ſhow'd.
On the neat cieling there was ſeen
The matchleſs form of beauty's queen:
Claſp'd in thy arms, bleſt *Mars*, ſhe lay,
And ſeem'd in bliſs to die away.
His magick net now *Vulcan* threw,
And the falſe fair expos'd to view,
Expos'd to all the pow'rs above,
The god of war, and queen of love.
Anger and rage in *Mars* appear,
Soft *Venus* drops a gentle tear;
Minerva's hand her bluſhes hides,
Loud-laughing *Momus* holds his ſides;
And ev'ry god beheld the pair,
But ev'ry god wiſh'd he was there.
The ſides were with rich carving grac'd,
And ſconces in nice order plac'd,
And china jars, with flowers fill'd,
Variety of odours yield.
Velvet that boaſts the fineſt red,
With rich gold fringes, form'd the bed.
The quilt was made of ſtiff brocade,
Where lavender and roſes laid.
There *Sephaliſſa*, charming fair,
Lay ſunk in ſleep, and free from care.
Her arm was on the pillow laid,
And on her hand reclin'd her head.
Looſe hung her gown, her neck was bare,
And round it flow'd her curling hair,
Gracefully negligent; her breaſt
White-heaving, courted to be preſt.
Wav'd by the air her garment flow'd,
And then ten thouſand beauties ſhow'd.
Who could contain? tho' half afraid,
I gently kiſs'd the ſleeping maid;
She wak'd, I trembled, fill'd with fear,
She ſmil'd and baniſh'd all my care.
Now bolder grown, I ſpoke my love,
And ſought her tender heart to move.
I ſigh'd and ſu'd for all her charms,
She ſunk with bluſhes in my arms.
Give me, ye gods, again this day,
Take all my future life away.

D. H.

WIT and BEAUTY. A SONG. *Inſcrib'd to Mrs.* ———, *after an Entertainment made by her for the Commander, Officers and Gentlemen of the Ship* ——, *on* Saturday-*Night*, April 21, 1739.

The AIR. *Broom of* Cowden *knows.*

WHEN wit and beauty are combin'd,
How dangerous the charm?
None hears the fair explain her mind,
But feels love's fierce alarm.

Thus while your gueſts, *Eliza* bright,
Were met at your deſire,
And each, to do his * miſtreſs right,
You ſet their ſouls on fire.

From words and looks, that light the flame,
No human ſkill can ſave;
What miſs can then that lover blame,
That falls your beauty's ſlave.

Whoe'er to former vows proves true,
Muſt ſhun that ſparkling eye,
Muſt fly your wit that's ever new,
Or love, deſpair, and die.

To a young Lady, occaſioned by ſeeing her Picture.

YOU beauteous maid! accept a poet's lays,
Who ne'er prophan'd his muſe by venal praiſe:
'Twas worth and beauty always ton'd his lyre,
And both in you his grateful breaſt inſpire.
Sweetneſs and innocence with mutual grace
Shine in your eyes, and beam in your fair face;
Modeſt,

* *A Cuſtom amongſt ſeafaring People, to remember their Wives and Miſtreſſes every* Saturday-*Night, over a Bottle or Bowl.*

Modeſt, humane, in ev'ry look ſincere,
Reſiſtleſs charms, in all you do, appear.
Let others ſtrive to captivate the heart
By quaint, affected airs, and modiſh art;
Your virtues in their native glory blaze
So ſtrong, they hide all weak and borrow'd rays.
In early youth a mind too great for pride,
Beauty that might adorn a royal bride,
A fancy bright as the ſun's lucid ray,
Whoſe brilliant thoughts ten thouſand charms diſplay,
Compoſe a merit that can never die,
Or in the gloom of death forgotten lie;
But when the portrait, and the marble buſt
Shall fade away, or moulder into duſt,
From envy ſafe, and time's devouring rage,
Will bloom afreſh, and charm a future age.

To ALMIRA.

For my Caſtalio's *falſe!*
Falſe as the wind, the water, or the weather!
Otw. Orph.

GRIEVE not, bright nymph, repreſs that ſwelling ſigh,
Nor cloud thoſe eyes which darken all the ſky!
Shall one falſe heart ſuch big commotions raiſe?
Mankind are grown ſure ſcanty in theſe days.
They're perjur'd all, methinks I hear you cry,
Vile, faithleſs creatures, ev'ry word a lye.
Forbear that charge!—I aſk it on the knee,
We have our faults, nor are you wholly free.
Still crowds on crowds ſmit with your light'ning burn;
Be kind, nor act the tyrant in return.
Honeſtus take—all tongues the choice approve,
All tongues that are not enemies to love.
SYLVIUS.

On the Majeſty of GOD, *from the Pſalms.*

ARM'D with omnipotence, when the Moſt-high
In pomp of terror clouds the threat'ning ſky,
Darkneſs at his command in black array
Rolls on its thick'ning ranks, and blots out day;
He walks majeſtic in ſurrounding night,
And fills the boldeſt tyrant's ſoul with fright;
Awful he waves in thunder his bright ſpear,
And ev'ry ſad'ning heart gives ſigns of fear.
His lightnings flaſh, and with a rattling ſound
All heav'n ſeems ruſhing on the blazing ground;
The mountains with the dreadful motion quake,
And earth's foundations to their center ſhake;
His pow'r all nature to her entrails feels,
And at his potent ſtroke creation reels:
Th' eternal pillars tremble at the blow, [bow.
Earth ſhrinks with fear, and all the heavens
He deals his bolts, in might triumphing, round,
That thunder thro' the vaſt, immenſe profound,
Fill all the frighted heav'ns with flaſhing day,
And in his wrath, thro' hell's black gates make way,
Increaſe the pains of tyrant-kings below,
And give thoſe wounds which they and devils know.

A HYMN.

O Lord! thy energy divine
Produc'd this beauteous *All*;
With ſplendor fill'd the ſtarry orbs,
And poiz'd the earthly ball.

Great are thy works, and worthy thee
Exalt thy glorious name;
Yet ſtill they infinitely yield
To thy bright mercy's fame:

For to the higheſt heav'n thou'ſt fixt
As to the ſea its bound;
But by th'enquiring mind no end
Is of thy mercy found.

Then tho' my treſpaſſes ſhou'd great,
Nay, iterated prove,
I'll never injure by deſpair
Thy inexhauſted love.

I've often, Lord! with paſſion blind,
Tranſgreſs'd thy holy will,
Yet like a tender father thou
With grace purſu'dſt me ſtill.

Thou mercifully cur'ſt my pains,
And heal'ſt my troubled mind;
How oft with conſcious ſhame I've bluſh'd
Becauſe thou wert ſo kind?

While thro' theſe animated veins
The vital juices flow,
With gratitude, my God, to thee
This thankful heart ſhall glow.

Let univerſal nature raiſe
To thee a chearful voice;
Let ſaints above with angels join,
And heav'n and earth rejoice.

Thro' ſkies and undulating air
Let loud hoſannas roll;
Let ſhouts of joy aſcend thy throne,
And praiſes ſhake the pole.
J. DINSDALE.

On the Declaration of WAR.

AT length calm peace with downy wing is fled,
And fierce *Bellona* rears her armed head,
Snakes in her hands and furies in her eyes,
Savage and ſtern the frantic goddeſs flies.
At her approach the blaſted olives fade,
And ſwains no longer ſlumber in the ſhade.
Pierian ſiſters tune their harps no more,
The tempeſt ſweeps where zephyrs fann'd before.
From plains to plains the martial trumpets play,
And loud applauſes hail the wiſh'd-for day.
Such is the joy when heav'n inſpires the fight,
And injur'd kingdoms vindicate their right.
Patience, long-ſuffering, wou'd forget the foe,
And vengeance lingers ere it ſtrikes the blow.
Calm

Calm and ſedate our *Engliſh* courage lies,
Still ready to forgive and ſlow to riſe.
But, rous'd at laſt, the lion breaks his way,
Wakes all his rage, and ruſhes on the prey.
Thus by degrees the ſtorm ferments on high,
And pregnant vapours hover in the ſky;
While o'er our heads th' impending tempeſts frown, [down.
Till big with rage th' impetuous flood pours
Britannia long *Iberia*'s inſults bore, [ſhore,
And the check'd thunders ſlumber'd on the
While *Britain*'s genius ſaw with ſilent pain
Her rights invaded and her ſons complain;
In vain the gen'rous merchant ſeeks relief,
Her cities mourn, her ſailors pine with grief;
While ghoſts of ancient heroes haunt the ſhores,
And *Raleigh*'s injur'd ſhade revenge implores;
Ev'n *Neptune* frown'd, and with indignant ſmile,
And eyes up-caſt, accus'd his fav'rite iſle;
Then with his trident ſtruck the coral ground,
And call'd up all his tritons at the ſound;
To arms, to arms, the tuneful nereids ſung,
To arms, to arms, the ſcaly kingdoms rung.
From wave to wave the growing accents fly,
From ſea to ſea, and echo to the ſky,
Thro' all *Britannia*'s winding ſhores it paſs'd,
And waving navies nodded to the blaſt.
The vocal hills the grateful ſound convey'd,
And *Britiſh* groves their ready homage paid.
Pleas'd with the *oracle*'s divine command,
Floods of triumphant joy o'erſpread the land.
Serener thoughts in ev'ry breaſt we trace,
And conqu'ring omens ſmile in ev'ry face.
Now ſhips, long moor'd, their ruſty anchors weigh,
Their ſtiffen'd flags unfurl, and wing to ſea.
Lo! hardy *Haddock* dares the pow'r of *Spain*,
And ſpreads his threat'ning enſigns o'er the main;
Hid in his port the trembling coward keeps,
Lowers his ſail, nor ventures to the deeps.
The muſe exulting ſees in diſtant view
The ſpoils and dazzling glories of *Peru*;
Sees peace and commerce ſafe in *George*'s ſway,
While diſtant lands and ſeas their homage pay.

HORACE, *Epode the* 15*th. To* NEÆRA *on her Breach of Promiſe.*

'TWAS ſolemn midnight, and the moon
Among the ſtars ſerenely ſhone,
When ſoft you ſigh'd, and vow'd by heaven,
To me your plighted faith was given:
You vow'd but with intent to be,
As falſe to heaven as to me.

O! in what tender words you ſwore,
Like you no woman lov'd before;
None, none of all the ſex like you,
So fond, ſo artleſs, and ſo true;
Cloſe as round oaks can ivy twine,
Your circling arms you clos'd in mine.

Long as the moon at night ſhall riſe,
Long as the ſtars ſhall deck the ſkies;
While ſpring ſhall pleaſe, while ſummer warms,
Autumn bring fruit, and winter ſtorms;
While nature in her courſe ſhall move,
So long, you cry'd, ſhall laſt our love.

O falſe *Neæra*, thou ſhalt mourn
My faithful love, thy faithleſs ſcorn;
For ſure I have too great a ſoul
To be a perjur'd woman's tool;
And to my rival's arms reſign,
Thoſe happy joys which ſhould be mine.

No, I will find a nymph more true,
More worthy of my flame than you;
Nor will I e'er my hate remove,
Fix'd deeply as was once my love;
Your falſhood ſcorn, your charms diſdain,
Though theſe at firſt may give me pain.

But, rival, whoſoe'er you be,
More happy in her love than me;
Who now can ſuch a conqueſt boaſt,
Triumphing o'er the ſpoils I loſt;
Curb thy raſh joy, miſtaken youth,
And liſten to a fatal truth.

Though you cou'd ſay an *Indian* mine,
Replete with golden oar, were thine;
Though you could boaſt a youthful grace
And form, excelling human race;
Though to that godlike form was join'd
The wiſdom of a godlike mind:

In thee, though all perfections plac'd,
With wit, with wealth, with beauty grac'd;
You to your coſt will find that ſhe
Proves falſe to you as once to me:
Then will I, laughing in my turn,
Give hate for hate, and ſcorn for ſcorn.

Upon a GNAT *burnt in a* CANDLE.

TRIFLING inſect! that art now
But an airy gnat below,
Ah! what folly made thee fly
To the pleaſing flame too nigh?
Seeming good, that treach'rous ill,
Cheated thine, that cheats man's will.
Simple thing! how ſhou'dſt thou fear
What ſo beauteous ſeem'd, and fair?
Thus deceitful pleaſure's ſmile
Did thy ſilly life beguile.
What from envy can be free,
If ill-fate cou'd envy thee?

Spoke extempore on reading the following Obſervation on Terence's Self-Tormentor.

TERENCE, 'tis ſaid by commentators, wrote
The genuine product of *Menander*'s thought.
Happy's th' *Athenian* in the *Roman*'s lines;
For, whilſt that *Terence* lives, *Menander* ſhines.
But let this, *Terence*, to thy honour be,
That, if *Menander* lives, he lives by thee.

We have receiv'd The Diſtreſs'd Chaplain, *and ſeveral other Pieces, which, for Want of Room, muſt be deferr'd to our next.*

THE

THE
Monthly Chronologer.

ON the 26th of last Month, the Governors and Guardians of the Hospital for the Maintenance and Education of expos'd and deserted young Children, held their first Quarterly General Meeting, and appointed the Bank of *England*, Sir *Joseph Hankey* and Company, Mr. *James Martin* and Company, Mr. *Benjamin Hoare* and Company, and Mr. *Andrew Drummond*, Bankers, to receive Benefactions for carrying on the Designs of the Corporation: And resolv'd to open a Book for taking Subscriptions for annual Contributions to the said Hospital, during the Pleasure of the Subscribers. And afterwards they elected by Ballot the 18 following new Governors and Guardians, *viz.* Lord *Charles Cavendish*, Lord *Noel Somerset*, Sir *Walter Baggot*, Bart. Sir *Matthew Decker*, Bart. Sir *Tho. Frankland*, Bart. Sir *John Heathcote*, Bart. Sir *John Lade*, Bart. *William Bristow*, Esq; *Godfrey Clarke*, Esq; *John Delme*, Esq; *Thomas Emmerson*, Esq; General *William Evans*, *Robert Hucks*, Esq; *Matthew Lambe*, Esq; *John Laroche*, Esq; *Ed. Smith*, Esq; *John White*, Esq; *Thomas Woodford*, Esq;

FRIDAY, *Jan.* 4.

One *Johnson*, a Smuggler, who escaped some time since out of *Newgate*, (but was retaken in the Country) was carried thro the City in a Coach, guarded by a Serjeant's Command, and some Men with Blunderbusses, and lodged in the *Tower*, as a Place of greater Security.

MONDAY, 7.

A most melancholy Accident happen'd near *Kirkaldy* in *Scotland*. As fourteen Apprentices and Servants were making merry and diverting themselves with Play (according to the Custom there on the first Monday of the Year) in a large Hollow below a rocky Eminence, the Rock tumbled down and crush'd them to Pieces.

WEDNESDAY, 9.

The general Fast, appointed by Proclamation, was observ'd with great Solemnity; and the *Jews* kept the same in their several Synagogues.

SATURDAY, 19.

The Sessions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when the 6 following Malefactors received Sentence of Death, *viz. John Lineham*, for robbing the High Bailiff of *Westminster* of a Gold-headed Cane; he was also convicted of a Burglary and Felony, in breaking open a House and stealing a Flitch of Bacon: *Robert Onion*, for stealing Brass Sockets and Part of a Branch out of St. *Paul*'s Church: *Thomas Mott*, for stealing a large Sum of Money out of the House of the Rev. Mr. *Gibbon*: *William Snowd* and *John Wells*, for a Highway Robbery on *Hounslow-Heath*: *Thomas Hawkins*, alias *Dumplin*, a Post-Boy, for knocking down Mr. *Brown* in *Chick-Lane*, and robbing him of a Silver Watch.

William Vaughan, alias Lord *Vaughan*, and *William Baker*, alias *Shock Egerton*, two Convicts returned from Transportation before their Time, were ordered to be transported again for 14 Years.

Four of the *Spittlefields* Rioters were tried at the Sessions of the Peace at *Hick's-Hall*, and receiv'd Judgment, two of them to be committed to the House of Correction for 2 Months, one for one Month; and the fourth was fin'd 10 *l.* which he paid in Court. One of the said Rioters is still in *Newgate*. (See Vol. VIII. p. 625.)

SUNDAY, 20.

The Anniversary of the Birth-Day of his Royal Highness the Prince of *Wales* was celebrated, when his Royal Highness enter'd into the 34th Year of his Age.

TUESDAY, 22.

The *Portugal* Merchants waited a second Time on the Lords of the Admiralty, concerning the protecting of their Trade; and their Lordships told them, that they would order a 50 and a 20 Gun Ship, to cruize continually for securing their Ships; and also give Directions to the Men of War to take such of them directly under their Convoy as were ready to return home. Their Lordships were also pleased to inform them, that they would suspend the Captain against whom a particular Complaint had been made, and refer the Affair to a Court Martial.

WEDNESDAY, 23.

This Night a Disturbance happen'd at *Drury-Lane* Playhouse, occasion'd by two of the principal Dancers not being there to dance at the End of the Entertainment, whereupon several Gentlemen in the Boxes and Pit pull'd up the Seats and Flooring of the same, tore down the Hangings, broke down the Partitions, and all the Glasses and Sconces; the King's Arms over the middle front Box was pull'd down and broke to Pieces; they also destroy'd the Harpsichord, Bass Viol, and other Instruments in the Orchestra; the Curtain they cut to Pieces with their Swords, forc'd their Way into the lesser Green-Room, where they broke the Glasses, &c. and after destroying every Thing they could well get asunder, to the Amount

Amount of about 3 or 400 *l.* Damage, left the Houſe in a very ruinous Condition.

FRIDAY, 25.

This Day the Drawing of the Bridge-Lottery was finiſhed, when N° 41655 was drawn a Prize of 10 *l.* and being the laſt drawn Ticket was likewiſe entitled to 5000 *l.*

General *Keith*, (in the Czarina's Service) was introduced by his Excellency Prince *Czerbatoff*, the *Ruſſian* Ambaſſador, to his Majeſty, in his military Habit, as a *Ruſſian* General in Chief, and was graciouſly received.

As intenſe a Froſt as perhaps was ever known in theſe Parts, began on *Chriſtmas* Day, and continu'd through this Month. A few Days after it began, the Wind was very high, which did conſiderable Damage. The *Thames* was froze over, ſo that Multitudes of People walk'd acroſs it above Bridge, and a great many Booths were erected upon it. The Damage below Bridge to the Shipping was very great. Several Ships loaded with Corn, and others with Coals, were ſunk by the Ice; many lay on Anchors, which made Holes in them; ſome on their Sides, foul of others; ſeveral Lighters and Boats under the Ice; and on the whole, whoever look'd on the River *Thames*, might behold a Scene of greater Damage than had been known there in the Memory of Man; there ſcarce ever having been more Ships in the River at one Time, than now. The Damage between the *Medway* and *London-Bridge*, before the Middle of the Month, was at a moderate Computation thought to be above 100,000 *l.* beſides the Number of Perſons who loſt their Lives. Many Perſons both by Land and Water were froze to Death. The Neceſſities of the Poor were very great, occaſion'd chiefly by the exceſſive Price of Coals, and their not being able to work at their ſeveral Occupations. And it muſt be ſaid, to the Honour of the Nation, that Charity remarkably ſhew'd itſelf on this Occaſion. A great Number of all Ranks gave particular and large Benefactions, and conſiderable Collections were made in the ſeveral Pariſhes, for the Relief of the Neceſſitous in this ſevere and rigorous Seaſon.

The Number of Burials laſt Year at *Vienna* amounted to 6142, and of Chriſtnings to 6060.

At *Amſterdam* there died laſt Year 7507 Perſons, which is 255 leſs than the Year preceding; and there were 2581 Marriages, *viz.* 1653 in the Calviniſts Churches, and 928 in the other Churches.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

SIR *William Fownes*, Bart. to the Lady —— *Ponſonby*, Daughter to the Earl of *Beſborough*.

Earl of *Antrim*, to Miſs *Plunket*, Grand-Daughter to Col. *Stratford*.

Mr. *Edmund Stephens*, a Merchant of this City, to Miſs *Sawle* of *Wantage* in *Berks*.

Thomas Puleyn, Eſq; of *Yorkſhire*, to Miſs *Sterne*, Niece to the Rev. Dr. *Sterne*.

Lord Viſc. *Doneraile*, to the Hon. Miſs *Skeffington*, Siſter to the Lord Viſc. *Maſſareen*.

—— *Hargrave*, Eſq; to Miſs *Harriott Cox*, youngeſt Daughter to the Rev. Mr. *Cox*, of *Kenſington*.

Rev. Mr. *William Fleming*, Archdeacon of *Carliſle*, Son of the Lord Biſhop of that See, to Miſs *Wilſon*, Daughter of *Daniel Wilſon*, Eſq; Knight of the Shire for the County of *Weſtmorland*.

Rev. Mr. *Bethune*, Curate of *Worth* near *Eaſt-Grinſtead* in *Suſſex*, to the Widow of *John Goodwin*, Eſq; of *Rowant*; a Fortune of 20,000 *l.*

Rev. Mr. *Watſon*, Rector of *Sandford* in *Eſſex*, to Miſs *Bodens*, Daughter to Capt. *Charles Bodens*.

—— *Bennet*, Eſq; to Miſs *May*, Daughter of *Charles May*, Eſq; and Grand-daughter to the late Sir *Richard Francklyn*, of *Ryſlip* in *Middleſex*, Bart.

The Lady of *Thomas Whitmore*, Eſq; Memb. of Parl. for *Bridgenorth*, deliver'd of a Son and Heir.

The Lady of *Robert Trefuſis*, Eſq; Memb. of Parl. for *Truro* in *Cornwall*, alſo deliver'd of a Son and Heir.

DEATHS.

HON. *Thomas Herbert*, Eſq; Brother to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of *Pembroke*.

Lieut. Col. *Barry*, of Brig. Gen. *Otway*'s Reg. of Foot in *Ireland*, the oldeſt Lieut. Col. in the Army.

Sir *Iſaac Shard*, Knt. aged 86.

Rev. Mr. *Fyſhe*, one of the Prebendaries of *York Minſter*, and Rector of *Slingſby* and *Kirby Under-Dale*.

Henry Parſons, Eſq; Memb. of Parl. for *Malden* in *Eſſex*, Commiſſioner of the Victualling Office, &c. He was elder Brother to Mr. Alderman *Parſons*.

Capt. *Robert Dingley*, Gentleman-Uſher to the Princeſs *Mary*.

George Clive, Eſq; Curſitor Baron of the Exchequer.

Lady *Elizabeth Haſtings*, Siſter to the Earl of *Huntingdon*.

Thomas Marſh, Eſq; Deputy Governor of *Dover-Caſtle*.

The eldeſt Son of the Lord *Vere Beauclerk*, in his third Year.

The Lady of *Edmond Morton Pleydell*, Eſq;

Near *Maidſton* in *Kent*, the Rev. *Stringer Belcher*, A. M. Rector of *Ulcomb*, and one of his Majeſty's Juſtices of the Peace for that County. The following Character of him is inſerted at the particular Deſire of a Friend. This Gentleman was peculiarly diſtinguiſh'd, by a moſt clear and quick Apprehenſion, and as lively a Facility of expreſſing himſelf, upon any Subject, either of Learning or Buſineſs.

A-

Among Scholars the Force of his own Genius would ſtrike out a Light, which is ſometimes only darken'd by the more elaborate Studies of others; and in common Affairs, in which Men of ſtudious Retirement are moſt apt to be bewilder'd, he judg'd and acted as if he had been *totus in illis*.

His natural Sagacity, improved by an extenſive and experimental Knowledge of Men and Things, excellently qualified him for the Civil Office, in which he had the Honour, and indeed Delight, to ſerve his Country; and he executed it with great Diſcretion and Humanity; without ever bearing hard upon the Liberty of the meaneſt Subject, of the Conſequences of invading which he was always moſt tenderly jealous; and yet without departing from the Deſign and Dignity of the Laws. He was a perpetual Proteſter againſt every Thing arbitrary even in the loweſt Inſtances, and abhorred that the Authority of a Law ſhould ever be proſtituted only to legalize the private Reſentments of the Magiſtrate.

He expended above a 1000*l.* upon a moſt uſeful Benefaction to the Church and his Succeſſors, a good Parſonage Houſe with all ſuitable and elegant Accommodations, and which he always kept warm with a very generous and polite Hoſpitality.

His Friends and Acquaintance will long remember and feel the Loſs of that diffuſive Alacrity and good Humour, which his lively and inexhauſtible Spirit never fail'd to communicate wherever he came.

Rt. Rev. Dr. *David Freebairn*, Biſhop of *Edinburgh*, in the 87th Year of his Age.

In *Ireland*, the Lord *Villiers*, only Son of the Earl of *Grandiſon*.

Hon. Mr. *Finch*, Brother to the Earl of *Aylesford*, and Memb. of Parl. for *Maidſtone*.

Rt. Rev. Dr. *Charles Carr*, Lord Biſhop of *Killaloe* in *Ireland*.

In St. *Paul's Church-yard*, Mr. *Wilſon*, reckon'd the greateſt Retail Grocer in the World.

Knightly Danvers, Eſq; Barriſter at Law, and Author of the Abridgment of the Common Law.

Sir *Brocas Gardiner*. Bart. one of the Commiſſioners of the Stamp Duties. He is ſucceeded in Dignity and Eſtate by his eldeſt Son, now Sir *William Gardiner*, Bart.

Aged near 90, Dr. *Turner*, Doctor of Muſick, and the oldeſt Gentleman in the Chapel Royal.

Mrs. *Williams*, Relict of Dr. *Daniel Williams*, an eminent Diſſenting Miniſter.

Alexander Wilſon, Eſq; Lord Provoſt of *Edinburgh* when Capt. *Porteous* was hang'd by the Mob.

Sir *William Stapleton*, Bart. one of the Knights of the Shire for the County of *Oxford*.

Lady Viſcounteſs *Donerayle*.

Hon. Mrs. *Barbara Legg*, Siſter to the Earl of *Dartmouth*.

Mr. *Penrice*, only Son of Sir *Henry Penrice*, Knt. Judge of the High Court of Admiralty.

William Snelling, Eſq; one of the Directors of the *Bank* of *England*.

In the 93d Year of her Age, *Dorothy*, Counteſs Dowager of *Weſtmorland*.

Sir *Francis Henry Drake*, Bart. Memb. of Parl. for *Boralſton* in *Devonſhire*.

Capt. *Tudor Trevor*, Deputy Governor of *Greenwich-Hoſpital*, and the oldeſt Captain in the Navy.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Samuel Fremoult* preſented by *John Bridges*, Eſq; to the Rectory of *Wootton*, void by the Death of Mr. *Janeway*.

Mr. *Gilbert Walton*, A. M. by *Thomas Cartwright*, Eſq; to the Rectory of *Over-Worton* in the County and Dioceſe of *Oxford*.

Mr. *Samuel Speed*, M. A. Fellow of *New College*, *Oxford*, choſen ſecond Maſter of *Winchester* School.

Mr. *N. Tindal*, Tranſlator of *Rapin's* Hiſtory of *England*, collated by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to the Rectory of *Colborne*, in the *Iſle of Wight*.

Mr. *Talbot* appointed a Prebendary of the Cathedral of *York*, in the room of Mr. *Fyſhe*, deceas'd.

Mr. *Pane*, Rector of *Winnington* in the County of *Oxford*, and Chaplain to the Lord Viſcount *Cobham*, preſented to the Rectory of *Warford* in the ſaid County.

Mr. *Comarque*, M. A. to the Vicarage of *Putney* in *Surry*.

Mr. *John Baſkett*, A. M. by the Governors of the *Charter Houſe*, to the Rectory of *Dunſby* in *Lincolnſhire*.

Mr. *Church*, late one of the Choir of St. *Patrick's* in *Dublin*, appointed one of the Gentlemen of the Chapel Royal at St. *James's*, and one of the Choir of St. *Paul's*, in the room of the late Dr. *Turner*.

Mr. *Ames*, preſented to the Rectory of *Haynford* in *Norfolk*.

Mr. *Fletcher*, Dean of *Down*, and Treaſurer of *Chriſt-Church* in *Dublin*, made Biſhop of *Killaloe*, in *Ireland*.

Promotions CIVIL *and* MILITARY.

SIR *Brian Broughton*, Bart. appointed by the Duke of *Devonſhire*. Deputy Ranger of his Majeſty's Foreſt of *Needwood*, in the County of *Stafford*.—His Majeſty appointed Capt. *Mordaunt Cracherode*, to be a Lieut. Col. in the Army, Capt. of an Independent Company of Invalids, and to take upon him the Command of five Independent Companies of Invalids at *Portſmouth*.—*Robert Hewer*, and *Thomas Hawley*, Eſqrs. appointed Gentlemen of his Majeſty's Privy Chamber. — Lieut. *Frogmore*, Firſt Lieut. of the *Lenox* Man of War, made Captain of the *Swift* Sloop, in the room of Capt. *Holbourn*, appointed Captain of the *Trial* Sloop.—*Grey Longueville*, Eſq; Regiſter of the Hon. Order of the *Bath*, made Paymaſter of the Forces at *Minorca*.—*Charles*

Longueville, Esq; Memb. of Parl. for *Eastlow* in *Cornwall*, made Paymaster to the Garison of *Gibraltar*, a Place worth about 600 *l. per Annum*.—*Thomas Clark* of the *Temple*, Esq; kiss'd the King's Hand, on being appointed one of his Majesty's Council Learned in the Law.—Capt. *Richard Fairfax*, Brother to the Lord *Fairfax*, chosen Memb. of Parl. for *Maidstone* in *Kent*.—*John Wynn*, Esq; Knight of the Shire for the County of *Carnarvon*.

Sheriffs appointed for this Year.

Berks, Rob. Lee.—*Bedford*, John Franklin.—*Bucks*, Tho. James Selby.—*Cumb.* Rich. Cook.—*Camb.* and *Hunt.* John Cole.—*Cheshire*, John Spencer.—*Devon*, John Luscomb.—*Dorset*, Thomas Dibben.—*Derby*, Godfrey Clarke.—*Essex*, Mark Wynn.—*Glou.* Edw. Rogers.—*Heref.* Lutely Barnaby.—*Hertf.* Will. Shaw.—*Kent*, John Smith.—*Leic.* Will. Newland.—*Lincoln*, Rich. Poptewill.—*Northumb.* Geo. Shaftoe Delaval.—*Norfolk*, Hen. Negus.—*Oxford*, Philip Powis.—*Salop*, Rich. Stainer.—*Somerset*, John Brukdale.—*Staff.* Theodore-William Inge.—*Suffolk*, Millicent Edgar,—*Southampton*, Tho. Messing,—*Surrey*, William Browning.—*Sussex*, John Payne.—*Warwick.* Will. Dilke.—*Worcester*, Rich. Roberts.—*Wilts*, Edw. Mortimer. Esqrs. *Yorkshire*, Sir Samuel Armystage. Bart.—For *South-Wales*:—*Brecon*, Will. Vaughan.—*Carmar.* John Prothero.—*Card.* Tho. Jones.—*Glamor.* Rich. Turberville.—*Pemb.* John Skyrme.—*Radnor*, Mansel Powell. Esqrs.—For *North-Wales*:—*Anglesea*, Rob. Owen.—*Carnar.* Rice Williams.—*Denb.* John Williams.—*Merioneth.* Tho. Pryse.—*Montg.* Tho. Foulkes, Esqrs.

Persons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

MARY *Hallward*, of *Aweabury* in *Hereford*, Widow and Chapwoman.—*Simon Bourdeaux* and *Peter Bobin*, of *Stratford*, in *Essex*, Callico-Printers.—*James Langley*, of *Northampton*, Linen-draper.—*William Hyde*, late of *Droitwich*, Merchant.—*Tho. Astles*, of *Macclesfield*, Mercer.—*Sam. Heaton*, of *Burr-street*, *Middlesex*, Brewer and Broker.—*James Hobson*, late of *Newcastle upon Tyne*, Cabinet-maker.—*Dorothy Jones*, late of *Fleet-street*, Victualler.—*John Makin*, of St. *Clement Danes*, *Middlesex*, Victualler.—*Anselme Frederick Pigou*, and *Commelin Pigou*, of *London*, Merchants.—*Rich. Girdlestone*, of *Fakenham* in *Norfolk*, Linen-draper.—*James Ring*, of *Highgate*, Victualler.—*Robert Johnson*, of *Leadenhall-street*, Glazier.—*Henry Fowle*, of St. *Saviour* in *Southmark*, Cheesemonger.—*Edw. Spurling*, of *Erith* in *Kent*, Maltster.—*Joseph Bolton*, late of *Bury* in the County of *Lancaster*, Merchant.—*Nath. Wingfield*, late of *Wendover*, *Bucks*, Chapman.—*John Lane*, of *Islington*, Dealer.—*Joseph Chapman* of *Lewes*, in *Sussex*, Vintner and Victualler.—*James Waring*, late of the Parish of St. *Anne Westminster*, Painter.—*James Dugdale* of *Enfield*, Innholder and Victualler.—*George More*, of *Leadenhall-Market*, Poulterer.—*John Dowson*, late of *Kingston upon Hull*, Merchant and Mariner.—*John Walker* the Elder, of *Colchester*, Carpenter.

STOCKS.

S. Sea	96 ½	*Afric.*	13 ½
—*Bonds*	Paying off.	*Royal Ass.*	86 ¼
—*Annu.*	109 ¼	*Lon. ditto*	11 ⅛
Bank	138 ½	3 *per C. An.*	98 ½
—*Circ.*	3*l.*	*Salt Tallies*	¼ a ¾
Mil. Bank	113	*Emp. Loan*	110 ¼
India	154	*Equiv.*	110 ⅛
—*Bonds*	3*l.* 17*s.*		

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst.	35 7 2 a 8 2½	*Bilboa*	39 ⅜
D. Sight	35 5	*Legborn*	49 ⅛
Rotter.	35 9	*Genoa*	52 ⅛
Hamb.	34 5 2 a 2½	*Venice*	49 ¾ a ⅝
P. Sight	31 7/16	*Lisb.*	5*s* 4*d* ⅞ a ¾
Bourdx.	31 ⅛	*Oport.*	5*s* 4*d* ¼ a ⅜
Cadiz	40 ⅜ a ½	*Antw.*	36 6
Madrid	40 ¼	*Dublin*	8 ⅜

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	29 36	*Oats*	11 15
Rye	12 18	*Tares*	20 23
Barley	13 18	*Pease*	21 29
H. Beans	20 23	*H. Pease*	16 18
B. Malt	19 26	*B. Malt*	16 19

Abstract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Dec.* 25. to *Jan.* 22.

Christned	Males 648	Females 648	1296
Buried	Males 1318	Females 1407	2725
Died under 2 Years old			837
Between 2	and 5		169
5	10		88
10	20		79
20	30		231
30	40		251
40	50		293
50	60		260
60	70		218
70	80		184
80	90		104
90	and upwards		11
			2725

Hay 34 to 47*s.* a Load.

WE

WE have an Account from *Vienna*, that the Ratifications of Peace between the Emperor and the Grand Seignior were exchanged at *Galata*, the 24th of *October* last; but when the *Ottoman* Ratification arrived at *Vienna*, that Court was much diſſatisfied with the Manner in which it was drawn up. It ſeemed, as if they had ſtudied at the *Porte* for the moſt ambiguous Terms, to puzzle the Diſputes at preſent ſubſiſting, and to render the Inſtrument of Ratification liable to future Cavils. Therefore, that Court reſolved to inſiſt upon a clear and preciſe Explanation of it, which it ſeems they have obtained, becauſe they have again begun to proceed in demoliſhing the Fortifications of *Belgrade*; eſpecially ſince the *Porte* refuſed to pay the two Million of Crowns, which the Emperor demanded for yielding up the Citadel with the Works intire.

The Affair of Count *Seckendorff* is now quite determined, that General having been declared innocent of every Thing laid to his Charge; and therefore he is preparing to return to *Vienna*, where, it is to be hoped, he will take the firſt Opportunity for detecting and expoſing the Conduct of thoſe, who had him accuſed of Breach of Truſt, for not performing, what they had before taken Meaſures for preventing his being able to perform. The Example of this General ought to be a Warning to the Generals of every Country, not to engage in any dangerous Expedition, when thoſe who are to furniſh them with what is neceſſary for their Succeſs, are averſe to their meeting with Succeſs.

On the firſt Inſtant, between eight and nine o'Clock in the Morning, the moſt Serene Arch-dutcheſs *Maria Tereſa*, Dutcheſs of *Lorain*, and great Dutcheſs of *Tuſcany*, was ſafely delivered of a Princeſs, which was baptized at ſix in the Evening by the Pope's Nuncio, and named *Maria Carolina Erneſtina Antonia Giovanna Joſepha*.

The following is an Abſtract of the Accounts we have of the late Plot in *Ruſſia*. Some of the antient *Ruſſian* Nobility have been, it ſeems, for ſome Years much diſſatisfied with the Adminiſtration, becauſe of its being wholly in the Hands of Foreigners, who conduct themſelves altogether by the Councils of the Court of *Vienna*. To get rid of this Adminiſtration, ſeveral of the Princes of the *Dolgboruchi*, *Nareſkin*, *Gallickin* and *Gargarin* Families, formed a Conſpiracy, to ſtir up a general Revolt in the Empire: To have ſeized upon *Peterſburgh*, and carried off the *Czarina*, the Princeſs of *Mecklemburg*, the Prince of *Wolfenbuttel*, and the Duke of *Courland*: To have murdered all the *Germans*, and particularly Mr. *Lierman* the *Jew*, who is a great Favourite of the Prince of *Courland*'s; and after they had thus made themſelves Maſters of the Government, they were to have proclaimed Empreſs, the Princeſs *Elizabeth*, Daughter of *Peter* the *firſt*, who, they ſuppoſed, as ſoon as proclaimed, would have ſent for, and married one of the Princes *Nareſkin*, a Nobleman who has, in a Kind of Exile, reſided ſeveral Years in *France*, and to whom this Princeſs ſome Years ſince promiſed Marriage. This Conſpiracy having been diſcovered, ſix Princes of the *Dolgboruchi* Family were immediately ſeized, and having been all found guilty, and condemned to die, four of them were ſent to *Novogrod Weliki*, where they were executed; but the other two were pardoned by the *Czarina*, by changing the Puniſhment into that of Impriſonment for Life. Several Perſons are fled on Account of this Conſpiracy; and even the Princeſs *Elizabeth* finds it neceſſary to live very retired; for tho' ſhe was no Way privy to the Plot, as it was formed in her Favour, it ſeems to have put her in a very dangerous Situation.

Laſt Month the Marquis *de la Chetardie*, the *French* Ambaſſador, arrived at *Peterſburgh*, and was received with great Marks of Diſtinction, which the Friends of *France* look on, as a good Omen of the Succeſs of his Negotiations; but they ſhould conſider, that the Miniſters of *Ruſſia* know how to be complaiſant in their Behaviour, without being complaiſant in their Politicks; and this, it is thought, they will ſhew upon the preſent Occaſion, if ſome of the Neighbours of *France* be not very far ſhort in their Politicks.

By a Letter from *Iſpahan*, the Capital of *Perſia*, dated *July* 3d, we have Advice, that there had been great Rejoicings there, on Account of the Victories gained by their Sophy, formerly *Kouli-Kan*. Within the Space of a few Months, he had fought five ſeveral Battles with the Armies of the *Great Mogul*, *Trergon Dagler*, Emperor of *Indoſtan*, in every one of which he came off victorious; and in the laſt, the *Mogul* himſelf was taken Priſoner, after having ſeen the Defeat of his Army, which conſiſted of 300,000 fighting Men, or at leaſt ſuch as are called ſo. A great Number of Elephants, laden with Gold, Silver, Diamonds, Pearls, and other precious Jewels, were taken; but the *Mogul* himſelf he reſtored to his Throne, on Condition he ſhould pay him a certain yearly Tribute; which that unfortunate Prince at firſt accepted of. However, as ſoon as he got at Liberty, he began to rally his Troops, and to fortify himſelf in the City of *Agra*; which Treachery the Sophy reſented ſo highly, that he immediately purſued him as a Rebel, and the *Mogul* having no Time to provide for his Defence, fled away beyond the Bay of *Bengal*,

HISTORICAL.

1. AN Account of the Lives of *Luther* and *Calvin*. Printed for *T. Gardner*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

2. Geography Reform'd. Printed for *E. Cave*, 8vo, price 4*s*.

* 3. The Foreigner's Guide thro' *London* and *Weſtminſter*. The 2d Edition. Printed for *J. Jollyffe* and *J. Carter*, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

4. A Diſſertation upon the Uncertainty of the *Roman* Hiſtory. Printed for *T. Waller*, price 3*s*.

5. The Credibility of the Goſpel Hiſtory. The 4th Volume of the IId Part. By *N. Lardner*. Printed for *J. Gray*, 8vo, pr. 5*s*.

MISCELLANEOUS.

6. A Vindication of the Account of the Quakers Proſecutions. Sold by *T. Sowle*, price 1*s*.

7. Several Letters containing uſeful Directions for young Perſons in private Life. Printed for *J. Noon*, price 1*s*.

8. Quakero-Methodiſm. By *J. Bate*, M. A. Printed for *J. Carter*, price 1*s*.

9. Seaſonable Advice to a young Clergyman. Printed for *E. Comyns*, price 6*d*.

10. Converſations moral and entertaining, between an *Engliſh* Gentleman and a Knight of *Malta*. Printed for *J. Hawkins*, 12mo, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

11. The Spirit of the Martyrs reviv'd in Mr. *Whitefield*. Sold by *T. Cooper*, pr. 1*s*.

* 12. An Account of the *Tilbury* Water. The 2d Edition. Printed for *W. Meadows*, price 6*d*.

13. *Æſop*'s Fables; with inſtructive Morals and Reflections. Printed for *J. Osborn*, 12mo, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

14. A Letter concerning the miſerable State of *Scotland*. By Sir *A. Murray*, Bart. Sold by *C. Corbet*, price 1*s*.

15. De Antiquitate, Elegantia, Utilitate Linguæ Arabicæ. Oratio habita Oxonii à T. Hunt, A. M. Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 2*s*.

PHYSICK *and* SURGERY.

16. Practical Surgery improved. By *W. Becket*, F. R. S. Printed for *E. Curll*, 8vo, price 4*s*.

17. The Hoſpital Diſpenſatory. By *H. Banyer*, M. L. The 4th Edition. Printed for *T. Longman*, 12mo, price 2*s*.

18. A Treatiſe on the Powers of Medicines. By *J. Martin*, F. R. S. Printed for *J. Wilcox* and *J. Hodges*, 8vo, price 5*s*.

POETRY.

19. *Orpheus*: An *Engliſh* Opera. By Mr. *J. Hill*. Printed for *J. Clarke*, price 1*s*.

20. A Poem occaſion'd by the preſent War with *Spain*. Printed for *M. Steen*, pr. 6*d*.

21. A Poetical Eſſay on Phyſick. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

22. The Sailor's Rehearſal. Printed for *J. Watts*, price 1*s*.

23. *Horace*'s Inſtructions to the *Roman* Senate, *&c.* Printed for *R. Amey*, price 6*d*.

24. An Ode to the real Patriot. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 6*d*.

25. The Shepherd's Calendar. By *John Ball*. Sold by *J. Fuller*, 8vo, price 5*s*.

POLITICAL.

26. A State of the Riſe and Progreſs of our Diſputes with *Spain*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

27. Some uſeful Obſervations on the preſent War with *Spain*. Printed for *J. Mechell*, price 6*d*.

28. His Catholick Majeſty's Conduct compar'd with that of his *Britannick* Majeſty's. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*.

29. The Advocates for a Place-Bill detected. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d*.

30. The Advantages and Diſadvantages attending the Prohibition of the *Spaniſh* Merchandizes. Printed for *J. Roberts*, pr. 6*d*.

31. Faction diſplay'd. Printed for *S. Bly*, price 1*s*.

32. Conſiderations on the *American* Trade. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d*.

33. An Eſſay on the Management of the preſent War with *Spain*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*.

34. An Enquiry into the Dangers of multiplying Incapacities on the Gentlemen of *England* to ſit in Parliament. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d*.

SERMONS.

35. A Sermon preached before the Houſe of Lords on the Faſt Day, *Jan.* 9. By the Biſhop of *Norwich*. And,

36. A Sermon preached before the Houſe of Commons. By *Ph. Barton*, L. L. D. Both for *J. Pemberton*, price 6*d*. each.

37. A Sermon preached at *Roehampton*. By Mr. *Miller*. Printed for *J. Roberts*, pr. 6*d*.

38. A Diſcourſe on *Tit.* iij. 4, 5, 6. By Dr. *Waterland*. Printed for *W. Innys*, pr. 1*s*.

39. A Sermon preached *Nov.* 11, 1739. By *S. Snaſhall*. Printed for *J. Oſwald*, pr. 6*d*.

40. A Sermon on the Faſt. By *J. Partington*, M. A. Printed for *R. Hett* and *J. Davidſon*, price 6*d*.

THEOLOGICAL.

41. A Treatiſe concerning the publick Worſhip of God. By *W. Simons*. Sold by *S. Birt*, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

42. An Account of Charity Schools in *Wales*. Printed for *J. Hutton*, price 1*s*.

43. Two Theological Treatiſes of Dr. *Barnes* the Martyr. Publiſhed by *J. Weſley*, and ſold by *J. Lewis*, price 1*s*.

44. The Happineſs of a Holy Life, exemplified in the Sickneſs and Death of the pious Mrs. *Martha Gerriſh*, of *Boſton* in *New England*. Printed for *C. Rivington*, pr. 2*s*.

45. A ſerious and earneſt Call to Humiliation and Repentance. Printed for *E. Littleton*, price 1*s*.

* 46. *Philemon* to *Hydaſpes*. In 3 Parts. The ſecond Edition. Printed for *M. Steen*, 8vo, price 3*s*.

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

FEBRUARY, 1740.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 20.

The next and the only other Speech I ſhall give upon the Queſtion, relating to the laſt Election of a Lord Mayor, was that made by the Hon. Lycurgus, *who ſpoke in Subſtance thus,* viz.

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

THE Hon. Gentleman that ſpoke laſt, has ſet the Nature of a free Government, and the Dangers to which it may be expoſed, in ſo clear a Light, that I wiſh he had proceeded to anſwer the Objections that have been made againſt our taking Care to prevent ſuch Dangers, and particularly againſt the Conduct of the Citizens of *London* at the laſt Election of their Lord Mayor; but as he has left that Province to me, and has in a Manner called upon me to undertake it, which I muſt conſider as a high Compliment, I ſhall do my beſt to anſwer Gentlemens Expectations, tho' I'm afraid his Compliment has raiſed them above what is in my Power to ſatisfy.

I ſhall allow, Sir, that the Hon. Gentleman, who by the Rules of our Club was obliged to undertake, upon this Occaſion, what I may preſume to call the wrong Side of the Argument, began with a juſt Obſervation, That when a Form of Government is one of the beſt that human Wiſdom can contrive, every good Man will patiently ſubmit to thoſe few Inconveniencies with which it may be attended, rather than run the Riſk of overturning it, by attempting Innovations or Amendments; and that as our Form of Government is one of this Sort, therefore it is dangerous to aim at an Innovation. But will that Gentleman, or any Gentleman ſay, that it was ever a Part of the Form of Government eſtabliſhed in this Kingdom, to have, in our Houſe of Commons, a Majority of Members who held Places or Penſions at the Pleaſure of the Crown? If this had ever been, if it ſhould ever be the Caſe, no Man could have Reaſon to ſay, that our Form of Government is one of the beſt that human Prudence could invent or contrive. Therefore when

we talk of our Form of Government, as one of the beſt that ever was invented, we ought to conſider it in its original, or at leaſt in its intentional Form, and not in that Form in which it now ſubſiſts, or did ſubſiſt at any certain Period of Time; for no Form of Government can at once be ſo perfectly and compleatly eſtabliſhed, as to anſwer fully the Intention of the firſt Contrivers; and if ſuch a Thing were poſſible, ſome Blemiſhes would from Time to Time grow up, which, if not removed by Poſterity, would deface, if not deſtroy that which appeared to be the Intention of their Anceſtors. In this Light, if we conſider our Conſtitution, we muſt admit, that even after it aſſumed that Form in which it now appears, there were none or very few Members in the Houſe of Commons, that held lucrative Poſts or Penſions at the Pleaſure of the Crown. The Crown had but few ſuch to give, and ſuch as it had, were given either to the Barons, or to Men who were obliged to attend the Duty of their Office, and therefore could not attend the Service of Parliament. But the Alterations that have ſince happened in the Circumſtances of the Nation, have by Degrees created a great Number of profitable Places, all of which have, I ſhall not ſay by Inadvertency, been put into the arbitrary Diſpoſal of the Crown; and the Crown has likewiſe got a vaſt Increaſe of Revenue, which enables it to give many Penſions and Gratuities in ready Money; therefore, to incapacitate thoſe who hold ſuch Places, or receive ſuch Penſions or Gratuities, from being Members of the Houſe of Commons, is no Alteration or Innovation in our Form of Government, but on the contrary, it is a Regulation which is abſolutely neceſſary, for preventing a very dangerous and deſtructive Innovation's being introduced into our Form of Government, by the Change that has happened in our Circumſtances.

The Hon. Gentleman, Sir, who ſpoke upon the other Side of the Queſtion confeſs'd, that our Conſtitution was of a mixt Nature, that it was compounded of the three principal Sorts of Government; and its Perfection conſiſted in the Compoſition's being ſo artfully made up, that no one of the three could predominate; from whence he concluded, that the proper Buſineſs of each Branch of our Legiſlature was, not to take Care to diminiſh the Power of either of the other two, but to take Care to prevent being incroached on. This Concluſion, Sir, would hold true, if our Conſtitution had ever been compleatly eſtabliſhed, according to what appears to have been the Intention of our Anceſtors, and if no Alteration or Incroachment had been made; but when Alterations and Incroachments have been made, when by Deſign or Accident the Power of one of the Branches of our Government has been ſo increaſed, that it plainly predominates, or is like to predominate, the Buſineſs and the Duty of the two other Branches of our Legiſlature is, to take Care to diminiſh that Power which is like to become predominant in the Compoſition, or at leaſt to prevent its becoming more predominant than it is.

This, Sir, is our Caſe at preſent; a moſt ridiculous Maxim has for many Years prevailed, and has been admitted even by thoſe who thought they underſtood our Conſtitution: I mean that Maxim which ſays, That by our Conſtitution the whole executive Power of our Government is lodged in the Crown; and from hence another Maxim more deſtructive than the former has been drawn, That therefore the Crown ought to have the Nomination of all Magiſtrates and Officers that are, or may become neceſſary for the executive

Part

Part of our Government. Theſe are moſt dangerous as well as ridiculous Maxims: They are abſolutely repugnant to our Conſtitution, and to the very Nature of a free Government; for if the Crown had in its Hands the whole executive Power, and the Appointment of all Magiſtrates and Officers, it would be impoſſible to prevent its getting likewiſe the whole legiſlative as well as juriſdictive Power; and in that Caſe our Government would be an abſolute and not a limited Monarchy. What would it ſignify to ſay, that the Crown muſt govern according to Law, if it had a Power to make what Laws it pleaſed, and to interpret thoſe Laws as it thought fit? The moſt abſolute *Eaſtern* Monarch neither has nor deſires a greater Power; for in ſuch a Caſe our Parliament would be only the Grand Signior's Divan, and would be probably under the Influence of the ſame Sort of Animals, that of Slaves and Concubines.

But theſe Maxims, Sir, are far from being a Part of our Conſtitution: The Crown has not, it never had, the whole executive Part of our Government, and much leſs the Appointment of all Magiſtrates and Officers. The ſupreme juriſdictive, which in one Senſe may be called a Part of the executive Power, belongs to our Nobles in Parliament aſſembled; and formerly the Crown had the Nomination of ſupreme Magiſtrates and great Officers only; nor was this Nomination arbitrary; the Parliament had a Power to controul it, if low and unworthy Perſons had been named: Nay, ſuch Officers and Magiſtrates were often appointed by the Crown in Parliament, that is to ſay, with the Conſent of Parliament. But as to all inferior Magiſtrates and Officers, the Crown had not formerly the Nomination of any of them: They were all choſen by the People in their ſeveral Diviſions, and were anſwerable for their Conduct to the ſuperior Magiſtrates and Officers appointed by the Crown, as theſe again were for theirs, to both Houſes of Parliament. This was the Form of Government eſtabliſhed by the *Saxons*; but this did not long continue without Incroachment; for even in their Time, great Men often got ſome of the great Offices eſtabliſhed hereditarily in their Families; and after the Conqueſt, as it was neceſſary for the Conqueror to take as much Power as he could out of the Hands of the People, a great Part of the executive Power was lodged in the Families of thoſe great Lords who accompanied or aſſiſted him in his Conqueſt. A Shadow of the *Saxon* Tithing-Courts and other Forms of their Government remained, eſpecially in our Cities and Boroughs; but the Subſtance was gone. They were ſo much ſubjected to thoſe great Lords who got the Dominion over them, that they were of little Signification to the People, and by that Means they at laſt became in moſt Places contemptible.

As our great Families, Sir, got thus all the Power of our Government, both civil and military, into their Hands, and executed that Power by low Tools under them, it came of Courſe to be executed with great Partiality and Rapaciouſneſs, which made the People eaſily conſent, by Degrees, to the lodging of almoſt the whole executive Power of our Government, our Cities and Boroughs only excepted, in the Hands of the Crown. To this we ought to aſcribe thoſe Regulations, by which the Appointment of Sheriffs, Juſtices of Peace, Officers of the Militia, and ſuch like, was lodged wholly in the Crown; for tho' theſe Officers, or ſome Officers or Magiſtrates like unto them, were formerly choſen by the People, yet the Power of our great Families was

then ſo conſiderable in their reſpective Counties, that they generally got ſome of their Tools choſen, and by them the People were oppreſſed: This was the Inconvenience that was then found in popular Elections, and not the Diſturbances or Tumults thereby occaſion'd; and this made the People ſo eaſily conſent to have all theſe Officers appointed by the Crown; but as the Power of our great Families is not now near ſo conſiderable, nor, perhaps, ſo conſiderable as it ought to be, we could not be expoſed to this Inconvenience, by returning to the antient Method of having all theſe Officers and Magiſtrates choſen by the People.

By thus giving the Crown the Power to appoint ſuch a great Number of thoſe inferior Magiſtrates and Officers, that were neceſſary for the executive Part of our Government, a very great Innovation was made in our Conſtitution, and a great Weight taken from the Scale of the People, and thrown into that of the Crown; but with regard to the Influence of the Crown at Elections or in Parliament, this Innovation never became dangerous till after the Reſtoration. At that remarkable Period, Sir, the Joy People were in at being freed from the Tyranny of the very Scum of the Nation, prevented, their ſeeing the Danger of throwing into the Scale of the Crown, ſuch a new Weight of Power, as they did by the Eſtabliſhment of Cuſtoms and Exciſe, and giving the Nomination of all the Officers, and the Appointment of all Salaries and Perquiſites, in theſe two Branches of the publick Revenue, to the Miniſters of the Crown. The two Maxims I have mentioned were then in their Zenith; which made moſt People think, that it would be an Incroachment upon the Prerogatives of the Crown, to eſtabliſh any other Method for collecting theſe Revenues; but ſurely if they had foreſeen the Danger that was likely to enſue, with regard to the Influence the Miniſters of the Crown might thereby gain both upon Elections, and in Parliament, they would, by ſome Means or other have taken Care to guard againſt it, as we have endeavoured to do by ſeveral Acts of Parliament, paſt ſince that Time. And as it then became neceſſary to ſettle a much greater publick Revenue than had ever before been eſtabliſhed, if the Parliament had foreſeen the Miſapplication that might be made of that Revenue, eſpecially with regard to the gaining of an undue Influence at Elections or in Parliament, they would have taken Care to prevent that Miſapplication, as we have ſince endeavourd to do by the Appropriation Clauſes annually paſt in Parliament.

Theſe Overſights, Sir, and the Remedies ſince provided, ſhew, that it is ſometimes neceſſary to take Care to diminiſh, as well as to take Care to prevent an Increaſe of Power in one or other of the Branches of our Legiſlature. And the Dangers ariſing from theſe Overſights, as well as a great many others, would certainly have been more effectually guarded againſt, or prevented, at the Revolution, if the Ecſtaſy we were then in, at being freed from the Dominion of Prieſts, and Terror of Popery, had not prevented our ſeeing Dangers, which have ſince been both felt and ſeen, and in ſome Meaſure guarded againſt, tho' no Man who conſiders the Inefficacy of thoſe Laws that have been made for preventing a Majority of Placemen and Penſioners from having Seats in the Houſe of Commons, will ſay, that theſe Dangers are as yet ſufficiently guarded againſt.

I ſhall grant, Sir, that in every Society there muſt be a ſupreme Tribunal, a dernier Reſort, which every

every Man muſt, and ought to ſubmit to, in private as well as publick Affairs; but the Hon. Gentleman that ſpoke laſt has fully ſhewn, that in a free Government this ſupreme Tribunal, this dernier Reſort, muſt be lodged, in whole or in part, in the People in general. If the Society be ſmall, the People may, and therefore ought to aſſemble all together for this Purpoſe; but when the People of a Society are numerous, and their Dominions large, they cannot meet all together, and therefore muſt aſſemble by their Repreſentatives, for executing that Part of the ſupreme Power, which, by their Form of Government, they have reſerved in their own Hands. When the People all meet together for this Purpoſe, I hope it will be confeſſed, that every Man of the Society has a Right, and is in Duty bound, to examine ſtrictly into, and judge impartially of, every Affair that does, or may come before them; and I ſhould be glad to know, how any Man loſes this Right, or becomes diſcharged of this Duty, by ſending his Repreſentative to the Aſſembly; for I have always heard that an Attorney is accountable for his Conduct to his Conſtituent, and that a Principal is anſwerable for the Conduct of his Delegate. Therefore I muſt ſuppoſe, that the Repreſentative of a County, City, or Borough, is accountable for his Conduct in Parliament to his Conſtituents; and that the Conſtituents are anſwerable to God and their Country for the Conduct of their Repreſentative, eſpecially, if they again make choice of him, after he has once manifeſtly betrayed them.

It may be true, Sir, that a Repreſentative, choſen without any Conditions or Limitations, is not obliged to obſerve the Inſtructions afterwards ſent him by his Conſtituents, when they happen to be contrary to what he is convinced in his Conſcience to be right; but in ſuch a Caſe, I ſhould think it would be a modeſt and cautious Part in him, to avoid giving his Opinion, or to throw up the Truſt repoſed in him. And it may likewiſe be true, that neither the Conſtituents nor their Repreſentatives are puniſhable by the Laws of the Society for any Breach of Truſt or Duty, they may in this Reſpect be guilty of, becauſe of the Confuſions, Feuds, and Animoſities, that would ariſe from any human Methods that could be eſtabliſhed for inflicting ſuch Puniſhments; but this human Impoſſibility ſets neither of them free *in foro Conſcientiæ*. In a future State they will both be anſwerable to God for their Conduct; and in extraordinary Caſes, and after many manifeſt and repeated Breaches of Duty, the Country, the Society, if it ever recovers itſelf, may and ought to take Notice of, and puniſh ſuch Breaches of Duty, both in the Repreſentatives and Conſtituents, by inflicting, in an extraordinary Manner, ſome extraordinary Puniſhment.

But, Sir, ſuppoſe the Repreſentative were no way accountable to the Conſtituent, yet upon a new Election, ſurely it will be granted, that every Conſtituent has a Right, and is in Duty bound, to inquire into the paſt Conduct of his Repreſentative, in order to determine, whether he ought to truſt him a ſecond Time; becauſe if he has before betrayed his Country for the Sake of private Lucre, every Conſtituent that knowingly votes a ſecond Time for ſuch a Traitor, becomes an Acceſſory to all the Treacheries he was guilty of, and a Principal in every Treachery he may afterwards commit. Now as there is no judging of the Conduct of any Repreſentative, without judging of the Affairs in which he

he had a Concern, therefore every Conſtituent muſt, or at leaſt ought to inquire into every Affair, publick or private, that came before the Aſſembly, whilſt that Perſon was his Repreſentative. This, I ſay, muſt be granted, and therefore in a free Society every Voter for a Repreſentative has not only a Right, but is in Duty bound, to inquire into, and to form the beſt and moſt impartial Judgment he can, of all Affairs that come before the Aſſembly of the People. Conſequently, Sir, in this Kingdom, it is the Buſineſs and Duty of every Man that has a Vote for a Member of the Houſe of Commons, to inquire into, and judge of the preſent Frame of our Government, becauſe, if he thinks that, by Accident or Deſign, the Powers or Prerogatives of the Crown have been ſo much increaſed, or ſo far ſtretched, as to endanger that Equality and Independency, which ought to be kept up among the three conſtituent Branches of our Legiſlature, he is bound in Duty to God, to his Country, and to his Family, not to give his Vote, at the next Election, to any Candidate that refuſed or neglected to join in proper Meaſures for obviating that Danger.

This, Sir, is the Duty of every Man in this Kingdom, that has a Vote for any Member of Parliament. It was never denied to be ſo, but by thoſe who endeavour to lull the People aſleep, that they may the more eaſily carry on their Deſigns againſt our happy Conſtitution. From a Neglect of this Duty, the moſt fatal Conſequences may enſue; but from a Performance of it, no Inconvenience can ariſe; for no Man that has not a wrong Turn in his Head, will ever ſeriouſly ſet about contriving *Oceana*'s or *Utopia*'s, as long as our Conſtitution is preſerved in its full Vigour; and if the Conſtitution ſhould once be deſtroyed, it ſignifies little, what Sort of Tyranny may uſurp its Place; for with regard to the People, there can be no great Difference between one Sort of Tyranny and another, only it muſt be allowed, that of all Tyrannies, that which is founded upon Corruption is always the moſt expenſive, and generally the moſt cruel.

Thus, Sir, I hope I have ſhewn, that it is the Duty of every Elector in the Kingdom, as well as of every Branch of our Legiſlature, to be continually upon the Watch, in order to preſerve that Independency which is the Life of our Conſtitution; and therefore our taking care of this Independency, by removing every Thing that may deſtroy it, cannot be called mending, but preſerving our Conſtitution. Whether this Independency be now in Danger, from the many Places and great Sums of Money, of which the Miniſters of the Crown have the arbitrary Diſpoſal, is a Queſtion of another Nature. During his preſent Majeſty's Reign, every Gentleman will admit, that it cannot be in Danger of any Attack; becauſe his preſent Majeſty can never be prevailed on by any Miniſter, to make uſe of the Places or Money in the Diſpoſal of the Crown, for influencing or commanding Votes at Elections, or in Parliament. He will never confer or promiſe a Poſt or Penſion to any Man, in Conſideration of his Behaviour in Parliament; nor will he diſmiſs a Man from any Poſt of Honour or Profit, on account of his voting according to his Conſcience in Parliament. But it muſt be granted that, in ſome future Reign, this may be done; and notwithſtanding the Numbers already by Law excluded, as there are above 1000, I may ſay above 10000 Placemen in the Kingdom, who hold their Places at the ſole Pleaſure of the Crown, and not yet excluded from having Seats in Parliament; and as it is evident that Penſioners

ſioners and Men of inſufficient Fortunes may get into Parliament, notwithſtanding the Laws hitherto paſſed for excluding them; therefore, it muſt be granted, that in ſome future Reign, the Crown may gain the abſolute Direction of both Houſes of Parliament, by having in each a Majority of Members, who hold Penſions or lucrative Poſts at the arbitrary and ſole Pleaſure of the Crown: Conſequently it muſt be allowed, that our Conſtitution is in immediate Danger; for no Conſtitution can be ſaid to be ſecure, that depends upon Perſons, and not upon Things.

We may depend, Sir, upon his Majeſty's Wiſdom and Goodneſs, but, to our Misfortune, we cannot depend upon his Life, nor upon the Life of any Perſon now alive; therefore the Dependence we have upon his Majeſty's Wiſdom and Goodneſs, is ſo far from being an Argument againſt providing now, for our Security in Time to come, that it is an unanſwerable Argument for it. If a proper Regulation for this Purpoſe ſhould now paſs both Houſes of Parliament, his Majeſty would certainly give it the Royal Aſſent; which cannot be expected from a Prince reſolved to bring both Houſes of Parliament under a corrupt Dependence upon the Crown. From ſuch a Prince, it muſt be expected, that he will make uſe of Promiſes, Threatenings, and even Bribes in ready Money, to prevent ſuch a Bill's being brought in, or agreed to, by one or other of the Houſes of Parliament, in order to avoid his being brought under the Dilemma, of doing ſuch an unpopular Thing, as that of refuſing it the Royal Aſſent; and, under ſuch a Prince, it is to be feared, that ſuch a Method would prove effectual for putting a Stop to ſuch a Bill, in one or other of our Houſes of Parliament; whereas, during his preſent Majeſty's Reign, we are well aſſured, that no ſuch Method will ever be taken.

I ſhall grant, Sir, that a Poſt, a Penſion, or a Gratuity, would not perhaps of itſelf have any Influence upon a Man of an eaſy Fortune, that is to ſay, a Man who has no Deſires, no Appetites, but ſuch as he may eaſily ſupply from his own private Fortune; but how few are there of ſuch Men in any Country? What Man is there, whoſe Avarice, Vanity, or Luxury, does not prompt him to deſire either a larger Income, or ſomething that his private Fortune cannot ſupply? And with every ſuch Man, a Title of Honour, a Poſt of Honour or Profit, a Penſion, or a Gratuity will always have great Influence. This Influence, if a Man has any Honour, would not, 'tis true, be ſtrong enough for prevailing with him to ſupport a Miniſter, either at Elections or in Parliament, if he ſhould ſee that Miniſter making Steps towards arbitrary Power, or running his Country into Dangers, Difficulties, and Embarraſments, by weak or wicked Meaſures; but unleſs he were a Man of more than ordinary Penetration, it would be ſtrong enough for blinding his Underſtanding, and preventing his ſeeing the Tendency of the Miniſter's Steps, or the fatal Conſequences of his Meaſures.

By Way of Example, Sir, give me Leave to ſuppoſe, that in ſome future Reign, no Poſt or Employment ſhould be given, from his Majeſty's Waterman to his Majeſty's Secretary of State, but by Way of Bribe or Reward for ſupporting the Miniſter, either at Elections or in Parliament; that new Offices ſhould be every Day created, and old ones ſplit or quartered upon, in order to ſecure Votes at Elections, or in Parliament; that vaſt Sums of publick Money ſhould be for the ſame Purpoſe iſſued, and brought to the Account of ſecret Service Money; and that the moſt gallant, the moſt experienced Officers of the Army and

Navy

Navy ſhould be diſmiſſed for not following the Miniſter's Directions in Parliament, and every Officer diſappointed as to his Preferment in the Navy or Army, that could not add to the Number of miniſterial Voters, either in Parliament or at ſome of the Elections for Parliament-Men: Would not every unbiaſſed Man ſee, that theſe were Steps towards arbitrary Power, or rather in themſelves the Exerciſe of arbitrary Power? But would this be ſeen by any Man under a corrupt Influence? No, Sir, on the Side of the Adminiſtration it would be pretended, that they are not obliged to confer their Favours upon any but their Friends; that the King is not obliged to give his Reaſons for diſmiſſing or preferring any Officer in his Navy or Army; and that it is neceſſary, for the Support of Government, that the Crown ſhould have great and numerous Favours to beſtow upon Electors and Members, in order to prevent Faction and Sedition, and to induce Men to join in thoſe Meaſures, that are neceſſary for the Security and Welfare of their Country. And this Tinſel would paſs for good Coin with all thoſe under a corrupt Influence; tho' to every other Man in the Kingdom, theſe Arguments, eſpecially the laſt, would appear to be good Arguments againſt having any Parliament at all; for, if it were poſſible to ſuppoſe a People ſo depraved, a Parliament could ſerve only to inhance the publick Expence, and to add to the Oppreſſion of the People, but could in no Caſe contribute, either to their Relief or Security; and therefore the beſt Thing they could do, would be to follow the Example of *Denmark*, by reſigning at once all their Liberties and Privileges into the Hands of the Crown; becauſe, in an abſolute Monarchy, without any of the outward Forms of Liberty, the People may expect, that the publick Employments, and publick Money, will ſometimes at leaſt, and under ſome Adminiſtrations, be diſtributed among thoſe that really ſerve them; whereas, under an abſolute Monarchy, ſupported by a corrupt Parliament, the publick Employments, and publick Money, never can be diſtributed but among thoſe that betray them.

Again, let me ſuppoſe, Sir, that an Adminiſtration, by the Weakneſs or Wickedneſs of their Meaſures, had brought their Country into ſuch Diſcredit and Contempt, as neither to be truſted by its Friends, nor feared by its Enemies. In ſuch a Caſe, a Man of ſuch an eaſy Fortune as I have deſcribed, would probably ſee the Weakneſs or Wickedneſs of ſuch Meaſures, and would as probably refuſe to approve of them, or to applaud the Conduct of the Miniſters; but a Man whoſe Circumſtances were uneaſy, either on Account of the Narrowneſs of his Fortune, or the Boundleſſneſs of his Deſires, might eaſily, by ſome Sort of corrupt Influence, be induced to aſcribe the Misfortunes of his Country to croſs Accidents that could not be foreſeen, and not to the Weakneſs or Wickedneſs of the Meaſures that had been purſued. This, I ſay, might be the Caſe of every ſuch Man, unleſs he were a Man of greater Penetration than falls to the Share of the Generality of Mankind; and even ſuppoſe he were, yet unleſs he were a Man likewiſe of more Honour than can uſually be expected among ſuch Men, he would probably reſolve to ſupply his Appetites, or ſatisfy his Deſires, at the Expence of his Country; and thus, by Means of a corrupt Influence, a Majority might be got to approve of ſuch a Series of Weakneſs or Wickedneſs, as would at laſt render the Circumſtances of their Country irretrievable.

From what I have ſaid it muſt appear,

appear, Sir, that by Corruption alone, and without making uſe of Terrors, or committing any Acts of Violence, the Majority of a popular Aſſembly may be gained to approve of, or connive at ſuch Meaſures as muſt at laſt overturn the Liberties of the People; and this will be confirmed, if we conſider, that no Invader of his Country's Liberties ever began with an open Attack. The firſt Approaches are always made by the Sap; and for this Purpoſe ſome of the advanced Sentries muſt by Bribery be lulled into a Nap: But when the Out-works are undermined, and a Part of the Gariſon gained over by Corruption, the Aſſault may with Probability of Succeſs be begun: Then, indeed, thoſe who cannot be brought over by Corruption, may be threatned; and thoſe who cannot by Fear be compelled to ſubmit, are generally put to the Sword without Ceremony or Mercy. This was the Caſe of the *Romans*, as my Hon. Friend has fully explained: This will be the Caſe with every free People that once allow Bribery and Corruption to get a firm Footing among them. At *Rome* there were no Proſcriptions, no falſe Accuſations, nor cruel Proſecutions, nor any legal Murders, till the Corruption of the People, joined with an extravagant Fondneſs, had put a great mercenary Army under the abſolute Command of one Man, and had continued him in Command till he had Time to render the Army more attached to his perſonal Intereſt, than they were to the Intereſt of their Country. Then it was, that the People of *Rome* ſaw their Favourite *Marius* triumphing over their Liberties, with that very Army which they had given him to triumph over their Enemies; and *Julius Cæſar*, their next Favourite, by the ſame Methods, compleated what their firſt Favourite had begun. This was the Conſequence of Corruption, this was the Fate of *Rome*, but to the Glory of that valiant and virtuous People, this Fate they did not ſubmit to, till moſt of their great and noble Families were deſtroyed almoſt Root and Branch; for in that glorious Commonwealth, it was thought the moſt reproachful Ignominy that could befal a great Family, to be quiet Spectators of the Dangers, or wretched Survivors of the Liberties of their Country.

To tell us, Sir, that we ought not to ſuppoſe our Liberties in Danger, till we ſee Gentlemen murdered without any Form of Law, or proſecuted to Death by Means of falſe Accuſations, for no other Reaſon but that of their having oppoſed the Adminiſtration, at Elections, or in Parliament; is to tell us, that we are never to apprehend our Liberties in Danger till they are actually and irrecoverably overturned; for a Miniſter would be an arrant Fool, as well as Rogue, if he ſhould begin to practiſe ſuch Severities among a People that had any Liberty left. Nay, even after the Liberties of a People are deſtroyed, ſuch Practices are never openly avowed. After an arbitrary Power is once firmly eſtabliſhed, thoſe that are ſo hardy as to oppoſe the Wickedneſs, or expoſe the Weakneſs of an Adminiſtration, may for that Reaſon be murdered, either legally, or without any Trial or Form of Law; but even then, the true Reaſon will never be aſſigned: It will be pretended that they were guilty of ſome treaſonable Practices, or of the Breach of ſome penal Law, contrived perhaps, on purpoſe, as a Trap for thoſe that might afterwards expreſs the leaſt Diſſatisfaction with the Meaſures of the Government; and the Slaves of Power, from the higheſt to the loweſt, will from thence take Occaſion to reſound the Vigilance of the Miniſter through the whole Nation. If this ſhould happen to be the Caſe in any Country, it would be ridiculous to talk of

guarding againſt the Loſs of Liberty: Nay, in a little Time, it would be ridiculous to think of reſtoring it; for amongſt a People generally corrupted in their Morals (the certain Effect of arbitrary Rule) and inured to Slavery, it ſoon becomes impoſſible to eſtabliſh and ſupport a free Government.

But from what has been ſaid, it ſeems, the Miniſters of the Crown muſt be enabled and allowed to give Poſts, Penſions, and Gratuities, to Electors and Members, in order to prevent the Ambitious, Avaritious and Luxurious from forcing themſelves into Power, by Faction and Combination. I ſhall grant, Sir, that the Eſtabliſhing of abſolute Power is the moſt effectual Method that can be taken for preventing Factions and Combinations among the People; but I hope no Gentleman will ſay, that therefore it ought to be taken. I ſhall likewiſe grant, that in free Governments, the Ambitious are as ready to aim at getting into the Magiſtracy, as in abſolute Governments; but I cannot admit, that in a well regulated free Government, the Avaritious and Luxurious will be ſo ready to aim at it; becauſe in ſuch a Government, the Salaries are ſo ſmall, the Perquiſites ſo few, and the publick Money muſt be ſo ſtrictly accounted for, that no Man can expect to ſatisfy his Avarice, or ſupply his Luxury, by any Poſt in the Government of his Country; for I will be bold to ſay, that in any free Government where ſuch Men can entertain ſuch Expectations, the Liberties of that People are in the high Road to Perdition. But ſuppoſe the Avaritious and Luxurious, as well as the Ambitious, were as fond of getting into the Government of a free State, as into that of a ſlaviſh one, the Means that muſt be made uſe of are very different, and the Harm they may do muſt be much greater in the latter, than it can be in the former. In a free State, ſuch Men can put themſelves into a Way of forcing themſelves into the Magiſtracy by Hypocriſy alone: By concealing their real Views, and pretending a Zeal for the publick Good, they may get themſelves choſen by the People; but their Hypocriſy will ſoon appear, and they will certainly be turned out at the next Election, which in a well regulated Conſtitution muſt ſoon happen; therefore they can have no long Time to plunder or oppreſs the People, and will probably be obliged to refund, as ſoon as they are turned out of the Magiſtracy: Whereas in abſolute Governments of every Kind, Men are not obliged to put on ſo much as the Semblance of Virtue, in order to get into any Magiſtracy; and the more rapacious they are, the longer they will be continued, becauſe the more rapacious they are, the more they will be able to pay to their Superiors for continuing them in their Poſt. For this Reaſon, our enabling or allowing the Miniſters of the Crown to give Poſts, Penſions, or Gratuities, to Electors or Members, will tend, moſt probably, to bring the Ambitious, Avaritious, and Luxurious into Power, to continue them the longer in the Poſſeſſion of it, and to render them the more rapacious and unjuſt whilſt they are in it.

This Argument therefore, Sir, inſtead of being an Argument for enabling the Miniſters of the Crown to eſtabliſh any Thing like an abſolute Power, by Means of a corrupt Influence at Elections, or in Parliament, muſt be a ſtrong Argument for preſerving the Independency of Parliament, and the Freedom and Frequency of all Sorts of popular Elections. At ſuch Elections, I ſhall admit, that the Candidates themſelves may be able to influence ſome of the lower Claſs of Mankind by Bribery, or by Motives that are in them-

themſelves corrupt, which, for Diſtinction's Sake, I ſhall call private Corruption, in Oppoſition to that which proceeds from the Crown, or the Miniſters of the Crown, and for that Reaſon may be called publick Corruption. I ſhall readily grant that both ought to be prevented, and the beſt Way of preventing both is, to have all Sorts of popular Elections made as frequent as poſſible, as has been fully proved by the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke firſt in this Debate *; but private Corruption, when the Canditates themſelves are under no corrupt Influence, can never, in this Kingdom, be of any dangerous Conſequence to Liberty, becauſe it muſt always proceed from diſtinct Fountains, and run in different Channels; whereas when the Candidates themſelves are under the corrupt Influence of Miniſters, the Whole of it proceeds originally from the ſame Fountain, and runs in the ſame Channel with publick Corruption; and when both are thus united, the Torrent may become too ſtrong for the Friends of Liberty to ſtem, by any Means they can make uſe of.

Now, Sir, as to the Diſturbances and Tumults that are ſometimes occaſioned by popular Elections, they may be made uſe of as an Argument againſt having any ſuch Elections, that is to ſay, againſt having any Thing like a free Government; but ſurely they can never be made uſe of in this Kingdom againſt the Frequency of Elections, or againſt their being preſerved from Force or Corruption; for Experience muſt convince every Man, that the more frequent our Elections are, and the more fairly and freely they are carried on, the leſs liable they are to Diſturbances and Tumults; and if all the popular Elections in the Kingdom were annual, they could neither divert the People from their induſtrious Imployments, nor could they occaſion ſo much Extravagance and Debauchery, as they now do. A Gentleman's Intereſt in his County or Corporation, would then depend upon his reſiding in it, upon his ſerving it faithfully, upon his doing real good Offices to his Neighbours, and upon a continual Courſe of innocent Hoſpitality; and not upon his throwing away once every ſeven Years, vaſt Sums of Money, upon bribing the Electors, and making the Mob drunk for two or three Months together.

From what I have ſaid, Sir, I hope it will evidently appear, that a corrupt Influence at Elections, or in Parliament, may be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to Liberty; and that it is the Buſineſs and Duty of every Man in the Kingdom, to conſider the Nature, and endeavour as much as he can to preſerve the Freedom of our Conſtitution; therefore I muſt conclude, that it is the Duty of every Man in the Kingdom, to prevent ſuch an Influence by all the Means and Methods he has in his Power; and as one of the moſt effectual Methods is, to put a Mark of Contempt, as often as an Opportunity offers, upon every Man who, by his Conduct, gives the leaſt Ground to ſuſpect that he has ever been, or is capable of being, under ſuch an Influence, in any Poſt or Place he has been, or can be in; and as this Method is in every one's Power, therefore it ought to be practiſed by every Man in the Kingdom, at every popular Election in which he has a Right to give his Vote.

This, Sir, I lay down as a Rule for the Behaviour of every Man in the Kingdom, which will certainly be moſt religiouſly obſerved by every Man that has the leaſt Regard to his own Honour, or the Liberty of his Country; and by this Rule, let

* *See* London Magazine *for* November *laſt, Page* 585.

the Conduct of the Citizens of *London* at their laſt Election of a Lord Mayor be judged. Whether the Citizens had any Ground for the Suſpicions they entertained upon that Occaſion, is a Queſtion that is not now before us, but by this Rule the Conduct of every Citizen that thought he had any ſuch, will be juſtified; and if this Rule were as religiouſly obſerved as it ought, by all honeſt Electors, it would be an effectual Bar to the Corruption of every Member that ſhall ever propoſe to be rechoſen by ſuch; but when the Electors are corrupt, it can hardly be expected, that their Repreſentatives ſhould be honeſt.

To pretend, Sir, that the Citizens of *London* had no Right to meddle with a Member's giving his Vote for addreſſing his Majeſty upon the late Convention with *Spain*, is an Objection which the Hon. Gentleman himſelf was pleaſed to anſwer; for he immediately told us, that when a Gentleman has taken his Seat in Parliament, he becomes a Repreſentative, not of the Place that choſe him, but of the People of *Great Britain* in general. If this be ſo, Sir, have not the People of *Great Britain* in general, has not every Man in *Great Britain* a Right to judge of the Conduct and Behaviour of every Repreſentative in Parliament? I ſhall grant, that no Member is anſwerable for his Conduct in Parliament, ſo far as to ſubject himſelf to be puniſhed on that Account by any Man, or any Tribunal, except the Houſe of which he is a Member; but is not he anſwerable to every Man in the Kingdom, ſo far as to intitle that Man to judge whether he ought to vote for putting a new Truſt in him upon any future Election? Every Gentleman, 'tis true, ought to vote in Parliament according to his own Conſcience, eſpecially when he is choſen without any Conditions or Limitations; but if upon Inquiry I ſhould find, that his Conſcience had been a blind or perverſe Guide, I am ſure I ſhould be to blame, if I intruſted him with mine upon any new Occaſion. Sir, if a Member of Parliament from the extreameſt Part of the Kingdom, from the *ultima Thule*, came to be choſen into any Poſt of Honour or Truſt in the City of *London*, and I were a Liveryman of that City, I ſhould think myſelf obliged to inquire into his Behaviour in Parliament, and if I found Reaſon to ſuſpect his having been guilty of a Breach of Truſt in that Station, I ſhould think myſelf obliged to vote againſt his being choſen into any Poſt of Honour or Truſt in my City. Even tho' he were otherwiſe ſomeway intitled to my Vote, I ſhould think myſelf obliged, in Duty to my Country, to take that Opportunity of putting a Sort of Mark of Infamy upon him. This he would deſerve, and this could be of no dangerous Conſequence to any Freedom in Parliament, but that of receiving and deſerving a Bribe from a Miniſter; and that is a Freedom which, I hope, no Member of Parliament will ever take.

In this Reſpect, Sir, there is a very great Difference between the Crown and the People: The Members of the Houſe of Commons are not the Repreſentatives of the Crown, and, I hope, I ſhall never ſee them, as ſuch, the Servants of the Crown. But they are the Repreſentatives; and conſequently, as ſuch, they muſt be the Servants of the People. Therefore, tho' the People have a Right to inquire into, and judge of the Conduct of every Repreſentative in Parliament, ſo far at leaſt as to intitle them to refuſe granting him any Honour or Favour they have to beſtow, in caſe, upon ſuch Inquiry, they be convinced that he no Way deſerves it, or that by his Conduct in Parliament he has forfeited all Title he might otherwiſe have had

to

to it, yet the Crown has no Right to inquire or judge of the Behaviour of any Repreſentative in Parliament; and conſequently can from thence have no Pretence to refuſe him any Honour or Favour, he is by Cuſtom or by his Services intitled to.

What I have ſaid upon this Head, Sir, will be a ſufficient Anſwer to the laſt Objection the Hon. Gentleman was pleaſed to make. The Crown has no Right to inquire into the Conduct of any Gentleman in Parliament, and therefore the Miniſters of the Crown would do Injuſtice, if they ſhould diſappoint any Officer of his Preferment in the Army, on Account of his Behavour in Parliament. But the People have a Right to inquire into the Conduct of their Repreſentatives; therefore, if the People had the Diſpoſal of Commiſſions in the Army, they would have a Right to diſappoint an Officer of his Preferment, or even to turn him out of the Commiſſion he enjoyed in the Army, if they were convinced that he had ſold them in Parliament; for they could not expect that a Man who had betrayed them in one Station, ſhould ſerve them faithfully in any other.

Having thus, I think, anſwered all the material Objections I have heard made againſt the Conduct of the Citizens of *London* at the laſt Election of their Lord Mayor, I ſhall conclude, Sir, with wiſhing, which I do moſt heartily, that their Conduct upon that Occaſion, may be look'd on by all the Electors in the Kingdom, as an Example worthy of their Imitation at all future Elections; and that it may be a Warning to our Repreſentatives in all future Parliaments, ſo to demean themſelves, as not to give any Ground of Jealouſy to the People, of their having been influenced in their Conduct, by any Motives, but ſuch as were founded upon Reaſon and the publick Good of their Country.

[*This Journal to be continued in our next.*]

Univerſal Spectator, Feb. 2. N° 591.

Of AMBITION *in private Life.*

WHATEVER is the predominant Paſſion of the Mind, that engroſſes all its Faculties, and every Thing is neglected to indulge it: Thus, if it ſhould be the Ambition of a young Gentleman or young Lady to commence a finiſh'd *Petit Maitre* or modern *Belle*, Dreſs, Finery, Balls, Operas, with a long *Et-cætera*, are their only Studies, while good Senſe and Underſtanding are totally neglected: All their Thoughts, their Time and Money, are employ'd to adorn the Body, whilſt their Mind ſinks into Depravity, inſtead of receiving any Embelliſhment: Perhaps it is from this Kind of Ambition, that there is ſcarce a *Beau* but is a Blockhead, or a *Belle* who has common Senſe.

I imagine the moſt extravagant Fancies and Actions, if they were traced to their original Source, wou'd be found to take their Riſe from ſome extravagant Ambition; and what are otherwiſe unaccountable may be accounted for by this Paſſion: Nor is there any other Cauſe, why Mr. *Booze*, the *Deputy* of a certain Ward in this Metropolis, will drink Bumpers to certain political Healths, till he can neither ſtand, go, nor ſpeak. Can he do this out of Ambition?—Yes, he is reſolv'd to excel another Deputy of an adjacent Ward in Teſtimony of his Principles, by the greater Number of Half-Pint Bumpers. His Adverſary has a Soul which equally thirſts after Praiſe and *Red Port*; thus, thro' the *Patriot* and *Courtly* Ambition of theſe worthy Gentlemen, they are in a fair Way of killing one another.

I cannot here omit an odd Kind of Ambition, to which I was once an Eye-

Eye-witneſs: Two young Gentlemen of *Oxford* were both enamour'd with the ſame Lady, who was then the reigning Toaſt of that Place: On ſome Diſpute, in regard to the Affections which each bore to the Lady, each was ambitious to teſtify his Love and his Gallantry. What was the Effect of ſuch an Emulation? Why, the one put a large Spoonful of *Soot* into his Glaſs, then filling a Bumper, toaſted his Miſtreſs's Health, and drank it with an Air which betray'd a Conſciouſneſs of his Victory; the other, with a philoſophical Calmneſs ſmil'd at ſuch a vain Experiment, ſtepp'd to his Cloſet for a Phial of *Ink*, fill'd a Brimmer with it, and toſs'd it off with *Io Triumphe* and Miſs *Molly*—. Whoſe Ambition roſe to the greateſt Height was not determin'd by the Company, and like two great Generals after a drawn Battle, both claim'd the Victory.—I muſt add, that Miſs *Molly* on this Occaſion look'd on them as two equal Fools, and wou'd have neither of them.

But of all Kinds of *Pride*, the greateſt is that which affects to conſiſt in *Humility*. I have often obſerv'd more Haughtineſs and inſolent Carriage in a plain Quaker-like Coat and ſhining Beaver, than in an embroider'd Suit, and a Hat with a Cockade in it. Much Self-Sufficiency is ſeen in an artful Simplicity of Garb; and I have known an old Miſer as proud of having a Pair of *Tape Shoe-Strings*, as my Lord *Vainairs* of his *Diamond Shoe-Buckles*.

However, I muſt acknowledge, that Ambition may be rational and laudable, when it ſeeks and aims at the *Happineſs* of *human Society*, and the *Good* of our *Fellow-Creatures*. It is with a ſecret Joy that I have ſeen by the publick Papers a noble Emulation exert itſelf at this ſevere Seaſon, to aſſiſt thoſe who muſt neceſſarily be oppreſs'd with every Kind of Want. Every Pariſh thro' our Metropolis has had a laudable *Ambition* to collect as much as poſſible for their ſeveral Poor; and private, unknown Perſons have ſeem'd to contend who cou'd outdo one another in generous Benefactions: This is an Ambition worthy the Dignity of human Nature, and the Reſult only of a good and underſtanding *Mind*. (ſee p. 48.)

But to return. *Ambition* is not confin'd to any Degree of Mankind; it is evident in every Claſs, nor do the loweſt give leſs Proofs of it than the higheſt. How far the Pride of Man can demonſtrate itſelf among the inferior Sort, is very humorouſly deſcrib'd by Mr. *Addiſon* in a Paper, where he obſerves, that a *Cobler* near *Ludgate* had fix'd in his Stall the Wooden Image of a *Beau* with his Hat off, and with an obſequious Bow extending his Hand to give him *Ends* and *Briſtles* neceſſary for his Craft—But this Ambition in our *Engliſh* Cobler did not come up to that Nobleneſs of Pride of a *Flandercan* one.—The Story runs thus:

Charles V. generally us'd, in his Intervals of Relaxation, to retire to *Bruſſels:* He was a Prince politically curious enough to know the Sentiments of his meaneſt Subjects concerning himſelf, and the Adminiſtration of his Affairs; therefore often went out *incog.* and mix'd himſelf in ſuch Companies as he thought proper: It fell out one Night when he was out in private, ſome unlucky Accident happen'd to his Boot, which requir'd immediate Mending; he aſk'd where a Cobler liv'd, and was directed to one: Unluckily for the Emperor, it happen'd to be St. *Criſpin*'s Holiday; and inſtead of finding the Cobler inclin'd for Work, he was in the Height of his Mirth and Jollity among his Friends and Acquaintance: The Emperor, however, acquainted him with what he wanted, and offer'd him a handſome Gratuity to oblige him.—

'What,

'What, Friend, ſays the Fellow, 'do you know no better than to aſk 'any of our Craft to work on St. 'Criſpin?—Was it *Charles*, the Em-'peror himſelf, I'd not do a Stitch 'for him now.—But if you'll come 'in, and drink St. *Criſpin*, do and 'welcome; we are as merry as the 'Emperor himſelf.'—The Sovereign accepted his Offer, and found ſuch rude, but hearty Mirth, which the Commonalty are delighted with. While he was contemplating on their Pleaſure, inſtead of joining in it, the jovial Hoſt thus accoſts him.—'What, I ſuppoſe you are ſome 'Courtier Politician or other by that 'contemplative Phiz.—Nay, by 'your *long Noſe*, you may be a Ba-'ſtard of the Emperor's:—But be '*who*, or *what* you will, you're 'heartily welcome.—Drink about; 'here's *Charles* the Fifth's Health.' —Then you love *Charles* the Fifth, reply'd the Emperor?—'Love him? 'ſays the Son of *Criſpin*.—Ay, ay, 'I love his *long Noſeſhip* well e-'nough; but I ſhou'd love him 'much *more*, wou'd he but *tax* 'us a little *leſs*: But, what the 'Devil have we to do with Poli-'ticks?—Round with the Glaſs, and 'merry be our Hearts.'—After a little Stay, the Emperor took his Leave, and thank'd the Cobler for his hoſpitable Reception.—'That, 'cry'd he, you're welcome to; but 'I wou'd not to Day have diſho-'nour'd St. *Criſpin* to have work'd 'for the Emperor.'—*Charles*, pleas'd with the honeſt good Nature and Humour of the Fellow, ſent for him next Morning to Court: You muſt imagine his Surprize, to ſee and hear that his late Gueſt was his Sovereign; he fear'd his Joke on his *long Noſe* muſt be puniſh'd with Death.—The Emperor thank'd him for his Hoſpitality, and, as a Reward for it, bid him aſk for what he moſt deſir'd, and gave him till next Day to ſettle his *Surprize* and his *Ambition*. The next Day he appear'd, and requeſted, that for the future the *Coblers* of *Flanders* might bear for their *Arms*, a *Boot* with the Emperor's *Crown* upon it.—That Requeſt was granted, and as his Ambition was ſo moderate, the Emperor bid him make another.——'If, ſays 'he, I am to have my utmoſt Wiſh-'es, Command that for the future 'the Company of *Coblers* ſhall take 'Place of the Company of *Shoe-mak-'ers*.'——It was accordingly ſo ordain'd, and to this Day there is to be ſeen a Chapel in *Flanders*, adorn'd round with a *Boot* and *Imperial Crown* on it, and in all Proceſſions the Company of *Coblers* take Place of the Company of *Shoemakers*.

Craftſman, Feb. 2. N° 708.

A SPEECH *of* SULPITIUS, *the* Roman *Conſul, paraphras'd.*

Mr. *D'Anvers*,

AS I think that I ſee the Dawnings of Sincerity break out in ſome of the late Lucubrations of the *miniſterial* Writers, I take the firſt Opportunity to give them a publick Teſtimony of my Regard, which I chuſe to do in a Letter to *you*.

In one of their Papers, the *Author* frankly acknowledges that the Imputation of *Jacobitiſm* to *Tories* is without Foundation. I am very glad to find the *Miniſtry* are at laſt oblig'd to acknowledge the Truth of a Fact, which they have employ'd ſo many Millions to guard againſt. As the general Belief of this muſt greatly conduce to that Confidence and Unanimity, ſo neceſſary to preſerve us againſt *domeſtick Encroachments*, I hope it is an Earneſt that no Attempts of that Kind are intended to be made, for the future; and that we ſhall now unite as one People, againſt the *real*, not *imaginary Enemies to our Conſtitution*.

Leaving this Paper therefore with my ſincere Wiſhes, that it may ſucceſsfully

ceſsfully accompliſh ſuch happy Events, I ſhall proceed to another of the ſame Stamp, the *Author* of which hath lately deviated into Truth.—Whether *this worthy Gentleman* had the Conſent of his *Patron*, (who, being ſo often detected of *Falſhood*, may have a Mind to try what he can do, by way of Experiment, in ſpeaking *Truth*, and acting ſincerely) I muſt leave *him* and his *Patron* to ſettle by themſelves, But as it is not very uſual amongſt the *Fraternity* to ſpeak Truth, upon any Occaſion, *this Writer* chuſes to do it under the Diſguiſe of an *Allegory*, or by Way of *Innuendo*, in Part of a Speech made by *Sulpitius*, who was the *Roman* Conſul appointed to carry on the War againſt *Philip* of *Macedon*. I muſt confeſs that *our Author* took what he hath inſerted, literally from Dr. *Bundy*'s Tranſlation of *Cartrou* and *Rouille*; but, by ſome Mutilations, he hath moſt accurately adapted it to the Circumſtances of the *preſent Times*. I muſt farther obſerve, that the Reaſon of chuſing to convey his Sentiments in a Speech made by *Sulpitius*, might probably be, that there are ſome Circumſtances, which bear a great Reſemblance between the Conduct of the *Roman Conſul* and his *worthy Patron*, in the firſt Commencement of the reſpective Wars they have had to manage.—I will particularize ſome Incidents, which happen'd to the *Roman*.

Firſt, after the War was declar'd againſt *Philip*, at the Beginning, *Sulpitius* was very dilatory in carrying it on, and took Advantage of the Superſtition of the People to defer his Enterprize, till he had perform'd certain *Faſts*, *Feſtivals*, and *religious Games*, as we may ſee from the Words of the Hiſtory.—Sulpitius *eſpecially was very dilatory in ſetting out for* Macedon. *He continually found Pretences to poſtpone it, ſometimes on Account of* Religion.

The *Roman Conſul* was likewiſe very fond of what we call *Votes of Credit*, which he carry'd ſo far as to prevail upon the *Senate* and *Pontifical College* to authorize him to paſs a *Vow of Credit* upon the *Roman Deities*, as appears from the ſame Author. "So that *Sulpitius* pronounc'd the Form of a *Vow*, concluding with this Clauſe, that the *Senate* ſhould determine the Expences of the *Games*, and the Value of the *Preſent*, when they thought proper. This was the firſt Time, that a *Vow* was ever made at *Rome* of an indeterminate Sum." And laſtly, he was for a while deterr'd from his Expedition, thro' Fear of the *French*, as may be proved by the ſame Authority. "* A ſudden Commotion amongſt the *Gauls* kept *Sulpitius* ſtill in the City." Leaving every Man to make his own Compariſons, I will now quote the Speech abovemention'd, as it is inſerted in one of the *miniſterial Papers*.

"*Romans*! you long for Tranquillity. I wiſh the Gods would grant, and your Enemies ſuffer you to enjoy its Fruits. But *Philip* is a reſtleſs Prince. We have diſcover'd his Intrigues. Is it not better to carry the War into his Dominions, than to let him pillage our Countries, and ſack our Provinces? If we poſtpone ſending Relief to the *Athenians*; if we do not find the King of *Macedon* Employment in *his own Dominions*; we may ſee him croſs the Sea, and renew our Alarms in *Italy*. You know the Friendſhip, which *Philip* hath always had for *Hannibal*. Let therefore the Fire and Sword be only found in *Macedon*. You have often ſeen the good Effect of making War *abroad*, and preſerving Peace *at home*. With theſe Sentiments, go into the *Voting-Place*,

* *The above Quotations may be ſeen in* Bundy's Roman Hiſtory, *Vol.* 4. *p.* 7.

Place, and give your Suffrages. The *Senate*, your *Conſuls*, and even the *Gods* themſelves ſollicit you to declare againſt *Philip*."

Now, with this *Writer*'s Conſent, I will endeavour to give the plain and genuine Application of this Speech, which I preſume will run thus.

"*Britons*, for 20 Years paſt, you have been ſo much incumber'd by the Perplexity of your Affairs, that you have neither been ſuffer'd to reap the Fruits of *Peace*, nor to take the Revenge of *War*; which is the only Way to gain a perfect Tranquillity. The Chicanes of the Queen of *Spain*, *Philip*'s Conſort, a *reſtleſs Princeſs*, have been too often, and are become too groſs for us to give any farther Credit to them. Is it not better to puſh on a vigorous War upon *our Enemies*, than to ſuffer them unpuniſh'd to plunder our Ships, or deſtroy our Trade? If we ſhould neglect ſending proper Supplies of *Men*, *Arms*, *Ammunition*, and *wholeſome Proviſions*, to *Minorca* and *Gibraltar*, how fatal may be the Event? Or, if our Trade up the *Streights*, or in the *Levant*, ſhould be left open to the *Enemy's Privateers*, what will it avail to have *large* and *expenſive Fleets* upon the *Spaniſh Coaſts*; and if any of the *Britiſh Fleet* don't carry Fire and Sword upon the *Spaniſh Dominions*, who knows but that, next Year, we may have the *Pretender* invading *England* with *Spaniſh* Forces? The moſt Ignorant cannot be Strangers to the Friendſhip, which the Houſe of *Bourbon* hath always ſhewn to the Perſon of the *Pretender*. Let us therefore be ſpeedy in carrying Deſtruction upon the *Spaniſh Dominions*, and to the *Spaniſh Plantations*; that Fire and Sword may ravage only in our *Enemy's Country*. How much preferable it is to place the Seat of War in an *Enemy's Country*, Experience hath taught us; and the moſt *blundering Politicians* cannot fail to know, and always will attempt it, unleſs deterr'd by *Fear*, or diverted by *Treachery*. With theſe Sentiments, animate your Repreſentatives, and inſtruct them vigorouſly to puſh on the *War*, which by their *Votes* they have already ſhewn ſo much Zeal to commence; nor can we fear the Protection of Providence in ſo juſt a Cauſe."

In explaining this *allegorical Speech* the Reader will perceive how much Caution I have us'd not to make any forc'd Conſtruction.——But I think it cannot be improper to make ſome Animadverſions, and to ſubjoin ſome Arguments, in order to enforce the Sentiments, which have been deliver'd under the Obſcurity of an *Allegory*.

It is much to be lamented, that *this Gentleman* did not ſooner adviſe his *Patron* to act with Vigour and Zeal, becauſe when a *War* is begun, it is the Intereſt of *both Sides* to conquer as faſt as they can; and I cannot conceive in what Part of the *Spaniſh Dominions* a Deſcent can be made next Summer, that with full as favourable a Proſpect of Succeſs could not have been made by this Time; eſpecially if the Suggeſtion ſhould prove true, that *Philip* is preparing to invade us with *Hannibal*; for it is evident that no ſuch Preparations could have been made laſt Seaſon; and if we were not ſo well prepar'd laſt Year to attack, *Spain* was leſs able to defend herſelf. We have been always told, that when we ſhould think proper to engage in real Hoſtilities againſt *Spain*, we muſt do it by Surprize.——I was t'other Day in a Coffee-Houſe near the *Temple*, where a ſmart young Fellow came in, (who, no doubt, thought himſelf very arch) and with a compos'd Countenance ſaid aloud, *Hath Nobody heard how we have ſurprized the* Spaniards? Every Body's Ears were open to hear how; and,

after ſome Silence, a grave Gentleman aſk'd, *Pray, Sir, how may we have ſurprized the* Spaniards?——To which the Wag reply'd, *Why, by G—d, by doing Nothing againſt them.*

Common Senſe, Feb. 2. N° 157.

EXTRACTS *from a Book lately publiſhed in* French, *entitled*, The Inſtitution of a Prince: Or, a Treatiſe of the Qualities and Duties of a Sovereign.

THIS Work was undertaken, at the Requeſt of the late King of *Sardinia*, for the Inſtruction of the Prince of *Piedmont* his Son, the elder Brother of the King of *Sardinia* who now reigns. His Father, expecting at that Time that he would one Day mount the Throne of *Spain*, was reſolv'd to have him inſtructed in a particular Manner, in thoſe Obligations incumbent upon a Prince, deſigned to govern one of the moſt conſiderable Monarchies of *Europe*, but, at the ſame Time, the moſt full of Abuſes.

It is well known, there are certain characteriſtick Prejudices peculiar to every Nation, relative to their Religion and Government: This Work is not free from them; but the ſenſible and impartial Reader will make a Diſtinction betwixt what the Author thinks, as a *Frenchman*, attach'd to one Sect of the Chriſtian Religion *, and what he thinks, as a Citizen of the World, independent of all Forms of Government, and a Chriſtian, independent of any particular Sect.

The Liberty with which the Author explains himſelf is ſuch, that it occaſion'd a Prohibition of the Book in *France*, which, I preſume, will be no Objection to it here. The Approbation given it by the King of *Sardinia*, does more Honour to that Prince, than to its modeſt and virtuous Author.——We ſhall give our Readers ſome Extracts from it.——The late Day appointed for Faſting and Prayer engages us to deliver this Author's Sentiments upon the Subject of Prayer.

"The Prince (ſays he) muſt give Ardour to publick Prayers; they are to be animated by his Piety; they languiſh and ſink when not ſupported by his Example, and God puniſhes his Indifference by that of his Subjects with Regard to him: Foreign Wars, publick Calamities, imprudent Counſels, Paſſions that prove unfortunate to the Prince and to the Realm, are the Puniſhments and Effects of little Religion in the Prince and in the Subject: When the Prince does not trouble himſelf about the Practice of Religion, he deprives the publick Prayers of their Spirit and Fervour."

Here the Author deſcribes the Vices of a Prince; after which he proceeds as follows.

"If he diſhonours Religion by his own Conduct, he muſt expect to find, in all Conditions and Employments, Men unjuſt and perfidious: The Finances will be ill managed, Juſtice ill adminiſter'd, Offices unworthily fill'd, publick Affairs ill conducted, the Armies without Diſcipline, the Miniſters unattentive to the publick Intereſt, and the People without Faith or Probity."

In the next Paragraph, the Author recommends Chaſtity, "as a Virtue eſſential towards giving an Efficacy to Prayer, and as a Quality the moſt worthy of being the Object of it, comformable to that Paſſage of St. *Paul* to *Timothy*,——*I exhort, therefore, that, firſt of all, Supplications, Prayers, Interceſſions, and giving of Thanks be made for all Men: For Kings, and for all that are in Authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable Life, in all Godlineſs and Honeſty*, that is, *Chaſtity*.——In Effect, there is no Virtue the Practice of which

* *He was a* Romiſh *Prieſt.*

which ought to be ſo ſtrongly recommended, as generally it is leſs obſerv'd as well by the worſt Prince, as by thoſe who, in other Reſpects, are not bad.

A Prince, in order to preſerve his own Dominion and Authority, muſt make Virtue flouriſh: He muſt diſtinguiſh it with Honours, muſt prefer it to all Things, and encreaſe the Number of Men of Virtue; he ſhould look upon all ſuch as Enemies of his Perſon, his Intereſt, his Glory, of the Country, and of his Service, who are Enemies to Virtue: Nothing elſe can have an Effect. In vain will it be for him to complain, that he ſcarce any where finds Fidelity, Gratitude, Integrity, Love of Juſtice, or Zeal for the publick Service, when he himſelf ſhall be the principal Cauſe of all theſe Diſorders."

We cannot alledge ſtronger Motives to engage both Prince and Subject, in Prayer and Humiliation, than that which our Author draws from the Weakneſs of Man, and the Omnipotence of God.

" A Prince (ſays he) however great he may appear in the Eyes of Men, is no more in the Sight of God than a poor Creature in Want of all Things: He ſhould forget, in the Time of Prayer, all thoſe Diſtinctions which have placed ſo great a Diſtance betwixt him and the poor Man, and conſider the Condition of the latter as an Image of his own. The Puniſhment of Pride is Shame and Confuſion.—*I am poor and needy* (ſays King *David*) *make haſte unto me, O God; thou art my Help: That bringeth the Princes to nothing, and maketh the Judges of the Earth as Vanity.* God confounds the wiſeſt and moſt profound Counſels, he annihilates Kings and their Miniſters."

I ſhall finiſh this Diſcourſe by another Quotation from the ſame Author, which I look upon to be ſo good in itſelf that it will ſtand in Need of no Comment or Obſervation of mine to illuſtrate it.

" God places upon Thrones whom he thinks fit, and permits them to reign no longer than it pleaſeth him. He raiſes whom he pleaſes out of the Duſt, a Shepherd, or ſome Perſon unknown, of whom no Man ever thought, to ſit upon a Throne; and makes Kings, whoſe Power appear'd to be firmly eſtabliſh'd, to deſcend from them. He ſets Bounds to reigning Families, which they ſhall not paſs; he changes, transfers, divides, confirms, and deſtroys Kingdoms: He deals with them as the Potter does with the Earth, which he moulds into what Faſhion he pleaſes.

It is he who keeps the People united, and Nations in Peace: That Reſpect and Fidelity which Subjects ſhew to their Princes flows from him. When he withdraws his Protection, all is agitated and diſturb'd; the Minds of Men grow unquiet, they divide and ſeparate, he permits Revolts and ſuffers them to ſucceed. On the other Side, he inſpires Concord and Obedience when every Thing appears contrary to it: He is Maſter of Mens Wills, and diſpoſes of thoſe of Kings with the ſame Authority, and with the ſame Facility that we confine or give a Courſe to Water, by opening or ſtopping up the Conduits which are made for its Conveyance.

It is he that inſpires Courage to Armies, or takes it from them: It is he that gives Prudence to Generals, or delivers them up to a Spirit of Folly: The beſt concerted Policy, is Folly near him; and the wiſeſt Precautions, when not favour'd by him, turn into Snares.

When the Condition of Princes and of Kingdoms appears moſt ſettled and moſt happy, they are neareſt to their Fall: God keeps ſome Men in Reſerve to humble their Pride, of whom they are leaſt afraid.

Luxury, Plenty, Pleaſures, the Pride of building coſtly Houſes, and adorning them in a ſuperb Manner, are commonly the Fore-runners of the Ruin of States, and of the Humiliation that ſucceeds. When God does not give them up to Strangers, which ſometimes it is his Will to do, he cauſes a Deſolation as great, by Scarcity, Famine, Mortality, grievous Taxes, and long Wars.

That which is moſt diſpleaſing to God in the Perſons of Princes, and which ſooneſt draws his Indignation down upon them, is their Pride, which carries them ſo far as to look upon themſelves as independent, and to imagine themſelves more wiſe, and more knowing than other Men, and as meriting thoſe Honours which are render'd to them.

The moſt terrible Puniſhment of their Pride is, when God ſuffers them to give themſelves up intirely to it, without calling them back to himſelf, by ſome Act of Humiliation; when he permits them to be harden'd in it, inſtead of bringing them to a Senſe of themſelves.

The Conſequence of this Puniſhment, at once terrible and ſecret, is, to be always led aſtray by Flattery. This hath always been the Character of bad Princes, who have all been Enemies to the Liberty of Men of Honour, and who have all given Ear to thoſe Seducers who have deceiv'd them.

The Intereſts of Prince and People are inſeparable; the one is often puniſh'd for the Crimes of the other; and it is not enough for either Prince or People to be ſeparately virtuous, but they ought to unite in a mutual Concurrence to Virtue, a Union like that of a Father and his Children.

When God is irritated againſt a Kingdom, it manifeſts itſelf by the Imprudence which he ſuffers to enter into their publick Counſels; but this Imprudence is call'd by the Name of Wiſdom: Such an Infatuation governs them, that they think their Meaſures moſt ſalutary when they are running upon a Precipice, *&c.*"

Craftſman, Feb. 9. N° 709.

Mr. D'Anvers *ſays, that the Examples of* Horace, *Mr.* Addiſon, *&c. (in uſing* Ridicule *and* Humour, *upon the* graveſt Subjects) *are a ſufficient Apology for publiſhing the following Letters from a* Couple of elderly Gentlewomen, *occaſioned by the late Project for a* female Government *and* Adminiſtration. (*See p.* 27.)

Mr. D'Anvers,

I AM a mournful Relict of 5 *Huſbands*, and the happy Mother of 27 *Children*. Had old *Rome*, inſtead of *England*, been the Place of my Nativity and Abode, what Honours might I not have expected to my Perſon, and Immunities to my Fortune?—But I need not tell you that Virtue of this Sort meets with no Encouragement in our Northern Climate.—*Children*, inſtead of freeing us from *Taxes*, increaſe the Weight of them, and *Matrimony* is become the Jeſt of every Coxcomb; nor could I allow, till very lately, that an *old Bachelor*, as you confeſs yourſelf to be, had any juſt Pretence to be called a *Patriot*.—Don't think that I mean to offer myſelf to you; for I aſſure you, I have refuſed ſeveral very advantageous Propoſals ſince the Deceaſe of my *laſt poor Spouſe*, who hath been dead near *five Months*. I have no Deſign, at preſent, of altering my Condition again. Few Women are ſo happy as to meet with *five good Huſbands*; and therefore I ſhould be glad to devote the remaining Part of my Life to the Good of my Country and Family, in a more publick and active Station than that of a *Wife*, ac-

according to your late Scheme for a *ſeptennial Adminiſtration of Women*.—But I think you ought to have enforced your Project with ſome Inſtances of *illuſtrious Females*, who have appear'd in the foremoſt Claſſes of Life, not only for heroick Valour, but likewiſe for ſeveral Branches of Learning, Wiſdom and Policy; ſuch as *Joan of Naples*, the *Maid of Orleans*, *Catherine de Medicis*, *Margaret of Mountfort*, Madam *Dacier*, Mrs. *Behn*, Mrs. *Manley*, Mrs. *Stephens*, Doctor of Phyſick, Mrs. *Map*, Surgeon, the valiant Mrs. *Roſs*, Dragoon, and the learned Mrs. *Oſborne*, Politician.—I had almoſt forgot the preſent Queen of *Spain*, who hath not only an abſolute Aſcendant over the Counſels of her *Huſband*, but hath often out-witted the *greateſt Stateſmen*, as they fancy themſelves, of *another Kingdom*, which hath already felt the Effects of her *Petticoat-Government*.

But as much as *our Sex* are obliged to you, in general, for your Propoſal, I have one material Objection againſt it; for I think you have carry'd the Point a little too far, by excluding *all Males* from any Office, Dignity, or Employment; for as they have long engroſs'd the publick Adminiſtration to themſelves, (a few *Women* only excepted) I am apprehenſive they will be loth to part with it, and that if they give us Power for 7 *Years*, it will be very difficult to get it out of our Hands again.

I have therefore thought of the following Expedient, which will almoſt anſwer the ſame Purpoſe, *viz.* that all Power, both *Legiſlative* and *Executive*, *Eccleſiaſtical* and *Civil*, may be divided between *both Sexes*, and that they may be equally capable of ſitting in *Parliament*.

Is it not abſurd that *Women*, in *England*, ſhould be capable of inheriting the *Crown*, and yet not intruſted with the Repreſentation of a *little Borough*, or ſo much as allow'd to vote for a Repreſentative? Is this conſiſtent with the Rights of a *free People*, which certainly includes both *Men* and *Women*, tho' the *latter* have been generally deprived of their Privileges, in all Countries? I don't mean that the People ſhould be obliged to chuſe *Women* only, as I ſaid before; for that would be equally hard upon the *Men*; but that the *Electors* ſhould be left at their Liberty; for it is certainly a Reſtraint upon the *Freedom of Elections*, that whatever Regard a *Corporation* may have for a *Man of Quality's Family*, if he happens to have no *Sons*, or *Brothers*, they cannot teſtify their Eſteem for it, by chuſing his *Daughters*, or *Siſters*. I am for no Reſtraint upon the *Members of either Sex*; for if the Honour, Integrity, or great Capacity of a *fine Lady* ſhould recommend her to the Intimacy, or Confidence of a *Prime Miniſter*, in Conſequence of which he ſhould get her a *Place*; would it not be very hard that this very Act of *mutual Friendſhip* muſt render her incapable of doing either *him*, or *her Country*, any real Service in the *Senate Houſe*? Is *Freedom* conſiſtent with *Reſtraint*; or can we propoſe to ſerve our Country by obſtructing the natural Operations of *Love* and *Gratitude*?

I would not be underſtood to propoſe increaſing the Number of *Members*. Let every County, or Corporation, chuſe a *Man*, or a *Woman*, as they think proper; and if *either of the Members* ſhould be marry'd, let it be in the Power of the *Conſtituents* to return both *Huſband* and *Wife* as *one Member*, but not to ſit at the ſame Time; from whence would accrue great Strength to our Conſtitution, by having the *Houſe* well attended, without the preſent diſagreeable Method of *frequent Calls*, and putting ſeveral *Members* to the Expence and Diſgrace of being brought

brought up to Town in the Cuſtody of *Meſſengers*; for if a *Country Gentleman* ſhould like *Fox-hunting*, or any other *rural Diverſion*, better than attending his *Duty in Parliament*, let him ſend up his *Wife*; or if an *Officer of the Army* ſhould be A obliged to be at his Poſt in *Ireland*, the *Mediterranean*, the *Weſt-Indies*, or aboard the *Fleet* a thouſand Leagues off, or upon any *publick Embaſſy*, if his *Wife* ſhould happen to be choſen, never fear that ſhe would do the *Nation's Buſineſs* full B as well.

Beſides, in ſeveral Affairs of great Conſequence, the Reſolutions might, perhaps, be much more agreeable to the Tenderneſs of *our Sex* than the Roughneſs of *yours*. As, for Inſtance, it hath often been thought C unnatural for *Soldiers* to promote *Peace*. When a Debate therefore of that Sort ſhould be to come on, if the *Soldiers* ſtaid at home, and their *Wives* attended, it would very well become the Softneſs of the *Female Sex* to ſhew a Regard for their D *Huſbands*; eſpecially if they ſhould be ſuch *pretty*, *ſmart*, *young Fellows*, as make the moſt conſiderable Figure at a *Review*.

Before I conclude, I muſt let you know, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that I have a *little Borough*, in which I have a E very great Intereſt. My *five Huſbands* ſucceſſively ſtood for it, and I can be always ſure of putting in *one Member* at leaſt. So that if *this Scheme* ſhould take Effect, I ſhall certainly be *one of the Members*, whether I chuſe to marry again, or F not; and am determined to act with inflexible Zeal for the Good of my Country. If therefore I ſhould hereafter be put into a *conſiderable Employment*, and 14 *of my Sons* be advanc'd in the *Army*; ſhould the *Miniſtry* provide for the *other* 7 in the G *Church*, *Exciſe-Office*, or *Exchequer*; and my poor *Girls*, who are but tender Infants at the Boarding-School, ſhould have Places given them in the *Cuſtoms*, which they might officiate by *Deputy*; don't imagine that I am under any *undue Influence*, if I ſhould happen always to vote with the *Miniſtry*; for, look A ye, Mr. *D'Anvers*, I will always vote for what I think moſt conducive to make my *Country* proſperous; and how can any Body have a more ſenſible Proof of the Proſperity of his *Country* than by the particular Proſperity of *his own Family*? What! B if *this Scheme* ſhould take Effect, ſhall I go, and vote againſt my *Conſcience*, and turn my *Family* a begging? No, I have a *better Conſcience* than that. It is very injurious Treatment to judge of People's *Motives* by their *Actions*, and to conclude, becauſe C Folks draw *Profit* from their Proceedings, that *Profit* is therefore the only Principle, upon which they proceed.

I am ſure the primier Authors on the *Court Side* cannot make any Objections to this Way of Reaſoning; D becauſe I am not aſhamed to own that I have taken it almoſt literally from their own judicious Lucubrations.

I am, Sir, Yours,
MARGERY WELLDONE.

E §. *To* CALEB D'ANVERS, *Eſq;*

Old Friend, Old Foe,

I Was very much obliged to you, ſome Years ago, for metamorphoſing me from an *old Woman* into a *Man*; (ſee Vol. V. p. 208.) but as F I find there is now a Project in Agitation for eſtabliſhing a *female Government*, (p. 27.) which will incapacitate me to hold my *preſent Employment*, I ſhall take it as a great Favour, if you would be ſo good as to reſtore me to the State of *Womanhood*; G for I ſhall be always glad to ſerve my *King* and *Country*. Beſides, if *this Scheme* ſhould take Effect, I may reaſonably expect ſome Advancement,

vancement, either in *Church* or *State*; for tho' all the World knows that I hate the *former*, yet for the ſake of the publick Good, I ſhould not make the leaſt Scruple to accept (without *three times aſking*) a good *Biſhop's See*, with a little Living or two tack'd to it in *Commendam*. Don't you think, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that my Age and Gravity would admirably become a Pair of *Lawn-Sleeves*; and that I could hold forth as well in a *Pulpit* as in a *Coffee-houſe*? Then as to my Conduct in the *Houſe of Ladies*, my late Lucubrations are a ſufficient Teſtimony for me that I ſhall never give a *wrong Vote*, as long as Things ſtand upon the *preſent Footing*; tho' I am ſorry to find that no *Tranſlations* are to be allow'd.

But if all the *Mitres* are already beſpoke, and promiſed, I humbly recommend myſelf as a Candidate for ſome eminent Place in the *Law*; for I can ſay, without Vanity, and you cannot deny it, that I am Maſter of ſo many *nice Diſtinctions*, as will very well qualify me for a *female Coif* of any Degree, or even the high Office of *Lady-Chancellor*. Nay, to ſhew that I have no ambitious Views, I would be contented to be made only *Attorney-General*, *Sollicitor-General*, or even one of the *King's Counſel*; and I aſſure you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, notwithſtanding all our Bickerings, that if I ſhould happen to ſucceed in any of *theſe Employments*, I will never be concerned in any *Proſecutions*, *Informations*, or *Special Juries*, againſt the *Projector of ſo laudable a Scheme*; tho' I think this Promiſe unneceſſary; for as you have choſen to live a *Bachelor* all your Life, (tho' I am afraid, not a very *chaſte one*) yet in Caſe this *Project* ſhould be put in Execution, I hope that good Manners will reſtrain you from ſharpening your Quill againſt a *female Adminiſtration*.

If the Vacancies in the *Church* and the *Law* ſhould be already fill'd up, I think myſelf equally qualified for a *Commiſſion in the Treaſury*, or any other Place in the *Collection* or *Diſtribution of the Revenue*; for as I am well known to love *Money* myſelf, how can it be ſuppoſed that I will not take great Care of the *publick Treaſure*?

I think likewiſe that I could make a very good *Admiral* in a *pacifick War*, or a very *good General* in a *female Army*.

In ſhort, I am ready to ſerve my Country in any Capacity, which is attended with but ſmall Danger and great Profit.—By inſerting this in your Paper, you will highly oblige,

Sir, Your old Enemy, but now your faithful Friend,
Francis Oſborne, *formerly call'd*
Mother Oſborne.

Common Senſe, Feb. 9. N° 158.

Political Obſervations on CHIMNEY-SWEEPERS *and* NEGROES.

Hic niger eſt; hunc tu, Romane, caveto.

AS I am a Man of general Humanity, I was not a little pleas'd to ſee, ſome Time ago, in our News Papers, that Mr. *Fat*, a Gentleman of a black Complexion, had the Honour of being made Chimney-Sweeper to his Majeſty's Palaces, a Place of conſiderable Profit.

I have not the Honour of being perſonally acquainted with Mr. *Fat*, but by the Opinion every Body hath of the Lord C--- n's deep Penetration, and profound Judgment, who ſits, like *Apollo* on his Throne, *ſole Arbiter of Wit*, I muſt pronounce, that there hath not been an Employment more properly and worthily diſpoſed of, even by the Prime M——— himſelf, than that of Chimney-Sweeper to his Majeſty.

I conceive, that Chimney-Sweeper is full as honourable, and a much more uſeful Employment than either Porter to St. *James*'s Gate, Letter-Carrier or Gardener to the Palaces, or Purveyor of Coals and Candles to a Guard-Room at *Edinburgh*, tho' the Perſons who enjoy the three laſt have long had the Honour of ſitting amongſt our Legiſlators.

As all who are prefer'd to any Poſt, ſeem to lie under an Obligation of getting themſelves return'd (by ſome Means or other) into a certain A——bly, I hope, the next Vacancy that happens in a *Corniſh* ———, to ſee Mr. *Fat*'s black Face in the Midſt of his Brother Placemen, approving and applauding the next Convention; tho' his Hands are not as white, they are as clean as the beſt of them, and, I dare anſwer for it, he will act according to his Conſcience as ſtrictly as any Perſon now in Employment.

I hope this Honour will prove a Step to higher Preferment; for, tho' I will not derogate from Mr. *Fat*'s Merit by ſuppoſing he wants Parts, yet, if he did, that Want would be moſt abundantly ſupplied by being return'd for ſome poor little ——, by which he will acquire the Privilege, without Study, Practice, or common Senſe, of being qualified for any Employment ———.

He may certainly ſerve as a Land Admiral with great Reputation. There is ſomething martial in his Countenance, that muſt make a good Figure at the Head of a Regiment on a Review Day; beſides, it ought to add ſome Reputation to his Character, that, in his Buſineſs, he hath often ſtood Fire, which is more than can be ſaid of any of our late prefer'd Heroes.

I know one Objection may lie againſt his being admitted a M—ber: It may occaſion a Nickname to be fix'd upon the whole Party. As he muſt (under the Penalty of loſing his Employment) become a thorough Placeman, and obey Orders like the reſt, People might be apt to enquire, how did the Blacks behave to Day,—did the Negroes carry it? As Placemen are now become deteſtable, they would certainly be ſtigmatized with the Name of * Negroes; but I hope this is no Time to be frighten'd with Words.

The Promotion of this Gentleman to ſo proper a Poſt, made me rummage all the Chambers of my Imagination, to find out ſome other Employment ſuitable to that Complexion; and, after long Study, I have diſcover'd, that a black Complexion may ſuit the miniſterial Office full as well as the Office of Chimney-Sweeper; which I ſhall make out, to the Satisfaction of all Perſons, except ſuch as may have ſome Hopes of ſtepping in themſelves the next Vacancy.

In the firſt Place, People of this Complexion, (eſpecially in our Climate) are obſerv'd not to be long-lived, which will occaſion a quick Succeſſion of Miniſters, and give a Spirit to thoſe in inferior Poſts, who may hope to riſe in their Turns. I preſume this will not be counted a weak Reaſon for chuſing a Miniſter, which is often the moſt prevailing one for chuſing a Pope.

Secondly, As the Caſe now ſtands, a Miniſter that is addicted to Gallantry, may gain his wicked Will of a young Woman, by corrupting her Relations with Places, to the great Scandal of ſeveral Families: But I ſhould think that a Black, tho' poſſeſs'd of all the Charms attending Power, could never make a young Woman yield, unleſs he addreſs'd upon honourable Terms, and made a ſwinging Settlement for Pin-Money.

Thirdly,

* *The Reader is deſired to pronounce it Negers, that Pronunciation fitting the Perſons here deſcribed.*

Thirdly, As this Complexion carries ſome Terror in it, a Miniſter ſo accompliſh'd, may be able to procure us ſomething that we have not known a great while, that is, a little Reſpect from our Neighbours; for we have Reaſon to know, that tho' pacifick Fleets and *Hyde-Park* Armies make a great Noiſe, and coſt a World of Money, they frighten Nobody.

Fourthly, This Complexion might be of ſingular uſe to the Miniſter himſelf in certain Caſes. If he had committed ten thouſand Blunders, and told twice as many Lies to conceal thoſe Blunders, he might be able to ſhew his Face again without bluſhing; for *honeſt Black diſdains to change its Colour*.

I know that one Perſon in the World of our own Complexion, may brag of an unchanging Countenance, or, as the Poet expreſſes it, *nulla palleſcere culpa*; but, as it is looked upon to be monſtrous and unnatural, he hath been deteſted for it, and every Body thinks it a Quality not to be endured in any Thing but a Negro.

If it be objected, that the Education of a Black cannot qualify him for ſuch high Buſineſs, I anſwer, that there have been Miniſters and Negotiators who have been bred up pretty much like Negroes; but, to knock this Objection quite on the Head, I can prove that the common Education of a Black may fit certain Circumſtances of a Miniſter.

A Black, by being of an aduſt Conſtitution, may be prone to Choler; yet, if he ſhould be kick'd (for ſome Miniſters have taken a Kicking) having been uſed to Correction, he will be diſpoſed to bear it; which, let me tell you, may be very convenient for carrying on Buſineſs.

If it be aſk'd, how a Black would act, in Caſe of a War? I anſwer, That it is his Buſineſs to prevent War; which, by bribing at home and ſacrificing the Intereſt of the Nation abroad, may be brought to bear.

I had like to have forgot one Advantage, which muſt accrue to the Publick by ſeeing a Gentleman of this Complexion at the Head of Affairs, which is, that having no fooliſh and beggarly Relations (for I ſuppoſe him ſtolen young from his own Country) the Employments of the State may be given to Perſons of ſome Abilities.

He might, indeed, be a little partial to thoſe of his own Complexion, and you might ſee black Lords of the Treaſury, black Secretaries of State, black Admirals, black Generals, very black Plenipotentiaries and Commiſſaries, *&c.*

As to Ribbons, no People are ſo fond of them as your Negroes; nay, he might fancy that lawn Sleeves might become his Complexion: But this Partiality could ſcarce affect our preſent Set of Placemen, who, as I take it, would ſoon make themſelves as black as the Devil, rather than run the Hazard of being turn'd out of Employment.

At more Leiſure, I ſhall conſider what Places may ſuit a Malotto, and what a Jamba, *&c.* for, I think, it would be pretty to ſee a motly Miniſtry. What tho' they could not put the ſame Face upon a publick Meaſure, they might v——— all alike, which comprehends the whole Syſtem of modern Politicks.

As Chimney-Sweepers and Miniſters have the ſame Ambition to climb, I ſhould think it much for the Advantage of the publick that the two Offices ſhould be, hereafter, united and executed by one and the ſame Perſon;—a ruſtling Pole will become ſome Hands full as well as a White Staff.

A Chimney-Sweeper is at all Times a uſeful Member of a Commonwealth, which is more than can be

be ſaid of a Miniſter. The firſt, by a timely Application of his Art, prevents Fires; whereas, the laſt ſometimes puts the whole Nation into a Flame.

It may be objected, that Nobody could do Buſineſs with a Chimney-ſweeping Miniſter, without the Danger of being ſmutted: The ſame Thing hath been ſaid of a Man in Power who never ſwept Chimneys, when every Man that came near him hath been looked upon as a very dirty Fellow.

The miniſterial Office hath, at certain Times, loſt all Reſpect: The Reaſon is plain; when the World deſpiſes the Man, they will ſoon deſpiſe his Trade. But if theſe two Offices were join'd, it might contribute towards recovering his Credit.

When a Chimney-Sweeper walks the Streets, every Body pays a more than ordinary Regard to his Perſon; not only Gentlemen, but Ladies fall back to him.

If a Gentleman of this Profeſſion was placed at the Head of Affairs, his *Sootineſs* would no ſooner make his Appearance, but all Ranks and Sexes would give him the Compliment of the Way: Foreign Ambaſſadors might underſtand it as a Mark of Reſpect, and ſend an Account to their reſpective Courts that the Miniſter was extremely popular; which would certainly add no ſmall Weight to his Negotiations Abroad.

If any Body fancies an Inconſiſtency in the two Profeſſions, it being the Duty of the Chimney-Sweeper to keep the Palace clean, while a Miniſter may think of nothing but filling it with Dirt: I anſwer, I ſee no Reaſon, why a Man (let his Power be never ſo great) ought not to be his own Scavenger.

To clean a Stable was one of the Labours of *Hercules*. If a Palace be neglected, it will ſoon become as naſty as a Stable, I ſhould think, therefore, that he ſhould be obliged one Day to ſweep all the dirty Fellows out of the Palace, by Virtue of the Office of Chimney-Sweeper, which he had brought into it the Day before as Miniſter.

The Nation never ſtood in more Need of a ſaving Scheme than at this preſent, which makes me wiſh to ſee theſe two Employments very ſoon united; and, for the ſame Reaſon, I think, the Salary of Chimney-Sweeper ſufficient for both.

When a great Man had diſmiſs'd the Crowd of Slaves that waited upon his Levee, I ſhould think it an agreeable Sight to behold him creeping up a Chimney with his Broom in his Hand, and popping out his Head at Top; becauſe this Nation hath, for many Years, wiſh'd for nothing ſo much as to ſee the Head of a Miniſter exalted.

I conclude with obſerving, that, as there have been Miniſters who were fit for nothing but to be made Chimney-Sweepers, I ſee no Reaſon why a Chimney-Sweeper may not be made a Miniſter.

To John Proby *and* William Noel, *Eſqrs. Repreſentatives in Parliament for* Stamford *in* Lincolnſhire.

Gentlemen,

WE the Mayor and Aldermen of this Corporation, in Common-Council aſſembled, having had many ſenſible Proofs of the great and manifold Services you have already ſerved us in Parliament, and not doubting of your future Conduct, deſire, and moreover inſiſt, that you will uſe your utmoſt Endeavours to reduce and limit the Number of Placemen in the Houſe of Commons, well knowing, that a Delay therein may prove of dangerous Conſequence; we do not doubt of your Compliance, if hereafter you ſhould expect our Love and Eſteem.

This

This leads us to obſerve, That on *Jan.* 29. the Motion for a Bill for the better ſecuring the Freedom of Parliament, by limiting the Number of Officers to ſit in the Houſe of Commons, was rejected by a Majority of ſixteen. There were 433 Members in the Houſe of Commons that divided, including the Speaker and the Tellers, and 124 abſent; which, with Sir *Francis Drake*, Bart. deceaſed, makes the 558 Members of Parliament. The Houſe did not break up till near Eleven at Night.

From the Gazetteer *of* Feb. 11.

THE moſt flagitious Empyrick, who has compaſs'd both Land and Sea, travell'd from Pole to Pole, and chearfully endured the Inclemencies of *Greenland* and the *Deſarts of Lybia*, from no other Motive than a tender *Love for Mankind*, is yet ſo ſenſible of the Ingratitude of thoſe for whom he labours, as to deſpair of the bare Attention of his Auditors, without the Aſſiſtance of a certain facetious Gentleman called *Pickle Herring*; whoſe entertaining Grimaces are of greater Force with the unthinking Crowd, than the ineſtimable Diſcoveries of his profound and eloquent Maſter.

At the Beginning of the Winter, the moſt deſpicable among the Mouths of the Oppoſition, ſhewed a thouſand ridiculous Tricks to move the Mob to *huzza for a Place Bill*; and when from the Noiſe made by themſelves they fanc'd the whole Nation in an Uproar, and a few ſecret Friends, properly diſtributed, had raiſed a faint Approbation from the leſs conſiderate among their deluded Admirers,——out ſtepp'd *the Doctors* themſelves, and, with all imaginable Solemnity of Voice and Serenity of Countenance, aſſured all who liſten'd to their Orations, that nothing was ſo neceſſary for the Health of the Body Politick as the Remedies recommended by their Servants, who, tho' a little inclin'd to Waggery, had ſaid nothing but what was ſtrictly true.

Theſe Orations were pronounced every where, and many of them carried to ſuch unuſual Lengths, and repeated ſo often, as not only tir'd their Hearers, but made them jealous of ſome *other Views* than were openly profeſs'd for ſuch extraordinary Pains, ſuch uncommon and unwearied Application: Till at laſt their Mob diſperſed; and, referring the Importance of what they had ſaid to Perſons better qualified to judge of their Merit, their Advice was rejected, the Clamour they had raiſed univerſally condemned, and the principal Promoters thereof deſpiſed by many, who had unwarily been induced to liſten to their Harangues with a ſlight Approbation.

Upon this the venerable Phyſicians, with ſome Precipitance, thought proper to *ſlip behind the Curtain*; and, leſt they might, at any other Time, have Occaſion for the Voice of as many of the People as could be drawn from the Conſideration of their own Intereſts, the *patch'd Jackets* are again ſent out, to try, if poſſible, to make the Rabble ſeparate with a *Grin*.——This *he applies to the above Papers of the* Craftſman *and* Common Senſe.

From the Gazetteer *of* Feb. 16.

SIR,

IN your late Account of a Converſation about a *Place Bill*, one of the Company advanc'd, *That Q.* Elizabeth *after her firſt Parliament, when her Government was ſettled, deſpiſed the Method of filling the Houſe of Commons with Placemen, or ſuch as were dependent upon her*; tho' during the preceding Reigns of her Father *Henry* VIII. her Brother *Edward* VI. and her Siſter Queen *Mary*, ſuch Methods were made uſe of. Now, to

ſhew how knowing this worthy Speech-maker was, of the Management of Parliaments in Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign, give me Leave to acquaint you, that there is ſtill extant a Letter, amongſt the Records of a certain Borough, not 100 Miles diſtant from the Off-ſide of the Horſe at *Charing-Croſs*, writ by her Majeſty's Lord Chamberlain to the Electors of the ſaid Borough. This noble Perſon begins by acquainting them, "That as he had the Honour to be their High-Steward, and had taken all Occaſions to do what Service ſoever lay in his Power, he now took the Liberty to ask a Favour of them; which was, That her Majeſty intending ſhortly to call a Parliament (*viz.* in or about the Year 1583, long enough after the firſt Parliament, and the Beginning of her Reign) his Lordſhip deſir'd they would let him have the naming of their two Burgeſſes, and he would ſee the Borough diſcharg'd from the Wages which at that Time they were oblig'd to pay their Repreſentatives: He concludes by aſſuring them, that not doubting of their Compliance with this Requeſt, he was their humble Servant. Sign'd *R. Leiceſter*." In a ſhort Poſtſcript his Lordſhip adds; "If you would ſend up the Return with a Blank left to inſert the Burgeſſes Names, it would be taken very kindly."

It does not appear by any Book or Paper in the Cuſtody of the proper Officer of this Borough, what Anſwer was given to his Lordſhip by the Corporation; but it does appear by the original Return at the Rolls, that the Indenture was ſent up with a *Blank*, and the two Burgeſſes Names are inſerted with a different Hand from the reſt of the Inſtrument, but in the ſame Hand that wrote the Letter to the Borough, which his Lordſhip ſign'd; that is, without all Doubt, by his Lordſhip's Secretary.

But perhaps it may be ſaid, does it appear that theſe two Perſons were Placemen? I cannot ſay they were; but I ſuppoſe it is ſufficient for the preſent Purpoſe, that they were ſuch Perſons as the Queen's Lord Chamberlain thought might be truſted: But in looking over theſe Records, another Inſtance of the ſame Nature, and directly in Point, appear'd in the Return for the chief City in the County of which I am ſpeaking. That Return was ſent up like the former with a Blank, as appears by the Difference of Hands; and the firſt Perſon inſerted is ſaid to be one of *her Highneſs's Privy Council*, which he that drew the Return not knowing, there was not Room left to inſert the other Citizen, which occaſioned his Name to be interlin'd. There is likewiſe another Return made by a Borough at no great Diſtance from the ſaid City Southward, which is fill'd up with the ſame Hand as the Indenture firſt-mentioned: And again, a fourth Return for a Borough to the North-eaſt of the City aforeſaid, which was likewiſe made with a Blank, and afterwards fill'd up as was thought proper.

What I have here ſhewn, I hope, will be ſufficient to ſatisfy any rational Creature, whether Q. *Elizabeth deſpis'd any Method* of getting Placemen into the Houſe of Commons? or rather, to let all the World ſee that Q. Elizabeth's *Lord Chamberlain had almoſt as great a Power over the Parliament, as the preſent Lord Chamberlain has over the Playhouſes.*

Craftſman, Feb. 16. N° 710.

CONSIDERATIONS *relating to the* WAR, *&c.*

WHEN a juſt and neceſſary War is commenced, it is certainly the Duty of *thoſe*, who are intruſted with the Management of it, to proſecute it with the utmoſt Vigour, till reaſonable Terms are ob-

obtained from the *Enemy*, or ſome great Victory decides the Matter in Diſpute between the *contending Parties*.

I may venture to aſſert, that no War was ever more juſt and neceſſary, than our preſent one againſt *Spain*; and therefore we cannot doubt of God's Bleſſing upon our Arms, without any *Faſting* or *Humiliation*. It is true, indeed, that the Sins of the *common People* are always very great and manifold; or elſe there would be no Occaſion for the Form in our *Liturgy*, to confeſs, and repent of them, as well as to be abſolved, every Time they attend divine Service. But if the *preſent War* is a Judgment of God upon us, it is not for the Sins of the *common People*, but thoſe of a much higher Rank, who ought to *faſt* and *humiliate* themſelves, in a more than ordinary Manner, for the Calamities they have brought upon this Nation.

However, let the *War* have been kindled either by *Divine Wrath*, or the Folly of *mortal Men*, all ſecondary Means ought to be uſed, for puſhing it on with Succeſs.—Whether this hath been hitherto done, I muſt leave the World to judge; but one Thing is certain; that no Supplies of Money, Men, Ammunition, or Proviſions have been wanting. The *Parliament* hath liberally granted every Thing that was aſk'd of them.——Our *Land-Forces* are augmented to a formidable Number, unleſs they are employed in *foreign Service*; and almoſt our *whole Navy* is put into Commiſſion.——But tho' a *War* hath been proclaim'd againſt *Spain*, almoſt four Months ago; and notwithſtanding the prodigious Armaments, which have been made, both by *Sea* and *Land*, we have received no authentick Account of any Deſcent upon the *Spaniſh* Coaſts, either in *Europe* or *America*; nor of any conſiderable Enterprize at *Sea*, except a little *Privateering*, which I am afraid hath turn'd more to the Advantage of the *Spaniards* than the *Engliſh*.

In the mean time, our own People at home have been put to great Difficulties, and laboured under the moſt extraordinary Diſtreſſes, by the preſent Rigour of the Seaſon; which hath been in a great Meaſure increas'd by *Embargoes*, *Impreſſing*, and other Methods.

The preſent Price of *Coals* is not only a very great Hardſhip upon the *Poor*, but even the *Rich*, and chiefly occaſioned by the *preſent War*; for by the hot Preſs upon the *Colliers* and *Coaſters*, notwithſtanding the Protections granted to them, the Town was not half ſupply'd with Fuel, before the hard Weather began, which no Exigences of State ought to prevent in ſo large and populous a City.—*Interdictio Aquæ & Ignis* was looked upon as a Sort of capital Puniſhment amongſt the *Romans*, becauſe Life cannot be ſupported without the Help of *Fire* and *Water*. The preſent exorbitant Price of *Coals* is almoſt an Interdiction to the *Poor*; and it is a melancholy Sound to hear Water cry'd about the Streets. Great Numbers of poor Wretches have already periſh'd with Hunger and Cold; and if God had not open'd the Hearts of thoſe, who have it in their Power to relieve the Diſtreſs'd, we ſhould long ago have ſeen the Town heap'd up with *Dead*, as in the Time of a *Plague*. ——But Charity was never more liberally, nor more properly beſtow'd, than it hath been during this ſevere Seaſon, throughout all Parts of the Kingdom; (ſee p. 48.) and I hope will be continued till the Weather breaks; for there are Multitudes of poor Houſe-keepers, and induſtrious Artificers, who cannot work at this Time, and therefore are the moſt deſerving Objects of Charity. In ſeveral *arbitrary Countries* there are publick Granaries, or Store-houſes,

in

in order to ſupply the State, in Caſes of Emergency, which I think deſerves the Imitation of *free Nations*, under certain Regulations and Conditions. But to proceed.

The People of *England* having been put to a vaſt Expence, and very great Inconveniences, beſides thoſe already mentioned, for ſupporting a War againſt our cruel and inſulting Enemies, it is hoped and expected, that it will be carry'd on with all poſſible Vigour.—The Honour of *his Majeſty*, the Credit of *his Miniſters*, and the Safety of *his People* require it.——We have already depended too much upon *lenitive* and *palliative Remedies*. Since therefore the *Sword* is drawn, let the *Sword* decide the Queſtion between us; whether the *Spaniards* are to continue their uſurp'd Power in the *American Ocean*; or whether we ſhall not be able to maintain our juſt and moſt undoubted Right to a free Navigation in *thoſe Seas*. Let the *Sword* likewiſe determine, whether we are to receive any Reparation for our *paſt Loſſes* and *Indignities*.

I cannot poſſibly believe the Accounts publiſh'd in ſome of our late News-Papers, that the Court of *Spain* hath the Impudence to demand the Reſtitution of *Gibraltar* and *Port-Mahon*, in Conſideration of ſome Advantages granted to us, in our *American* Trade, to which we have already as much Right as any Nation upon the Face of the Earth; and the Ceſſion of *Corſica* to us, which is, no doubt, of much more Importance than *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*, tho' his pretended Majeſty, King *Theodore*, might poſſibly claim it again, and be ſupported by ſome *foreign Power* in reſtoring him to the Crown, which was almoſt unanimouſly fix'd upon his royal Head, by the Voice of the People, whom he deliver'd from the tyrannical Yoke of the *Genoeſe* Government.

But we can have no Reaſon to apprehend that the *War* will not be carry'd on, for the future, with the utmoſt Vigour, whilſt we are bleſs'd with a Couple of *Norfolk Miniſters*, who are proverbially famous for *Litigouſneſs*, and ſpinning out a *Law-Suit* as long as they can get any Thing by it, which ſeveral Perſons of *that Country* are known to have done with great Facility, and with little Knowledge, or Trouble.

But if this litigious Spirit of the *Norfolk Men* ſhould be extinguiſhed, and turn'd into the bleſs'd Art of *Peace-making*, let them give us a little Specimen of their Skill in Negotiation, and correct ſome of their former Blunders.

The *venal Advocates of theſe worthy Gentlemen* are pleaſed to extol the Conduct of the *War*, and the great Succeſs of it, ſince it began; for we have taken *two Caracca Ships*, though the *Aſſogues*, of much greater Value, happen'd to ſlip by us in a *Miſt*, or a *Fog*; as a *Spaniſh* Ship, laden with Proviſions and Ammunition for the Siege of *Gibraltar*, did once before, under the very Stern of our Admiral.

Nothing is more neceſſary to a *Squadron of Ships*, which are deſign'd for real Service, than to ſupply them with good and wholſome Proviſions, eſpecially in long Voyages, and ſultry Climates.—I hope, therefore, the ſtricteſt Care is taken as to this Particular, and that the Orders from above are punctually obey'd at the *Victualling-Office*; tho' a Rumour flies about, that ſome Complaints of this Kind have been lately made; and I am even inform'd, that there is a Perſon, who will undertake to prove, that great Quantities of *Beef* and *Pork* actually ſtunk before it was ſent abroad.—This, if true, muſt be owing either to the *Badneſs of the Commodities*, when bought up, to the Want of Skill in *Salting* them, or to ſome

corrupt

corrupt Gains made by thoſe concerned in the Management of our *Victualling*.

I have heard one Man declare, that having contracted to ſupply the Navy with a large Number of Bullocks, and neglecting to make the *uſual Preſent*, upon ſuch Occaſions, the *Cattle* were thrown back upon his Hands, under Pretence that they were not fit for his Majeſty's Service; upon which he privately employ'd another Man to offer the *very ſame Oxen*, and by tipping a Bank Note of 200 *l.* into proper Hands, they were reported to be very good Meat, and accordingly received.

The Nation pays for ſound and wholeſome Proviſions, of all Sorts; and therefore the *poor Seamen* ought to have them, whether they enter voluntarily, or are preſs'd into the Service; eſpecially thoſe, who are lock'd down under Hatches, during this rigorous Seaſon; and yet I am very well inform'd by a Gentleman, who happen'd to go on Board one of our *Tenders* in the River, that no leſs than 11 *poor Wretches* had died in two or three Days, and ſeveral others were almoſt famiſh'd with Hunger and Cold, for Want of proper Care.

Theſe Things deſerve the ſtricteſt Enquiry of Parliament; and if any Perſons ſhould be found guilty of ſuch enormous Practices, they ought to be puniſh'd in the moſt exemplary Manner; for when we are engaged in a very expenſive War, how can we expect that our Men will fight with Chearfulneſs and Vigour, without good Uſage; or how ſhall we be able to ſupport it, without ſaving all the Money we can?

Common Senſe, Feb. 16. N° 159.

Propoſals for teaching the Art of Riſing in the World.

Mr. *Common Senſe*,

AS I am a Stranger newly arriv'd in this Country, and with the ſame View that moſt other Strangers come here, that is, to make my Fortune, I do myſelf the Honour to addreſs myſelf to you, as a Perſon capable of making my Name and Profeſſion known to the World; in which you may, perhaps, do yourſelf ſome Kindneſs at the ſame Time that you are ſerving me.

To let you into my Deſign.—I intend to ſet up an Academy to inſtruct young Noblemen and Gentlemen to riſe in the World; or in the Art of growing rich. As I conceive there will, in a ſhort Time, be but one Way in this Nation, whereby it will be poſſible to acquire Wealth, I ſhall make all my Scholars perfect Maſters of this Myſtery.

If I have not ſufficiently explain'd myſelf, know, that I profeſs the Art of making Court to Men in Power; or, in a Word, I profeſs the moſt noble and profitable Science of *Fawning* and *Cringing*.

I have travell'd to all the Courts of *Europe*, and wherever I began to practiſe I was adviſed to make the beſt of my Way to *England*. The laſt Place I reſided in was *France*, where, I muſt confeſs, I did not meet with all that Encouragement which my Merit in my Profeſſion might juſtly have entitled me to, in a Nation ſo polite; which is intirely owing to the odd Humours of the old Gentleman, who, at preſent, preſides at the Head of Affairs in that Kingdom.

I inſtructed half a Dozen very pretty Fellows ſo well, that I thought they might have made their Way in any Court of *Europe*, when, to my great Surprize, the old Gentleman, before-mentioned, ſignified to them, that it was expected, that every Perſon who ſerv'd the King, ſhould have a Capacity and Talents to qualify him for the Poſt to which he pretended. Was there ever ſuch an unreaſonable old Prig? Nay, when I waited upon him myſelf, to offer my

my Service, a Domeſtick was ſent to give me a civil Whiſper, and adviſe me never to ſhew my Face in his Eminency's Preſence more.

However, I did not deſpair of ſeeing a Turn in my Favour; for, conſidering his Eminency's great Age, a Cold, or ſome other ſlight Indiſpoſition might have carried him off, and who knows but he might be ſucceeded by ſome Perſon who might encourage our Profeſſion; but an unlucky Adventure obliged me not to wait for ſuch an Event.

I happened to offer my Service to a Man of Quality, whoſe private Affairs were in ſuch a broken Condition that I thought he would have taken any good Employment; but he, being a Perſon of a cholerick Diſpoſition, inſtead of receiving my Offer with that Kindneſs I expected, kick'd me out of the Room, in the Sight of ſeveral Perſons; which Story being ſoon ſpread about, no Gentleman would admit me into his Company after: For you muſt know, that fighting with a Man, or for a Man, is no Part of my Syſtem,—— ſo that it was high Time for me to decamp.

Being informed, that Patience is a Virtue much practiſed in this Country, both in publick and private Affairs, and that Kicking hath been ſo much in Vogue among Placemen of no ſmall Figure, it ſcarce hurts a Man's Reputation, I flatter myſelf, that what diſgraced me in that Country, will recommend me here.

As your military Poſts are vaſtly profitable in this Country, I will ingage to inſtruct all Gentlemen in the Art of War, according to the preſent Diſcipline; I ſay, I will undertake to qualify any Perſon, without Hindrance of any other Buſineſs, for any Poſt in the Army, from a Lieutenant-General down to an Enſign, in ſo ſhort a Time as half an Hour; that is to ſay, I will teach him how to look and dreſs, and ſalute at a Review; and alſo, give him a genteel Taſte in the Choice of a Field Equipage: Which, I conceive, is all in the Art military that is neceſſary to be known in your Land Service.

As to the Method of growing rich, taught by another Profeſſor, *viz.* by pronouncing certain Monoſyllables, or walking three Steps to the Right, or ſix to the Left, at the Word of Command, or by a Nod, or by a Sign, it is no more than what I would undertake to teach an Aſs to do in a Week; beſides, that ſo ſtupid and eaſy a Qualification muſt (as the Country grows poor) ſo encreaſe the Number of Pretenders to Employments, that it will not be worth Gentlemens while to learn.

I promiſe to teach all my Scholars ſome inſinuating and engaging Manners, or a certain *Je n' ſcay quoy*, to diſtinguiſh them from others; and that will certainly give them the Preference before all other Pretenders whatſoever.

As Succeſs in obtaining Preferment conſiſts in knowing the Vices and Follies of the great Man, the Skill lies in applying the Flattery to the weak Side.

If, for Example, he happens to be ſhamefully ignorant of the Intereſts or Policies of his own, or the neighbouring Countries, or, in other Words, a notorious Blunderer, you muſt be ſure to extol his moſt profound Knowledge and deep Penetration in the Affairs of *Europe*, and the great Superiority he ſhews over the Miniſters of other Nations, when he treats with them.

If his Character be that of half Clown and half Buffoon, you muſt praiſe his agreeable Wit, his fine Addreſs, his elegant Converſation, his eaſy Manner, his delicate Taſte in Dreſs, not forgetting ſo much as his genteel Manner of wearing his Perriwig.

If it happens to be ſome military Coward who never ſaw a Campaign, or elſe run away in the only Skirmiſh in which he was ever engaged, there the Virtues of the Hero muſt be laid on thick; every Thing muſt be attributed to his Courage, and you muſt never have done talking of his Valour.——In ſhort, if any Perſon of Quality, or private Gentleman, that intends to become my Scholar, will but diſcover who the Perſon is to whom he is obliged to make Court, I will put him in the Way to do his Buſineſs *ſecundum Artem.*

I ſhall make two Proviſos; firſt, that the great Man to be applied to ſhall not, in any one Quality, be like the old Gentleman in *France:* And next, that the Scholar ſhall lay aſide all Pretenſions to Modeſty, as well as Honour.

I inſtruct any Gentleman to act the Part of a *Butt* to a Man in Power, that is, to accompany him only to be play'd upon, and take all his Jokes; a Method that never fails of recommending a Man to ſuch Perſons in Power as have little Wit, much Impudence, and no Humanity.

I inſtruct younger Brothers, who have a Mind to apply to rich Widows; and Fortune-Hunters of all Sorts, at a reaſonable Price.

Thoſe who propoſe to advance themſelves by being Pimps, Bawds, Runners, or Spies, *&c.* to Men in Power, may have private Leſſons, if they deſire it.

I propoſe, that every Scholar ſhall pay half the Sum at Entrance, and the reſt as ſoon as he hath gone thro' the Lectures.

The Profeſſor expects that every Scholar ſhall, at his firſt Preferment, that is to ſay, on the Day he receives his Patent, Commiſſion, *&c.* over and above what he paid for Learning, make him a Preſent to the Amount of five *per Cent.* out of his firſt Year's Salary.

I propoſe to hire and furniſh a large *Hotel*, by Way of Subſcription, in order to open my Academy. In the mean Time, I am to be heard of at the Sign of the *Spaniel*, or *Setting-Dog*, a Perfumer's near St. *James's*. *Sir,*

I have the Honour to be
Your moſt obſequious,
Your moſt devoted,
Your moſt humble Servant,
Jean Faineant.

P. S. Any Gentleman who has the Honour to ſit in either Houſe of ———, ſhall be inſtructed for half Price.

Any Gentleman who has a very handſome Wife, in the Prime of her Youth, or a beautiful Daughter at Age of Maturity, ſhall alſo be inſtructed for half Price.

Any Woman of Quality (paying a Price according) may be waited on at her own Houſe, and inſtructed privately by my Wife.

The Craftſman, *towards the End of his laſt Paper, having inſinuated ſome Abuſes in relation to the Victualling of the Navy, occaſioned the following* Advertiſement *from the* Victualling-Office, *in* The London Gazette *of* Feb. 23, *which we inſert, as thinking our ſelves bound in Duty to do Juſtice to his Majeſty's Commiſſioners.*

Victualling-Office, Feb. 22, 1739.

WHEREAS in the *Country Journal*, or *Craftſman* of the 16th of this preſent Month there is inſerted the following Paragraph, *viz.*

'Nothing is more neceſſary to a Squa-
'dron of Ships, which are deſign'd for
'real Service, than to ſupply them with
'good and wholſome Proviſions, eſpecially
'on long Voyages, and ſultry Climates:
'I hope, therefore, the ſtricteſt Care is
'taken as to this Particular, and that the
'Orders from above are punctually obeyed
'at the Victualling-Office; tho' a Ru-
'mour flies about, that ſome Complaints
'of this Kind have been lately made; and
'I am even informed, that there is a
'Perſon, who will undertake to prove,
'that great Quantities of Beef and Pork
'actually ſtunk before it was ſent abroad.
'—This, if true, muſt be owing either
'to the Badneſs of the Commodities,

'when bought up, to the Want of Skill 'in Salting them, or to ſome corrupt 'Gains made by thoſe concerned in the 'Management of our Victualling.'

This is to give Notice, that the Printer and Publiſher of the ſaid Paper will be proſecuted for the ſame, as far as the Law will permit, unleſs he ſhall, before the firſt Day of the next Term, diſcover to the Perſon, whoſe Name is hereto ſubſcribed, the Man who is ſaid to have given the ſaid Information, ſo as he may be proſecuted as the Law permits, who will, when diſcover'd, be accordingly proſecuted; unleſs he ſhall in like Manner produce the Perſon who is ſaid to be willing to undertake the Proof of the Fact therein mentioned.

And whereas in the ſaid *Country Journal* there is inſerted the following Paragraph, *viz.*

'I have heard one Man declare, that 'having contracted to ſupply the Navy 'with a large Number of Bullocks, and 'neglecting to make the uſual Preſent 'upon ſuch Occaſions, the Cattle were 'thrown back upon his Hands, under Pre-'tence that they were not fit for his Ma-'jeſty's Service; upon which he privately 'employ'd another Man to offer the very 'ſame Oxen, and by tipping a Bank Note 'of two hundred Pounds into proper Hands, 'they were reported to be very good Meat, 'and accordingly received.'

This is to give Notice, that the Printer and Publiſher of the ſaid Paper, will in like Manner be proſecuted for the ſame, unleſs he ſhall diſcover as aforeſaid the Man who is ſaid to make the Declaration abovemention'd: And if the Perſon ſpoken of in the firſt of theſe Paragraphs, will prove that great Quantities of Beef and Pork that actually ſtunk, were ſent abroad for the Uſe of his Majeſty's Navy, as 'tis therein alledged he will undertake to prove, he ſhall on ſuch Proof receive the Sum of fifty Pounds from the Perſon ſubſcribed hereto: Or, if the Man, who in the ſecond Paragraph is ſaid to have declared to the Writer of the ſaid Paper as therein is contained, will prove the Fraud therein charged, he ſhall receive on making ſuch Proof, from the Perſon hereto ſubſcribed, the Sum of one hundred Pounds.

By Order of the Commiſſioners for Victualling his Majeſty's Navy.

Seth Jeremy, *Secretary.*

Univerſal Spectator, Feb. 16. N° 593.

Mr. Stonecaſtle *gives us the Complaints of a Wife, and of a Son, in two Letters to himſelf, with his own Animadverſions upon them.*

Mr. *Stonecaſtle*,

WITH the Character of having *Beauty*, *common Senſe*, and ſome trifling *Accompliſhments*, a Gentleman of Fortune addreſs'd me; he lik'd me, and propos'd Marriage; but I acquainted him, that all the Charms I had were in my *Perſon*, for I cou'd bring him no *Money*. That Objection made no Difference; for with my Friends Approbation he marry'd me about four Months ago, without any Fortune, and, beſides, ſettled a handſome Jointure upon me. You will wonder, Sir, after ſuch a Deſcription of *Generoſity*, what I can complain of.—It is this: I had not been marry'd a Month, but I found a moroſe, ſullen, and imperious Temper in a Man, who I thought cou'd never have behaved but with the greateſt good *Humour* and *Gentility*. I at laſt have argued with him on this Behaviour, and he thinks, that as he marry'd me without a *Fortune*, he has an undoubted *Liberty* of acting in what Manner he thinks proper, and has a Right of behaving in a tyrannical Manner.

Mr. *Stonecaſtle*, tho' I never yet made him any harſh Reply to ſuch Uſage, I know very well, as I am his Wife, I am as much ſo, and have as juſt a Title to as good *Uſage*, as if I had brought him 15 or 20,000*l.* But as mild Methods are better than any other, and as I read to him your Papers once a Week, pray inſert this Letter, and add two Lines to diſapprove his Conduct, and it will be a particular Satisfaction, and I hope a Happineſs to

Your conſtant Reader,

AMELIA.

Amelia's Complaint is ſo juſt, that there needs no enlarging on it; and I hope her Spouſe will think that her *Beauty* and *Prudence* deſerve as grateful Eſteem, as the female Sex can raiſe in the Mind of Man.—I have indeed heard ſome Perſons, of Sir *John Brute*'s Character, advance a *Latin* Quotation in Favour of their

Sen-

Sentiments: * *Quæ indotata eſt, ea eſt in poteſtate viri:* She who brings *no* Portion is under the *Power* of her *Huſband*; but how would they like the following Words, if they without a Fortune marry'd a Woman with one? *Dotatæ mactant malo & damno viros:* He that marries a *Fortune* muſt be at the *Mercy* of his *Wife*. I expect and hope *Amelia* may find an Alteration in her Huſband's Conduct, and ſhou'd be ſorry to hear any Man cou'd ſo far play the *Hypocrite*, as to behave one Month with uncommon Generoſity, in order to ſhew in the next an uncommon Tyranny.

§. *To the* Univerſal Spectator.

SIR,

I AM Son, and at the ſame Time, Clerk to an eminent Attorney at Law in this City: I am arriv'd to my 20th Year, which, if ever, is a Time of Life to have ſome little Indulgences allow'd me as to my private Conduct. I do not, Mr. *Spectator*, by *Indulgences*, mean any Sanction for committing any Actions contrary to the Rules of *Morality:* But I muſt appeal to you, if it is reaſonable in my Father to treat me at this Age, as if I were a School-Boy, and exerciſe a Severity, becauſe I am his Son, contrary to Juſtice, and I may ſay Diſcretion. Sir, I have always acted with a *filial Duty* and *Tenderneſs* towards him, and ſure I have a Right to expect a *paternal Tenderneſs* in Return; I want not *Licentiouſneſs*, but *Liberty:* In ſhort, for Want of an Allowance for *Pocket Money*, I cannot keep ſuch Company as is proper for my Station of Life, and to keep any beneath it, is as contrary to my Intereſt as my Inclination. A Hint, Mr. *Stonecaſtle*, from you might be of Service to me, for my Father has a great Regard to your Manner of Reaſoning: If the State of my Caſe deſerves one Line of Notice, pray beſtow it on

Your ſincere Remonſtrancer,
MISERABILIS.

Though I am far from giving too great a Scope to the Liberties of young People, yet I was always of Opinion, that according to their Age, there were particular Liberties they ſhou'd be indulg'd in. If the State of the young Gentleman is true, as it ſeems to be, it deſerves immediate Redreſs, and I wou'd recommend to his Father's Reflexion the following Sentiments of a Father only by Adoption: It is the Speech of *Micio* in the *Adelphi* of *Terence*, and the Thoughts are as *juſt* as they are *tender* and *paternal.* —" 'Twas always my Opinion, that 'tis much better to keep Children in Order by Generoſity, than by Fear; for that Man is much miſtaken, who believes Government, merely by Force, ſhou'd have more Authority, and a better Foundation, than when 'tis accompany'd with *Tenderneſs* and *Reſpect:* This is my Logick; I argue thus: He that's compell'd by Threats to do his Duty, will be dutiful no longer than you are ſtrict over him; but when he thinks he ſhall not be found out, he will follow his own Inclinations: But he that is govern'd by Love obeys moſt chearfully, ſtrives to make his due Returns of Gratitude, and is the ſame whether you are preſent or abſent. It's a Father's Duty to uſe his Child ſo, as his own Choice, rather than Conſtraint ſhou'd induce him to act well: Here lies the Difference between a Father and a Maſter; and he that acts otherwiſe, let him own, that he does not underſtand to govern his Children."

* *Plautus,*

Common Senſe, Feb. 23. N° 160.

The true Method of fixing the CONSTITUTION.

SIR,

THE only Way to ſtifle all Diviſions, and put the Conſtitution on ſuch a Footing as it cannot degenerate, will be to reduce it to its natural Origin, that is, to ground it on Nature.

Tho' we might poſſibly find the Origin of our Conſtitution in Hiſtory, and tho' both Parties agreed to ſettle it according thereto, yet it could not long remain without Variation, becauſe 'tis not poſſible to fix the Senſe and Meaning of Words ſo as not to be liable to Miſrepreſentation. This is the Caſe of all written Laws.

The Ambiguity or Obſcurity of the Letter, therefore, will always afford Room to wicked Miniſters, or falſe Patriots, to ſtrain the Senſe to ſerve their different Views; as by this very Means the Conſtitution hath, in a great Meaſure, been reduced to the imperfect State that *Hyde*, in the *Gazetteer*, allows it to be now in, ſo it would unavoidably, in Time, be again reduced, were it put on ever ſo good a Footing, for Want of ſome Rule, whereby to fix the Senſe and determine all Diſputes that might ariſe concerning it.

If Nature then be ſuch a Rule, 'tis ſurely the fitteſt Baſis whereon to found the Conſtitution; and that Nature is ſuch a Rule is manifeſt, in that its Precepts, ariſing from the Reaſon and Fitneſs of Things, are acknowledged by Philoſophers, and even Divines, to be invariable: Whence it follows, that every Diſpute, or Doubt, ariſing from the wording of any Law, made purſuant to this Rule, would quickly be decided, and the endleſs Chicane of Lawyers baniſh'd the Courts. For the Queſtion then would be, not what is the Senſe of the Statute according to the Letter or Mind of the Legiſlators, but what is the Senſe of Nature on the Occaſion?

To place our Conſtitution on any Baſis that deviates from Nature, muſt needs make it erroneous and liable to Exceptions, becauſe, in that Caſe, 'twould give one of the Parties concerned either too little or too much. No Conſtitution whatever can give ſuch Parties any Right which they have not, or take from them any Right which they have by Nature, farther than what is abſolutely neceſſary for the Good of Society.

In ſhort, this Scheme intends no more than to regulate our Conſtitution according to natural Rights, which are equally for the Benefit of the King and the People: And as I am confident that the Body of the Nation deſire no more, becauſe more would manifeſtly tend to their own Prejudice, ſo I cannot conceive what *Hyde* means by ſaying, that People are excited by falſe Patriots to make extravagant Demands (or, to uſe his myſtical Expreſſions) *to demand Serpents inſtead of Fiſh, and Stones inſtead of Bread*; and inſinuating, that ſome would be for *reducing their Sovereign to ſuch a State as themſelves could not digeſt*; unleſs he means, that for People to demand a full Enjoyment of their natural Rights, with ſufficient Security for the ſame, are extravagant Demands, which, if comply'd with, will reduce the Crown to an abject State.

How much ſoever *Hyde* and his Brethren are engaged in an Intereſt contrary to that of the People, I do not find any of them openly diſputing their being intitled to the full Enjoyment of their natural Rights; on the contrary, they allow the ſame: If ſo, it will follow, that the Sovereign is incapable of enjoying any Prerogative inconſiſtent with thoſe

thoſe natural Rights, which, indeed, are utterly unalienable, even for the Lives of the preſent Poſſeſſors. For any Body, therefore, to diſpute the Peoples Title to a Security of theſe Rights, is to diſpute their Title to the Rights themſelves: And as the Security muſt be as unalienable as the Rights themſelves, conſequently, to intrench on or with-hold the Security, is to enjoy a Prerogative inconſiſtent with the Peoples natural Rights.

The People, therefore, are intitled not only to a partial Security, ſuch as the Crown, or a Miniſter, might think fit to allow them, but a Security proportion'd to the Greatneſs of the Truſt lodged by them in the Crown; that is, to all the Security which a Sovereign is capable of giving them. Shall a Man expect ample Security for a paultry Sum of Money, and not for his whole Property? Shall he be anxious to ſecure a trifling Concern, and neglect getting Security for the greateſt Concern of all, his Liberty? And indeed the Nation would be highly to blame, that ſhould leave any Thing to Chance, ſince it appears but too glaringly from the Hiſtory of all Countries, as well as the preſent State of Mankind (almoſt every where reduced to Slavery, or miſerably embroiled by ſtruggling for this Security) that Power, wherever lodged, will continually be endeavouring to extend itſelf, if it hath an Opportunity.

There cannot, therefore, be any Pretence for Governors denying the People this ample Security, the Truſts veſted in the Sovereign by the People, being ſufficient Security to him; ſince to take from him any Part of that Power or Maintenance which is neceſſary for the Support of good Government, or to ſecure their own Rights (which is all the Sovereign can in Reaſon expect) would be to hurt themſelves.

The King, by every Encroachment upon the People, is a Gainer either in Power or Wealth; but the People, by their Encroachments upon the King, muſt be Loſers: So that they have Reaſon to fear from their Governors, but their Governors have nothing to fear from them, whilſt they govern well.

Since it appears, that to have our Conſtitution ſettled on its natural Baſis, would be moſt for the true Intereſt and Security of the King, as well as People, it ought to be the earneſt Deſire of all, who wiſh well to themſelves and their Country, to have it ſo ſettled; this Benefit might eaſily be obtained if, to uſe *Hyde*'s Words, *we would ſet our Hands heartily to the Work, and mind in earneſt, what no prudent People ever neglected, our own Intereſts.* When a Reformation is made by Halves, the Half that remains undone commonly remains for ever undone; the Imperfect gains Ground again upon the Perfect, till Things return again to their former Corruption: Therefore this great Work muſt be compleated at once, that when it is finiſh'd it may continue fix'd and unalterable as the Baſis on which it is built. There will be no Need of military Force to ſupport it, like ſome Laws I will not now mention. A Conſtitution modelled according to Nature, will always be able to execute itſelf.

I don't deſpair of ſeeing it done before the Time of this Parliament is expired: It muſt be done while the Parliament is free, for Placemen and Penſioners will always oppoſe it. — The Nation is of Opinion, it can have no Security without it: —— It is a Point agreed, that Liberty can never be deſtroy'd, but by Parliament, nor even by a Parliament, unleſs it hath a Majority of Placemen and Penſioners.

When this ſhall happen to be the Caſe, Liberty need not be attacked openly,

openly, we may loſe the Whole before we miſs a Part of it: The Miniſters will act like *Tartarian* Hunters, who extend themſelves in a Circle round the Plain, and encloſe the Game, as in a Pound, without letting fly one Arrow, till they have the unwary Animals all at their Mercy.

If you ſee a Man cutting down the Banks of a River, you are not to conſider, whether he does this with no other Deſign, but to drown your Land, but whether that muſt be the certain Conſequence: Let him make never ſuch ſtrong Proteſtations, that he means you no Hurt, you muſt be mad, if you did not hinder him. So let a Miniſtry declare never ſo ſolemnly, that they do not deſign to encroach upon your Liberties by filling a Senate with Placemen and Penſioners, you betray yourſelves, if you do not endeavour to hinder it.

Craftſman, Feb. 23. N° 711.

Arguments againſt a PLACE-BILL *anſwer'd.*

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Eſq;*

SIR,

THE dangerous Influences, which a Multiplicity of *Places* may, in Time, come to have upon *Members of Parliament*, have been ſo thoroughly diſcuſſed, that it is with Reluctance I offer to trouble you with any farther Obſervations upon the ſame Subject. But I think myſelf fully juſtified in it by the Conduct of the *miniſterial Advocates*, the moſt prudent of whom choſe to lie by, till the *critical Juncture* ſhould be paſſed over, before the Wickedneſs and Folly of their Arguments could be detected. They now triumph and inſult upon their Succeſs; but God knows with very little Reaſon, the *Queſtion* being carried by ſo inconſiderable a Majority. (p. 79.)

I ſhall firſt take a little Notice, as you have already done, of their own Computation; by which they allow that there are at preſent 200 *Placemen* in the *Houſe of C——s*. They reckon theſe at 3 *Years Purchaſe*, and give a random Gueſs at the Property of *thoſe Gentlemen*, who poſſeſs them, which they equally divide.——A moſt accurate Method of Calculation, highly worthy of *that excellent Computer*, and *great Genius for Expedients*, who ſign'd the *Bank-Contract*; form'd *Exciſe-Schemes*; and, in Commiſeration of our *ſuffering Merchants*, ſo wiſely compleated the *Convention!*

Is it not evident, at firſt Sight, that by this Way of Jumbling, the Weight of *Property* may be aſcrib'd to the *pooreſt Beggar?*—Suppoſe, for Inſtance, I ſhould affirm, that a *certain noble Perſon*, with his *Coachman* and *two Footmen*, had, within 20 Years, rais'd from the Publick a *Million of Money*; and that the *ſaid 4 worthy Perſons*, were now actually worth 250,000*l.* a-piece, one with another; ſhould I not be thought a ridiculous Trifler, if it was known the *Hon. Knight* himſelf was worth the *whole Million*, and that his *Coachman* and *Footmen* were not worth a Groat? But if I ſhould farther make uſe of this Argument, with an Intention to deceive any Body in Matters of Conſequence, and paſs *this Coachman*, or *Footmen*, upon other Perſons for the Security of conſiderable Sums of Money; ought I not to be branded for a *Cheat?*

By the above Computation, *Places* are allow'd to be worth 3 *Years Purchaſe*, and no more. Pray let it be conſider'd, that *Commiſſions in the Army* are comprehended under this Calculation; and then I will aſk the *Gentlemen of the Army*, if *Commiſſions* were to be open to *Bargain* and *Sale*, as they have formerly been, whether 10 or 12 *Years Purchaſe* would not be reckon'd very moderate, in caſe they

they had any reaſonable Aſſurance that they ſhould not be turn'd out, without any other Cauſe than the private Diſguſt of an *arbitrary Miniſter*, for not ſervilely obeying his *Word of Command*, where he hath nothing to do.

But why are we to compute *civil Employments* at no higher a Value than 3 *Years Purchaſe*, if what the *miniſterial Advocates* juſtify is true, *that a* Seat in Parliament *is the Road to* Preferment? Let any Body look over the Liſt of *Placemen*, at this Time and 20 Years ago, and ſee how many Gentlemen, who have kept their *Seats in Parliament*, and concurr'd with the *Miniſtry*, have loſt the *Places*, which they had at firſt. Nay, if we look farther back, may we not find that ſeveral Gentlemen, who were in *Place* before, and ready to take on with the *preſent Men in Power*, were received with open Arms? Are there not many Gentlemen now in *Place*, who have made themſelves agreeable to all Adminiſtrations, for theſe 25 or 26 *Years*, which comes to more Years Purchaſe than Eſtates will ſell for in moſt Counties? —At what Period of Time ſhall we reckon a *Place* at but 3 *Years Purchaſe*? Shall it be the *firſt Place*, which a young Gentleman obtains?—Without looking amongſt the numerous Kindred and Dependents of the *Miniſter*, I apprehend it may be eaſily made appear, that many Perſons have received 40, 50, or perhaps 100 Times the Income of their *firſt Places*; I don't mean by *Jobbs* and *Extra's*, but from the common and gradual Advances from Employment to Employment, as I ſaid before.

But this is ſtill ſtronger, with relation to the *Army*; for there will require no great Skill in the Computation, to know what a conſiderable Difference there is between the *lower Ranks of the Army*, or perhaps *Half-Pay*, and a *Regiment*.

I cannot recollect one Inſtance of any Gentleman's having loſt his *Place*, who ſteadily adhered to the Intereſts of the *Miniſter*; but many have ſucceeded to the *Places* of their Fathers and Relations. Very few have been in Place for 7 *Years*, without being advanced. —There is not, I believe, a ſingle Perſon in the Kingdom, who cannot produce ſome Inſtance to juſtify the Truth of what I have ſaid.

But it hath been lately alledged, that inſtead of any *farther Limitations*, the *preſent Place-Bill* itſelf goes too far, and therefore ought to be limited; for beſides the Number of *Officers* already excluded from the *Houſe of Commons*, ſuch as thoſe of the *Cuſtoms*, *Exciſe*, *Poſt-Office*, the *Stamps*, and the *Salt*, one of *theſe Writers* reckons the *Qualification-Act*, the *Re-election-Act*, and even the *Septennial Act*, as ſufficient and effectual Reſtraints upon the Members of the *Houſe of Commons*.

As to the *Qualification-Act*, tho' it was well intended, Experience hath ſufficiently ſhewn us, particularly in a *very late Inſtance*, that it is very far from anſwering the End propoſed; (for *temporary Qualifications* may be eaſily obtain'd) and it cannot be forgot that when *another Bill* was brought into the *Houſe*, ſome Years ago, for rendering the Deſign of the Legiſlature effectual, it was thrown out, in a very extraordinary Manner, upon the *third Reading*.

The *Re-election Act* has proved as defective as the *other*; for tho' we have now and then had an Inſtance of a *Member*'s being rejected, upon his Acceptance of a *Place*, I will venture to aſſert that there are 20 Inſtances to one, on the *other Side*. When a *Member of Parliament* hath been formerly tampering with the *Court* for a *Place*, it was the uſual Cuſtom for the *ruling Miniſter* to aſk him whether he was ſure of being *re-elected*; or, if the *Place* diſqualified him to ſit in *Parliament*, whether he had Intereſt enough to get *another* choſen in his Room, at the Recommendation of the *Treaſury*; which hath been frequently made the Condition of obtaining, and holding the *Place*.——I know ſeveral Inſtances of this Nature myſelf, and am credibly inform'd of many others, in *former Parliaments*; but I hope ſuch Practices are intirely ſuppreſs'd at preſent.—If the *Member* ſhould happen to be at firſt choſen into ſome *little miniſterial Borough*, he runs no Hazard of taking his *Seat* again.

But the moſt notable Aſſertion of all is, that the *Septennial Act* is another Reſtraint upon *Members of Parliament*, becauſe it will bind them to their good Behaviour for 7 *Years*, on Pain of being turned out at the *next Election*. Is not this a moſt excellent Argument, and exactly agreeable to the Characters of *thoſe*, who advance and defend it? But however ſome other Gentlemen may differ in their Opinion upon this Head, concerning Riots and Tumults, which *frequent Elections* may occaſion, I am ſure none but the moſt abandon'd Scribblers will pretend to ſay, that a *ſure Seat in Parliament* for 7 *Years*, which is a conſiderable Stage of a Man's Life, is a greater Reſtraint upon him, or makes him more dependent upon his *Conſtituents*, than a much ſhorter Term, either of 1 or 3 *Years*; for if this Method of Reaſoning is juſt, it will hold equally good for a *ſtanding Parliament of* 14, or even 20 *Years*.

Nay, the ſame courtly Scribbler goes farther, and frankly declares, that every Law made ſince the Revolution, for ſecuring the Freedom and Independency of Parliament, hath done more Miſchief than Good; which he modeſtly calls *Tinkering* the Conſtitution. —Who beſt deſerve the Appellation of *Tinkers*

kers in Politicks, let the World judge; tho' I think it very indecent, and even criminal, to brand the whole Repreſentative Body of the People with ſuch an opprobrious Name.

This leads me to another wretched Argument againſt the late *Place-Bill*, which hath been often anſwered, but is now trumpt up again, *viz.* that it would alter, if not intirely ſubvert our *Conſtitution*. What *theſe Writers* would have underſtood by our *Conſtitution*, I am at a Loſs to gueſs. If they mean the *Conſtitution of any particular Miniſtry*, &c. I muſt confeſs, that it might poſſibly be attended with ſome ſuch Effect. But if they mean the *antient, legal Conſtitution of our Government*, it is demonſtrable, that the *late Bill* was calculated, and had a direct Tendency to revive and corroborate our *Conſtitution*, inſtead of altering or ſubverting it, by purging all future Parliaments from *mean and improper Members*, according to the *Whig Scheme* in former Times.

Let Courtiers, Tools, and Sycophants ſay what they pleaſe, and rack their dull Brains for Arguments, or Pretences, to juſtify their own Proſtitution and Venality; they will never be able to bring the unbiaſſed and unbought Part of Mankind into their Sentiments; for it is certain, that the *Britiſh Conſtitution* cannot be ſubject to any greater Danger than the Influence, which *Miniſters* may gain upon the Repreſentatives of the People. We know by Experience, that they cannot ſubdue us by *Force*. But ſhould they ever be able to corrupt a *Majority of the Houſe of Commons*, would not that be as fatal, and more fatal? Should a *Miniſter* be able to turn the Artillery of the *People*, from their own Bulwarks, upon themſelves, they muſt yield without Capitulation; and how can that be ſo well prevented, as by a proper *Place-Bill*; No-body contending for an abſolute Excluſion of *all Perſons in Places*?

But tho' we have not yet had the Happineſs of obtaining this *Security for our Liberties*, there is ſtill to be *another Seſſion of the preſent Parliament*, (unleſs his Majeſty ſhould be graciouſly pleaſed to diſſolve it, before its legal Term) when it is to be hoped that the *ſame excellent Bill* will be moved for again, and that all the *uncorrupt Part of the Kingdom* will determine their Conduct, according to the Iſſue of it, at the *next general Election*.

Poetical ESSAYS *in* FEBRUARY, 1740.

To Sir H—— S——. *On the much lamented Death of his* Norway OWL.

SINCE *Britain* did in war with *Spain* engage;
Since *London* felt the winter's fierceſt rage;
Since crowds walk'd o'er the *Thames* to take the air,
And ſee the wond'rous doings of *froſt-fair*;
Since *Rome*'s high pontiff was depos'd by death;
Since fam'd Sir *H*——'s owl reſign'd her breath;
Theſe inauſpicious, and theſe dire events,
Which *Rome*, which *Britain*, which Sir *H*—— laments,
Sage philomaths, each year, in tuneful rhimes,
Shall mark as *æras* to ſucceeding times.
From painful ſun-ſhine, and deteſted light,
To ever-ſilent, ever-ſleeping night,
The feather'd favourite of thy heart is fled,
Nor more will flutter o'er thy learned head:
Yet be not, *S*——, too obſtinate in grief,
Norway again may ſend thee freſh relief;
Another owl produce of equal grace,
With eyes as ſtaring, and as broad a face,
To ſooth thy cares; thy labours to beguile;
From ſolemn gravity extort a ſmile;
At once inſtruct and cheer thee by her looks,
And eaſe thee weary'd with a load of books.
Bereav'd of this thy venerable owl,
With thee let *Greſham* and its ſons condole.
Let *C*——r mourn her fate in *lyric* verſe;
Her praiſe in courtly proſe let *C*——e rehearſe.
So — when you both, like her, ſhall one day ſleep,
May owls fly round your bier, and teach us how to weep.

Ad *H*—— *S*——, Equitem, mortem Bubonis ſui *Norwigenſis* inſolabiliter mœrentem.

QUIS deſiderio ſit pudor, aut modus
Tam chari capitis? plangat Hiberniæ
Solers muſa lyræ: conſonet Albion,
Et planctu reboet gravi.
Ergo mors rapuit delicias tuas,
Bubonem niveum, Palladis alitem;
Cui Pallaſve dolens, cuive Venus ſoror
Quando ullum inveniet parem?
Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit,
Nulli flebilior, quam tibi, eques bone,
Tu fruſtrà pius, & jam pretio & prece
Fruſtrà poſcis avem deos.
Quod ſi duras ululans queſtibus impleas,
Auditum & cieas Norvigiâ ſonum,
Non vanæ redeat ſanguis imagini,
Quam Styx irremeabilis,
Et Ditis cohibent regna ſilentia,
Unde non revolat tranſfuga penniger.
Durum!—ſed levius fit patientiâ
Quicquid corrigere eſt nefas.

To a FRIEND. *Upon the* SPRING.

SEE! nature her rich colours ſhows,
And a gay proſpect yields;
While genial Zephyr kindly blows,
And paints with green the fields.
The feather'd choir renew their loves,
And in the foliage ſing;
Around the verdant, echoing groves
With artleſs conſorts ring.
In ſhining meads the ſilver ſtreams,
That warble as they flow,
Reflect the ſun's bright, gentle beams,
And a new æther ſhow.
Upon their banks, the tender lambs
Baſk in the blaze of day;
Or ſportive friſk amongſt their dams,
Pleas'd with their wanton play.
While ſpring and youth, my friend, invite,
Seize pleaſure in your pow'r;
Neglect not innocent delight,
But uſe the preſent hour.
Virtue (believe the muſe) is gay,
With radiant hope poſſeſt;
No cloud can over-caſt the day
Of the calm, harmleſs breaſt.
Then fear not to indulge delight,
Which the kind fates diſpence;
For heav'n itſelf 's th'undoubted right
Of ſpotleſs innocence.

On a NIGHTINGALE.

GENTLE, ſweet, melodious thing!
Tuneful *Syren* of the ſpring!
Thou canſt drooping ſorrow chear,
Soft enchantreſs of the ear!
While, all care forgot, our breaſt
With *Elyſian* joy is bleſt.
Not the muſic of the ſpheres
(Ceas'd almoſt two thouſand years)
Juſtly might with thine compare,
Vocal goddeſs of the air!
When thou ſing'ſt, the feather'd quire
Huſht in ſilence thee admire;
And each rival of the grove
Dies with envy, or with love.
Neither charm'ſt thou minds alone,
Nature does thy influence own;
And while ſlow th' unwilling light
Fades away, and yields to night,
In thy voice's circuit round
All in extaſy is drown'd,
Such the magic pow'r of ſound!
Hail! ſweet chantreſs, nor diſdain,
Tho' my rude, yet grateful ſtrain,
Who've ſo oft forgot the day,
Liſt'ning to thy ev'ning lay,
And been pleas'd in thee to find
Fortune, and the muſe more kind.

J. DINSDALE.

An alamode enigmatical Looking-Glaſs for pretty Maſter —— at Bath, *or any* petit Maiter, *that wants it as much; very proper for the enſuing Seaſon.*

THERE is, philoſophers agree,
An *animal riſibile*;
The world his ſtage, his life a play;
Himſelf the hero of a day:
A laughing, prating, ſwaggering blade,
A man begot, a coxcomb made;
The conſtant butt of ridicule,
A motley breed, half man, half fool.
A human form he has at leaſt,
Begins a man, but ends a beaſt.
The former's head, 'tis true, he bears,
And all the reſt, except the ears;
Which ſhew from whence the creature came,
And what's his nature, and his name:
All but for them a man he'd paſs,
But now he is half man, half aſs:
Of forms an elegant ſpectator,
Of nothing but what's good a hater:
With vanity and trifles fraught,
He aims at all, but catches nought:
Gets every thing, by turns, and fits,
But loſes ten for one it hits:
Is every thing without pretence,
And, without brains, wou'd needs have ſenſe.
Nay, fain wou'd reach beyond his betters,
And be a ſcholar, but for letters.
Wit ſure he has, he cuts a pun,
And valour too,—he has a gun,
A *French* toupee, cockade, and ſword,
And ſwears and bullies like a lord;
But has for duels no affection,
The petticoat's the beſt protection.
He has a library beſide,
Is wiſe—but never ſaw th' inſide.
The ſhelves with heaps on heaps well ſtor'd,
But not indeed with books, but board;
For like his library's his ſkull,
As the wood heavy, lumpiſh, dull.
What tho' by rules he ne'er was fetter'd,
He's bound and gilt, tho' never letter'd;
So neatly daub'd from top to toe,
You'd take him for a *Temple* beau;
With ſpencer wig and ſolitairs,
From *France* freſh gallantry and airs;
Which, with a deal of ſnuff, and paſte,
Denominate the man of taſte.
For theſe he made the tour of *France*,
And learnt to fiddle, whore, and dance.
From thence he took a trip to *Rome*,
And ſaw—juſt what he ſaw at home:
But ſoon return'd, his money ſpent,
Not a jot wiſer than he went;
Except that ever ſince he ſees
The ſun is milk, the moon is cheeſe;
The relicks of his wit he feels,
Jump'd from his noddle to his heels.
Hence in the coffee-houſe he'll prate
Of kings and miniſters of ſtate,

Of biſhops, judges, and projectors,
Lords, commons, bankers, and directors.
Or gravely talk, with half-ſhut eyes,
Of ſcandal, politicks, and lyes;
Nay tells ten thouſand in a breath,
And talks the company to death:
And, with his uſual confidence,
Treats all men with impertinence.
With what propriety he mentions,
Memorials, treaties, and conventions,
Acts, proteſts and declarations!
Determining the fate of nations,
As if he were by *Fleury* taught,
When all he ſpeaks, they know, is nought.
Now ſee him in a circle ſit
In judgment on poor *C——y*'s wit,
With ſolemn phyz and tone rehearſe
The new year's ode, ne'er meant for verſe.
See how judiciouſly he tries
To mend, find fault, and criticiſe!
Ne'er in his life-time was it known,
But what he read he made his own;
For when he reads, 'tis with intent,
To make out blunders never meant.
With ſelf-important ſhrugs and nods
He reads, remarks, demurs, and plods;
At length decides with many a curſe,
Making e'en bad things ten times worſe,
Vaunting at *C——y*'s ſole expence,
And mauling him, as he did ſenſe;
On murders raiſing murders more,
Doing what *C——y* did before:
Alike the critick and the muſe,
Fools both—there's not a pin to chuſe.—
Next view him with the ladies flutter by,
As about roſes does a butterfly;
Or, like a flea in ſummer, ſkip
From this to t'other ladyſhip;
Juſt as from ſtack to ſtack a mouſe,
Contemptibly ridiculous.
Obſerve, with what becoming air,
And grace, he compliments the fair!
Hark! in an inſtant, comes a volley
Of *mams*, *indeeds*, *proteſts*, and folly:
Louder, and louder ſtill, as thunders,
Entendres, horſe-laughs, jokes, and blunders.
For he can talk whole days together
On faſhions, trifles, news, and weather;
With volubility run o'er
The nonſenſe of the week before.
Scandalous news, and defamation,
Are topicks of his converſation;
Smart repartees, and ſhrewd reflections,
Inſidious cavils, and objections:
For right, or wrong, he muſt diſpute,
And, e'en by contraries, confute:
What nature does in ſenſe deny,
His jokes, and wittiçiſms ſupply;
Tho', like his ſenſe, his jokes are poor,
And told ten thouſand times before.
And as a mark of good invention,
He often ſpeaks without intention;
Harangues, debates with penetration,
And takes, by wiſe interpretation,
(What was but meant him for prevention,)
Silent contempt for deep attention.
His ruling paſſion's love of fame,
Tho' not ſo much as known by name:
Will brag of favours ne'er receiv'd,
Believing, but by none believ'd:
Will notice of your failings take,
And rail on, juſt for railing's ſake;
Nay more, by way of illuſtrations,
Expoſe both you, and your relations:
For when he rails, he does not care,
At whom, for what, or when, or where.
Now ſee i'th' gaming houſe, his ſkill,
At *Baſſet*, *Ombre* and *Quadrille*:
Obſerve how fairly he pretends,
With ſpecial view to private ends;
Now high, now low, now ſhy, now rude,
But always with deſign t'elude:
With zeal decrys all ſharpers feats,
But like a ſharper blames and cheats.
Next view him in the ball-room caper,
As light and empty as a vapour;
Or proudly ſtrutting in the grove,
To every ſhe pretending love.
(But by endeavouring to flatter,
He only does the more beſpatter:
Such praiſe, reproach; ſuch blame, tho' pert,
Is honour, and reflects deſert:)
Now every female rake addreſſing,
Now every happy fop careſſing;
Now calling, with his uſual ſneer,
Whate'er, and whom he knows not, queer:
Tho' he but parrot-like can prattle
Juſt what he heard another tattle:
The man he'll from his heart deteſt,
That's not as vicious as the reſt;
Since with him impudence is merit,
And haughtineſs a ſign of ſpirit.
For lacking worth, he'll worth deſpiſe,
And ſcorn the height he cannot riſe;
His cheating, ſwaggering, bullying, ranting,
Make up whatever elſe is wanting.
Whate'er is priz'd, he thinks is nought,
By far much better fed, than taught:
For that pedantick thing, call'd learning,
He never thought it worth the earning.
A *Gazetteer* he ſpells, 'tis true,
Nay more, can ſcraul a *billet doux*;
Or hum a tune, or make a ſong,
Or play and prattle all night long;
But neither rightly read, or write,
Since to be ignorant's polite.
Howe'er, in compliments he's nice,
Can make a bow, and throw a dice;
Or into companies intrude,
And call it witty to be rude:
His *paſſe-par-tout*, his impudence;
His worthleſſneſs, his whole defence:
Can your infirmities expoſe,
And run the rig upon your noſe;
Swear virtue's but an empty name,
And all religions are the ſame.
Novelty is his ſtanding rule,
Which often makes a man a fool.

Pleaſure

Pleaſure his vice, his vice his fame,
His pride his glory, and his ſhame.
His boaſted honour is his paſſion,
As his religion is the faſhion:
In principles by cuſtom goes,
Changing his notions as his cloaths.
Certain in every thing t'excel,
And is in fact a nonpareil.
Hence the philoſophers agree,
There's not his perfect *ſimile*.
Old *Galen* * ſays that ſuch a creature
Was ne'er deſign'd, or form'd by nature:
But withal admits in part,
'Tis nature's blockhead, ſpoil'd by art;
And is no more our ſpecies, than
A monſter, or a mite's a man;
As what has nothing but his ſhape,
Tho' 't ſeems a man, may be an ape:
In every ſtage, and act, the ſame,
In point of manners, wit, and fame:
The different changes of the year
Make the ſame ſcene, and farce appear;
Whether in ball, or box, or ring,
Still the ſame painted, empty thing.
The tinſel gilds the external part,
But the ſame meanneſs lies at heart:
In youth, in manhood, or old age,
The farce the ſame, in every ſtage:
Thro' every change, in every form,
Still in identity a worm.
A fly oft flutters from a grub,
And many a coxcomb from a ſcrub.
Thus is this puppy, woman's tool,
Mankind's burleſque and ridicule;
A phoſph'rus which from ordure ſprung,
To blaze and vaniſh into dung;
A caterpillar, worm, and fly,
Juſt born to flutter, creep, and die.
This then we by induction find,
All coxcombs are of reptile kind.
Whether in favour, or diſgrace,
In every ſtate, degree, and place;
Howe'er diſtinguiſh'd, or ally'd,
Where'er diſtreſs'd, or dignify'd;
Of whatſoe'er denominations,
Coxcombs to worms are near relations.
Indeed, ſome frequently miſtake 'em, ['em.
And think, they're what their outſides make
E'en let the vulgar judge 'em ſage,
As by the teeth a horſe's age,
Think in a coxcomb nought amiſs,
Proving their taſte by liking his;
Happy if, mindful what they're doing,
They ſee their error 'fore their ruin.
They ſhou'd not judge things by externals,
No more than by the ſhells the kernels.
For learning not in long wigs lies,
Nor to be bearded's to be wiſe.
Worth makes the man, its want the beau,
The reſt is but a puppet-ſhow.
By ſmall experience they may find
Men old in years but young in mind,
That many a taylor, nature croſt,
Is in a capering coxcomb loſt.
Nay, if a coxcomb's parts we ſcan,
He's but the ſhadow of a man,
Which often we a baboon call,
Becauſe it repreſents 'em all.
So let him of his talents boaſt,
He's but a fine blockhead, at moſt;
Which now is ſet to publick view,
Only before expos'd to few.
Coxcombs there are of various kinds,
Perhaps as many as are minds:
But, of whatever ſize or features,
Still they are homogeneous creatures;
Whether in purple, fur, or ermin,
Still but mere painted gaudy vermin;
Since every coxcomb is, at beſt,
Nought but a creeping earth-worm dreſt.
As when a cobler's in a cowl,
(For many an ivy has an owl;)
And takes a maſs-book for an awl,
He's but a cobler in his ſtall.
Now tho' his native filth he ſpurns,
From whence he came, he ſtrait returns;
Sooner, or later, back he muſt,
And kiſs his kindred in the duſt.
The ſkin which dazzles vulgar eyes,
Once dropt, the worm's without diſguiſe.
For after all his noiſe and pother,
Worms are his brethren, dung his mother.
From dunghils if ſuch creatures come,
Sure earth's the ſoil, and they the *ſcum*.

Bath, Jan. 1. *TANTUM.*

(The reſt as Occaſion offers.)

* *De uſu partium.*

Verſes wrote upon a Fan, that was thought to be Miſs W——'s.

THIS pow'rful fan, whilſt *Delia* bears,
Who *Cupid*'s bow or quiver fears?
Uſeleſs and vain his darts are found,
Whilſt *Delia*'s fan ne'er fails to wound.
This, whilſt it makes her heat retire,
In other breaſts augments the fire.
Fly, *Cupid*, fly, revenge the wrong,
Nor let the fair-one triumph long;
Haſte, quit your ſhape, as godheads can,
And take the form of *Delia*'s fan:
(Whilſt o'er her ſnowy breaſts you play,
You'll joy you threw the god away.)
Then whilſt you make one heat depart,
With gentler flames O warm her heart.

Oxford, Feb. 4. *D. A.*

The NIGHTINGALE *and* OWLS.

A FABLE.

A Nightingale within a grove,
A ſweet retreat to wit and love,
In ſinging ſpent his golden days,
And poet-like ſought only praiſe.
The wits and beauties flock'd around,
Charm'd with the minſtrel's warbling ſound;
No wealthy ſwain was inſincere,
The heart was mended thro' the ear:

His harmony made each one kind,
A panacea of the mind.
From envy free the winged quire
Their laureat's matchleſs voice admire;
Laureat by nature, not by name,
Tho' ev'ry ſong from him was fame;
All but a ſet of ſtupid fowls,
A dozen poetaſter-owls,
That owl-like purpos'd in a ſhade
To make a charming ſerenade,
When the next pleaſant ev'ning came,
And ſpread amongſt mankind their fame.
The lovers now had fill'd the grove,
And talk of muſick and of love:
The nightingale's melodious ſound
Makes all the little echoes round
Return his notes in dying ſtrains,
That thrill'd along the flow'ry plains.
With envy ſtung the owls begin,
And make a hideous, houting din.
What's this? cries out the am'rous train;
Hearing is now become a pain:
Are birds of night in queſt of prey?
The owls in fury flew away.

On MUSIC.

MUSIC! thou gentleſt pow'r of art,
That charms the ear, and melts the heart;
Thy ſoft perſuaſion can prevail,
When other ſweeteſt motives fail.
Not eloquence itſelf can move
So ſure, or ev'n more charming love.
Thy ſounds can calm the troubled breaſt,
By jealouſy's fierce rage poſſeſt,
That heeded not *Lucinda*'s ſighs,
Kind pray'rs and ſilver-ſtreaming eyes.
In thee the birds their joys expreſs,
Interpreter of happineſs!
In ſpring, while ev'ry ſhady grove
Is full of muſic and of love.
Thou'rt well as earth to heaven dear,
For ev'ry voice is muſic there,
That fills with extaſy the ear.
Hail, ſource of rapture and delight!
Which ev'ry ſorrow puts to flight,
And cures th' unhappy lover's wound,
While pain itſelf's ſubdu'd by ſound.

On CHARITY, *or the* Munificence *of Perſons of the higheſt Diſtinction, during the rigorous Seaſon.*

HAIL, godlike charity! unforc'd by laws,
Of ſoul-felt happineſs th' efficient cauſe.
By thee wou'd ſmile again our peaceful earth,
As when firſt bleſs'd of God at nature's birth:
In vain wou'd froſts their chilling cold impart,
If thy bright fires inflam'd the rich man's heart.
By thee each king wou'd love the public good,
Raſh ſuperſtition waſh her hands from blood;
No frantic, *Spaniſh* zeal, in error bold,
Wou'd burn the blinded *Jew* for tempting gold;
Each ſtateſman ſcorn a paultry, ſneaking deed,
And church-mens bowels feel the poor man's need.
How does my raviſht ſoul exult to ſee
My native land the ſeat of charity!
Religion's pow'r ev'n at the court confeſt,
And ſtars grow brighter on each noble breaſt.
With what tranſcendent rays the ſceptre ſhines,
When charity the gold and gem refines!
In charities when royal bounty flows,
With gratitude a thankful nation glows.
May every king alike be wiſe and good,
And virtues dignify e'en royal blood; [plauſe,
May nations crown their monarchs with ap-
And ev'ry heart unite in virtue's cauſe:
Then war will ceaſe, nor violence prevail,
And knav'ry only fear the cord and jail.
Britons, attend!—be genuine worth approv'd,
And ſhew yourſelves by real virtue mov'd,
Not only in the calmer ſcenes of life,
But glowing battle and the noble ſtrife; [law,
Let juſtice edge your ſwords, revere heav'n's
Be wiſe, be brave, and keep the world in awe.

J. DINSDALE.

The DISTREST CHAPLAIN. *A* FABLE. *By the Author of the* Unſavoury Pudding *.

HOW ſtrange an hurly-burly
Do, in this buſtling world, we
Deſcry, quite all around us!
What ſelfiſh ſouls ſurround us!
All ſeek their own advantage;
Both old,—and thoſe that want age.
Nought elſe is now worth minding,
But what ſome gain we find in.
Sincerity ſo ſcarce is,
True friendſhip all a farce is.
Son, father, ſiſter, brother,
Will hardly help each other.
So that, on broken reeds, we
Do reſt, if in our *needs*, we
Another's care depend on,
Or think, due help he'll lend one.
In matters of importance,
So few, t'aſſiſt, afford hands,
That *each one*—(I proteſt, ſir,)
Does his own buſ'neſs beſt, ſir.
That this is not device all,—
Kind, courteous reader! I ſhall,
As well as I am able,
Show, by th' enſuing fable.
Once, on a time, a *curate*,
To hardſhips much inured,
With pain, was *diſemboguing*:—
(Say not, that I'm for roguing
With *ſacred* things.—In troth, ſir,
I much reſpect the *cloth*, ſir;
And think ſuch ſort of mocking,
Tho' *alamode*, moſt ſhocking.

Beſides,

* *See* London Magazine, Vol. VI. *page* 568. *As alſo*, Vol. VIII. *page* 661.

Beſides,—O rev'rend *clergy!*
With no great fault I charge ye,
When I aver, that ye do,
As well as *Cælia*, *ſh—t* † too.
However, by the ſequel,
Of *this*, you'll find, I ſpeak well;
Showing, this church's true ſon
Was, by no means, a *looſe* one.
Whether then *lay*, or *rev'rend*,
Your pardon let me crave, friend.
Digreſſions too excuſe, ſir:
I'll now my tale purſue, ſir.)
In *houſe of office*, ſtraining,
A *prieſt* was thus complaining—
O!—ſave, Cloacina!
And help a poor *divine*,—(hah!)
Who, ſure, muſt quite be loſt, if
He long remain ſo *coſtive*.
O heav'ns! how does it pain us,
When thus the tortur'd *anus*
Is rack'd, and almoſt rended,
By being ſo diſtended!
Dear friends!—hallo!—d'ye mind me?
Come!—quickly come, behind me.
Dip, dip in oil, a feather,
And bring, O! bring it hither.
Anoint the part affected:—
Why am I thus neglected?
Lard!—lard!—there's no enduring!
Sweet *cook*,—pray thruſt a *ſcure* in.
By little, and by little,—
The *buttons* are ſo brittle,—
Perhaps, you'll diſunite 'em:
But, oh!—I ne'er ſhall *ſh*— 'em ‡.
Yet, ſhou'd—(O ſad diſaſter!)
They cling together faſter,
Your hand, dear *butler*, try ſoon;
Or elſe, I ſure ſhall die ſoon.
Your art, if us'd diſcretely,
Wou'd do the thing moſt ſweetly.
This *excremental cork*, ſir,
A *bottle-ſcrew*, or *fork*, ſir,
Methinks, if handled choicely,
Wou'd pull out wondrous nicely.
Some ſuch device—(I dare ſay,)
Wou'd eaſe my aching *a*——, (hah!)
Zooks!—how it ſmarts and tingles,
Worſe, than the worſt of *ſhingles!*—
Or *boil!*—tho' e'er ſo fiery:
Come!—come!—how plaguy ſhy are ye!
Shall I be help'd by no man?
Where—where's my lady's *woman*?
Oh! ſome good body, bring her:
She has a neat, light *finger*.
Help!—(hah!)—ſome help O ſend me;
Or—(hah!)—the pain will end me.
He ſpoke;—but none wou'd anſwer;
And begg'd; but all in vain, ſir.
Not one—(alas! poor *parſon!*)
Had pity, his poor *a*—— on.
It's true, the grinning *ſteward*
Had, with attention due, heard
The *prieſt*'s ſad lamentation,
And loud vociferation:
Yet, (*varlet* moſt provoking!)
Was much diſpos'd for *joaking*.
He, like a ſenſeleſs, giddy fool,
Turn'd all, I vow, to ridicule;
And, far from an aſſiſtant,
Made e'en a perfect jeſt on't.
For thus, in manner jeering,
The *bailiff* fell a ſneering.
Hallo!—why, ſirs!—where are ye all?
For ſhame! how can ye tarry all?
Ye're all aſleep, or deaf, ſure:
What!—none of you at leiſure!
Why don't ye help the *chaplain*?
He'll be quite ſpent with grappling
With this ſame *coſtive malady*:
Poor gentleman!—O! well-a-day!—
Run, run for *Doll*, the *dairy-maid*;
Who may, perchance, with care, him aid.
For, in ſome *private* caſes
Of pulling diſmal faces,
In giving *help*, ſhe's no dunce;
As ſhe has more than ſhow'd once.
She can—if *need* require it,
And *groaning* girls deſire it,—
Supply the *midwife*'s abſence:
And he too may, perhaps, hence
Have *help*—(if they'll but bring her,)
From her *experienc'd finger*.
What!—all ſtand at a diſtance!
None come to his aſſiſtance!
Do none of ye regard then
The *chaplain*, of one farthing?
Nor, how he rent and tore is?
O tempora!—O mores!
Nor care at all, if ever,
(Diſtracting thought!) or never,

His

† *That* Cælia *is not* all divine, *nor altogether of* celeſtial *Frame*,—*but, now and then, lets drop ſome undeniably Tokens of a* downright, terrene *Compoſition*,—*is abundantly prov'd*, (a poſteriori,) *by the inimitably* ſweet *and* ſubtil Doctor J—— S——; *from that wonderful Variety of evincing Particulars very luckily diſcover'd in* the Lady's Dreſſing-Room; *and plainly expos'd to publick View in the* London Magazine, *Vol.* I. *page* 146. *a Diſcovery, highly uſeful in itſelf! and, no Doubt, very generouſly communicated by the judicious Author, for the great Good of both Sexes; but, in a particular Manner, to rectify the miſtaken Notions of ſome* idolizing *Lovers, and to reform the immoral Practices of an* adulterous Generation. *Conſult (for the fore-mentioned Purpoſe,) the truly* tragical Elegy *of* Caſſinus *and* Peter; *to be met with in the Miſcellanies of that moſt ingenious Operator, above referr'd to, Vol.* V. *page* 49. ‡ *Let no ill-judging, ſupercilious* Critic *once preſume to find Fault with the Author's Want of* Delicacy; *ſince he's very able to produce (if Occaſion be,) Authorities well-nigh innumerable, from Writers of undoubted Credit, and of the very firſt*

Rank,

His *ſtool*, and he, be parted?
O!—is not this hard-hearted?
Dear *doctor!*—I'm ſo ſorry
My very heart aches for ye.
May gracious heav'n defend ye!
But,—ſhou'd this *hard bout* end ye,
You'll be *reſign'd*, I know, ſir;
You'll *forgive* ev'ry *foe*, ſir.
May too your *faith* be ſteady,
And your *accounts* quite ready.
Theſe are the pray'rs moſt fervent,
Of, ſir, your humble ſervant.
The *butler*, with his red noſe,
Whom each one better fed knows,
Than taught, ſaid thus;—I fear, it
Was drinking too much *claret*,
That prov'd the dire occaſion
Of all this *ſore* vexation.
Howe'er,—before we're ſent hence,
The *ſtool* of true repentance
Does well for all to *ſit on:*
And ſo,—ſweet ſir!—pray *ſo—t* on.
Thus, thus by all unminded,
The poor, *diſtreſt divine* did
Receive theſe lame excuſes,
Theſe inſults and abuſes.
Some, I think, leſs ſevere were;
And ſeem'd to be ſincerer.
One ſaid,—(O ſhuffling *ervin!*)
Some other time he'd ſerve him.
With pains, oft interrupted,
Reply'd *ſir rev'rend* ſnufted.—
Whoe'er,—a friend,—in *need*, is,
He, he,—a friend,—in *deed*, is.
Ye ſhou'd not—make ſuch—ſport, ſure,
With this—my grievous—torture.
Ye're,—certainly,—fine—bodies:
But,—oh!—the *ſquire*—ſhall know this.
At length,—*præcluſa voce*,
With recollected force, he—
(Tho', ſtill the more it pain'd him,) [him.
Grinn'd, ſtamp'd, and ſtar'd, and ſtrain'd
To make the matter ſhort, ſir,—
The ſtrenuous, brave effort, ſir,
So wond'rous well ſucceeded,
That what, ſo long, unheeded
Had, in *poſterior gap*, lain,
The, poor neglected *chaplain*,
In vig'rous ſort, exploded,
And the *griev'd gut* unloaded.
Thus forc'd—(O hard condition!)
To be his *own phyſician*,—
Compleat, this *moral-mender*
Deſir'd, the cure, to render.
For which intent, effectual, he
Found *lenitive electu'ry*.

P. JINGLE.

Ad RUFUM. De Lepore, quem ab illo dono miſſum CORINNA renuit.

IMperioſa ſuo latitantes pectore flammas
Faſſa eſt, dum leporem reſpuit; inde lepor.
Quærenti cauſam cur munera nollet amici,
En! tibi in hoc facto, quæ latet, illa patet.
Philtra timet? non philtra juvant; concedet amori.
Artis in hoc nihil eſt; ſit tibi nudus amor.
Si cauſam rogitare velis; ſuffuſa rubore,
Quam nequit ex dictis, hanc dabit ex oculis.
Feſtina—viduæ viduoque eſt utile verbum;
Feſtina dono te dare; non renuet.
Munera ſi velles dare convenientia cuique;
Mî leporem, viduæ te dato pro lepore.

The Same in *Engliſh.*

To RUFUS. *Of a Hare* CORINNA *refuſ'd to accept from him.*

CORINNA, ſkill'd in many female wiles,
Oft frowns when pleas'd, and oft in anger ſmiles:
When ſhe, averſe, refuſ'd th' ill-fated hare,
And ſeem'd to triumph in your fond deſpair,
Her ruffled boſom, but her love confeſt,
Spoke the big paſſion riſing in her breaſt.
With tranſport, as with well-diſſembled art,
She ſees the conflict of your tender heart.
'Tis not her cruelty your preſents move,
Her heat of paſſion is the heat of love.
Forward, and gaze on her conſenting eyes;
Nor gaze too long—but ſnatch the lovely prize:
'Tis undiſguis'd, and gen'rous love that warms,
And makes the widow wanton in your arms.
Then, to each lover give what beſt is due,
For me's the leveret, for the widow, you.

CELADON.

A SONG.

——— *Amor omnibus idem.* VIRG.

AS when ſome youth to bathe,
The ſultry ſeaſon calls,
Smooth-gliding o'er the wave,
Now high, now low he falls:

No dangers fearing, ſtrait
Loud-ſounding billows riſe,
For ſhoar he aims too late,
And in a tempeſt dies.

So when t' allay I'd try
The fervour of my ſoul,
To *Cloe*'s breaſt I fly,
And all my cares controul:

Soft pleaſure veils the cheat,
Nor whiſpers to retire,
Till riſing whirlwinds meet,
I, overwhelm'd, expire.

SYLVIUS.

In Imitation of the IXth ODE *in the firſt Book of* Horace.

SEE how the hoary trees around
With icy branches bow;
While froſt locks up the bubbling ſpring,
And fields are glaz'd with ſnow.

Let

Let wine and fire, my gen'rous friend,
Chace winter's cold away;
Sweet converſe charm the ſoul, and wit
Deceive the tedious day.

To heav'n commit the reſt, nor ſeek,
By an enquiry vain,
If victory ſhall crown our arms,
And *England* conquer *Spain*.

When God ſo wills, o'er ſtormy ſeas
The thund'ring tempeſt ſweeps;
And when he wills, a calm again
Smooths all the ſilver'd deeps.

'Tis heaven alone can look into
Futurity's dark night;
And juſtly ſtops fond, reſtleſs man's
Too daring, curious ſight.

Let others then with anxious minds
Their future lot divine,
Be wealth and godlike bounty yours,
Content at leaſt be mine.

On a young Lady's Recovery from Sickneſs.

OPpreſs'd with pain, ſee fair *Eliza* lies!
Languid her cheek, and dim her ſprightly eyes:
Whilſt pale diſeaſes ſhock her tender frame,
And ſtruggling life ſhines with a feeble flame;
Now the fierce *fever* taints the boiling blood,
Now ſhiv'ring *ague* chills the vital flood:
The lovely nymph, dejected, hangs her head;
Droop all her lilies, all her roſes fade.
But lo! at length the *great phyſician* brings
His potent balm, and ſpreads his healing wings:
At his approach, the glooms of ſickneſs fly,
And keener lightnings arm the melting eye;
The blooming cheek with purer crimſon glows,
And the warm lips a brighter dye diſcloſe:
Sweet roſy *health* reſumes her gentle ſway,
And *death* reluctant quits the beauteous prey.
Thus have I ſeen on ſummer's chearful morn,
When the broad ſky reſplendent beams adorn,
An envious cloud, wide-hov'ring, intervene
With ſudden g'oom, and darken all the ſcene:
But when bright *Phœbus* from th' ætherial height,
Exerts his rays, and ſheds ſuperior light,
Diſperſt, th' obſcuring vapour fleets away,
And brighter glories crown the ſmiling day.

The WISH: *Or, The* 31*ſt* ODE *of the firſt Book of* Horace *imitated.*

WHAT wou'd the bard, unknown to fame,
Unſkill'd to touch the tuneful lyre;
What from *Apollo* wou'd he claim,
What hope, who never felt his fire?

Not claim a miniſterial ſtore,
Heap'd by oppreſſion's guileful hand;
Not hope the ſmiles of corrupt pow'r,
And fawning ſwell a ſervile band.

Not wiſh to boaſt extended plains
Which *Iſis* and her *Thame* divide,
On whoſe rich banks kind plenty reigns,
And gives new wealth to every tide.

Accept who will, the *gold* or *note*,
The price for which they *conſcience* gave,
Be penſion'd for the *venal vote*,
Or glitter an enribbon'd *ſlave*.

Let the proud *ſupercargoes* quaff
The nobleſt wines in lordly ſtate,
And at their trick'd *directors* laugh,
Grown by ſuperior cunning great.

Me, humble life, and mean repaſt,
Can pleaſe, juſt ſuch as fortune ſent;
To me, inelegant of taſte,
Nature can give a cheap content.

This all I wiſh, in moderate ſtate,
With letter'd quiet let me live,
Unknown, unenvious of the great,
Nor from ambition pain receive.

Let, during life, my ſenſe be ſtrong,
With heart to uſe my preſent ſtore,
And while I ſing, ſtill let my ſong
Of virtue be, I *wiſh* no more.

On the late Duke of Buckingham's *Tomb and Image, an* Extempore *Thought.*

HAIL, *patriot youth!* loſt in life's bloom,
In virtue's ſhrine with honour ſleep,
While at thy conſecrated tomb
The *muſes* and the *graces* weep:

But never ſhall thy *mem'ry* die,
All at thy urn ſhall that revere;
Who honours *worth* ſhall heave a ſigh;
Who *Britain* loves, ſhall drop a tear.

To SYLVIA.

On her grieving for ſome Alteration in her Face. A SONG.

THE beauties that adorn'd this buſh,
Alas! where are they fled?
No verdure ſmiles, no roſes bluſh,
One wou'd believe it dead.—
Yet when the ſpring returns again,
New roſes ſhall appear;
Again this ſhrub, array'd in green,
Shall grace the infant year.

Not ſo the beauties you deplore,
They are for ever loſt;
Since no kind ſpring ſhall thoſe reſtore,
Or give you new to boaſt.
Then, to preſerve your preſent ſtore,
Ceaſe, *Sylvia*, ceaſe to mourn;
Or we, who were your ſlaves before,
Shall triumph in our turn.

THE

THE
Monthly Chronologer.

THE latter End of laſt Month, Orders were given for raiſing 2040 Marines as Additionals to the 6 Regiments, with one Lieut. to each Company; alſo one Independent Company of Invalids, and an Addition of 20 Men to each of the 4 Independent Companies of Invalids in *Scotland*.

A Gentleman, who was concern'd in the late Diſturbance at *Drury-Lane* Playhouſe, ſent the Manager of that Theatre, a hundred Pounds, as an Acknowledgment for the Damage done by him. (See p. 47.)

There were remarkable Accounts of the Severity and Intenſeneſs of the Froſt, not only from *Scotland* and *Ireland*; but from *Germany*, *Holland*, *France*, &c. By Letters from the *North* of *Ireland*, we were aſſur'd, that the great freſh Water Lake, call'd *Lough Neagh*, was entirely frozen over, and the Ice ſo very hard that ſeveral Perſons walk'd directly acroſs the *Lough* from *Montjoy-Caſtle*, and other Places in the County of *Tyrone*, to the Market of *Antrim*, which is upwards of 20 Miles. But ſeveral Perſons in croſſing theſe Lakes, by the Ice breaking, fell in and were drown'd.

From *Vienna*, *Dreſden*, and *Dantzick*, we were adviſ'd, that the cold Weather there was ſeverer than it was in 1709; that many People in the Suburbs of *Vienna* had periſh'd with it: From *Stockholm*, *Poland*, and *Lithuania*, that it had forced the Bears and Wolves out of the Woods to ſeek for Prey in the open Country, whereby many Perſons loſt their Lives: And from *Bruſſels*, that all the Rivers were frozen up; and particularly the *Scheld* as far as *Antwerp*; and that ſeveral Perſons had been found dead of the exceſſive Cold, and many Trees been ſplit with it.

The following Extract of a Letter from an *Engliſh* Gentleman at *Leyden* in *Holland*, dated *Jan.* 1. is too extraordinary to be omitted: "Books being now laid aſide, our chief Study and Care is how to thaw our Eatables and Drinkables, as Water, Milk, Beer, &c. My Wine is tolerably ſtrong, yet the Whole freezes into a ſolid Maſs; Bread cannot be cut, without being firſt ſet by the Fire near an Hour; in the ſame Manner we ſerve our Butter, and alſo our Oranges, which are otherwiſe as hard as Stones: Boiling ſtrong Punch, put into a Bowl, preſents us with Ice in eight Minutes: My Barber coming Yeſterday to ſhave me, put a little hot Water into his Baſon below Stairs, and in the Time he was coming up to my Chamber it began to freeze: Warm Urine from a Man's Body freezes in ſix Minutes: Spittle directly, as it falls to the Ground. But what is yet more remarkable, a Gentleman of my Acquaintance having a Bottle of Water from a Pump that was not frozen, going directly to pour ſome into a Glaſs, it was immediately Ice: But what is more ſurprizing, part of the Stream from the Bottle to the Glaſs froze, and ſtood up in the Tumbler like an Icicle; the like certainly was never known in theſe Climates. Three Perſons were found frozen dead in one Houſe Yeſterday Morning, and ſome others are ſince dead."

SATURDAY, *Feb.* 2.

Between 2 and 300 Men were order'd from his Majeſty's Yards at *Deptford* and *Woolwich*, to *Chatham* and *Portſmouth*, to aſſiſt in getting ready for Sea, two firſt Rate Men of War, &c.

An Order came down to the Cuſtom-houſe, for laying an Embargo on the Ships in the Port of *London*; and accordingly Directions were immediately ſent to *Graveſend*. Expreſſes were alſo diſpatched for laying an Embargo at all the Ports in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*.

TUESDAY, 5.

A Proclamation was publiſh'd for the Encouragement of Seamen to enter into his Majeſty's Service; wherein every able Sailor above the Age of 18, and under 54, who ſhall voluntarily enter on board any of his Majeſty's Ships of War before the 15th of *March* next, is to receive two Guineas as Bounty-Money, and every ordinary Man 30 s. and be further entitled to ſix Months Pay, provided there ſhould not be Occaſion for their Service for ſo long a Time. After the ſaid 15th Day of *March*, Conſtables are to have two Guineas for every Sea-faring Man impreſs'd by them.

FRIDAY, 8.

Madam *Amelia Sophia Walmodun*, commonly called Madam *Valmoute*, took the Oaths at the Bar of the Houſe of Lords, in order for her Naturalization-Bill to paſs that Houſe.

SATURDAY, 9.

A Wardmote was held at *Guildhall*, for the Election of an Alderman for *Cheap* Ward, in the Room of Sir *Joſeph Eyles*, deceaſed; when Mr. *Arnold*, Deputy of the ſaid Ward, was unanimouſly choſen.

The ſame Day a fine new large Tent, lately made as a Pattern, was pitch'd before the

the Garden-Wall belonging to St. *James*'s Palace, in St. *James*'s Park, for his Majesty to take a View thereof, and for his Approbation.

MONDAY, 11.

The Court of *King*'s-*Bench* gave Judgment against 5 Persons lately committed for seducing a young Lady, an Heiress, of 16 Years of Age, and marrying her without the Consent of her Guardians, *viz.* the Husband was fined 500 *l.* the Son of a noble Person concerned in the Affair 500 *l.* the two Men-Servants to be imprisoned one Month each, and the Maid-Servant to suffer six Months Imprisonment, and to pay a Fine of one Mark.

WEDNESDAY, 13.

Three of the condemn'd Malefactors were executed at *Tyburn*, viz. *Lineham*, *Onion* and *Mott*: Thro' the Severity of the Weather, they were almost frozen to Death, before they were turned off. *Hawkins* was reprieved, but died soon after in *Newgate*. *Snowd* and *Wells* were to have been executed with the above three, but an Order came down the Night before, for reprieving them for six Weeks. (See p. 47.)

THURSDAY, 14.

This Morning about one o'Clock, a Fire broke out in the House of Mr. *Wilson*, in *Southampton-Buildings*, which entirely consumed the same, together with four more, and damaged several others.

Orders were issued for the Encampment of the Guards, both Horse and Foot, in *Hyde-Park*, on the 15th of *March*, and for instantly marking out the Lines for the said Camp; and likewise two others upon *Hounslow* and *Black Heaths*.

SATURDAY, 16.

His Grace the Duke of *Richmond* was chosen a Governor of the *Charter-House*, in the room of the Earl of *Scarborough*, deceas'd.

The great Frost, rather more severe than that in 1715, after having continued, with some short Intermissions, near 8 Weeks, began this Day to abate, and continued slowly to abate to the End of the Month, it still remaining considerably cold, with pretty smart Frosts almost every Night. However, by about the 20th, the *Thames*, to the great Joy of every Body, was again open above Bridge, and Boats ply'd as usual, &c. 'Tis said, the Damage done to *London-Bridge*, and the Houses thereon, by the Frost, will amount to 3000 *l.* repairing. The Spirit of Charity, which so laudably shewed itself in and about *London*, on Occasion of this severe Winter, seem'd happily to prevail throughout *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. (See p. 48.)

FRIDAY, 22.

The Anniversary of the Birth of her R. Highness the Princess *Mary*, was celebrated, who then entered into the 17th Year of her Age.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

THO. *Corbett*, Esq; Memb. of Parl. for *Saltash*, to Mrs. *Lloyd*, a 30,000*l.* Fortune.—*John Edwards*, jun. of *Highgate*, Esq; to Miss *Holford*.—*John Hall*, of *Durham*, Esq; to Miss *Stephenson*, a 25,000*l.* Fortune.—*Philip Hoghton*, of *Lancashire*, Esq; to Miss *Rigby*.—*Ri. Fydell*, Esq; Member of Parl. for *Boston*, to Miss *Hall*.—*Tho. Wright*, Merchant and Druggist, to Miss *Woodford*, Daughter of Dr. *Woodford*, Regius Professor at *Oxford*.—*Roger Wilbraham*, of *Dorford*, near *Nantwich*, Esq; to Miss *Esther Cowper*.—Sir *John Rush*, of *Streatly*, in *Berks*, to Miss *Leonora Sutton*, Daughter of the late Major Gen. *Sutton*.—The Lady of the Lord *North* and *Guilford*, safely deliver'd of a Son.—The Lady of the Lord *Nassau Powlet*, also deliver'd of a Son.

DEATHS.

RT. Hon. *Richard Lumley*, Earl of *Scarborough*, Viscount *Waterford*, and Baron *Lumley*, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, one of his Majesty's most Hon. Privy-Council, and Col. of the 2d Reg. of Foot-Guards, &c. He died suddenly, and is succeeded in Dignity and Estate by his Brother, Sir *Tho. Lumley Saunderson*, Knt. of the Bath, now Earl of *Scarborough*.—Rt. Hon. the Earl of *Delorain*, a *Scotch* Peer, and lately a Capt. of a Man of War, suddenly in his Chariot.—Lieut. Gen. *Evans*, first Gen. of Horse, Col. of a Reg. of Horse, and Governor of *Chelsea* College. He was a brave old Officer, and distinguished himself at the Battle of *Sheriffmuir*, where he received a dangerous Wound on the Head, with a Cutlass, from a Highlander, to whom he ordered the Dragoons to give Quarter, for the Fellow's Bravery, when one of them was going to shoot him thro' the Head for attacking the General, at the Head of his Regiment.—Hon. Mrs. *Trevor*, Aunt to her Grace the junior Dutchess of *Marlborough*.—His Excellency Count *de Cambis*, Ambassador Extraordinary from the *French* King.—At *Glasgow*, the Rev. Mr. *John Simpson*, Professor of Divinity in the University there, but suspended by the General Assembly in 1729, for holding some Notions they thought fit to deem heterodox.—Mr. *Tanner*, Clerk of the Arraignments at the *Old Bailey*, and of the Sessions at *Guildhall*, also Clerk of the Fishmongers Company, and of the Company of Armourers and Braziers.—At *Paris*, *Henry Perrot*, Esq; Knight of the Shire for the County of *Oxford*.—Sir *Joseph Eyles*, Knt. Alderman of *Cheap* Ward, and Member of Parl. for the *Devizes*.—Mrs. *Bentley*, Wife of the Rev. Dr. *Bentley*, at *Cambridge*.—Sir *Edmund Elwill*, Bart. Comptroller of the Duties arising by Excise.—Capt. *William Mo-*

ſes, aged 81, the oldeſt Capt. in the Navy.—Mr. *Mendez de Coſta*, an eminent *Jew* Merchant of this City.—*William Cowper*, Eſq; Clerk of the Parliaments, Son of the late Judge *Cowper*. — Mr. *Jacob Vanderlint*, a Deal-Merchant in *Black-Fryars*. He was a Gentleman of a very fair Character, of great Benevolence and Humanity, which he ſhewed, as well as his good Senſe, in a Book he wrote on Trade, and the Improvement of Land, entitled, *Money anſwers all Things*, &c. He died ſuddenly of an Aſthma, which he had long laboured under.—Sir *David Williams*, of *Guernevet* and *Langoyd Caſtle*, in the County of *Brecon*, Bart. — Sir *William Juxon*, Bart. great Nephew to Archbiſhop *Juxon*, who attended King *Charles* I. on the Scaffold.—Rev. Mr. *John Bond*, in the 43d Year of his Age.—Mr. *Benj. Griffin*, an excellent Comedian.—The Lady of Sir *Thomas Parker*, Kt. one of the Barons of the Exchequer. —The Lady of *George Venables Vernon*, Eſq; Member of Parliament for *Litchfield*.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

JOSEPH *Story*, D. D. Dean of St. *Edan*, made Biſhop of *Killaloe* in *Ireland*; and not Mr. *Fletcher*, whom the Papers mentioned by Miſtake.—Mr. *Cornwallis* preſented to the Rectory of *Chelmondeſton* in *Suffolk*.—Mr. *Tottenham*, to the Donation of the Pariſh-Church of *Biddeſham* in *Somerſetſhire*. — Mr. *Arthur Bedford*, to the Vicarage of *Sharnbrook* in *Bedfordſhire*. — Mr. *Maltus* choſen Lecturer of St. *James*'s, *Garlickhith*.—Mr. *Paul Wright* choſen by the Governors of *Chriſt*'s-*Hoſpital*, Vicar of *Ugley* in *Eſſex*.

Promotions CIVIL *and* MILITARY.

JOHN *Plumptre*, jun. Eſq; made a Commiſſioner of the Stamp-Duties.—*William Bridges*, Eſq; Secretary or chief Clerk to the Commiſſioners.—Lord *Hobart*, Lord Lieut. of *Norfolk*.—Lord *Cathcart*, Gen. of the Forces to be employed in a ſecret Expedition.—*Cha. Smith*, Eſq; Lieut. Gov. of *Greenwich Hoſpital*.—Hon. *John Talbot*, Eſq; made a *Welch* Judge.—*William Kynaſton*, Eſq; Curſitor Baron of the Exchequer.—*Benjamin Keene*, Eſq; choſe Member of Parliament for *Malden* in *Eſſex*.—Sir *James Daſhwood*, Bart. for the County of *Oxford*. — Hon. *Nicholas Herbert*, Eſq; for *Newport* in *Cornwall*.—*Tho. Whichcote*, Eſq; for the County of *Lincoln*.—Lord Viſc. *Quarendon*, for the County of *Oxford*.

Sheriffs appointed.

Cornwall, Fr. Lewellin Leach, Eſq; by his Royal Highneſs.—*Cheſhire*, Sir James Byrne, Bart.—*Eſſex*, Sir Tho. Drury, Bart.—*Hereford*, Barth. Richard Barneby, Eſq;—*Monmouth*, Tho. Evans, Eſq;—*Northampton*, Sir Tho. Palmer, Bart.—*Nottingham*, John Storey the Younger, Eſq;—*Rutland*, Edm. Siſmey, Eſq;—*Somerſet*, John Freke Brickdale, Eſq;—*Suffolk*, Edm. Jenny, Eſq;—*Pembroke*, Wm. Warren, Eſq;—*Flint*, Tho. Wynne, the Younger, Eſq;—*Montg.* Edward Price, Eſq;

The Bankrupts *in our next.*

STOCKS.

S. Sea 94 ¾ a 95	*Afric.* 13 ½
—*Bonds* Paying off.	*Royal Aſſ.* 86
—*Annu.* 109 ⅜ a ½ a ⅜	*Lon. ditto* 11
Bank 139 a 139 ¼	3 *per C. An.* 98 ¾
—*Circ.* 3*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*	*Salt Tallies* ¼ a ¾
Mil. Bank 113 ½	*Emp. Loan* 107 ⅛
India 154 ½	*Equiv.* 110 ⅛
—*Bonds* 3*l.* 11*s.* a 13*s.*	

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt. 35 7 2 ½ a 62	*Bilboa* 39 ½
D. Sight 35 4 ½ a 4	*Leghorn* 49 ½
Rotter. 35 9 a 8	*Genoa* 52 ½
Hamb. 34 5	*Venice* 50 a 49 ⅞
P. Sight 31 ⅞	*Lisb.* 5*s* 4*d* ⅞ a 5*d.*
Bourdx. 31 ⅝	*Oport.* 5*s* 4*d* ¼ a ⅜
Cadiz 40 ½	*Antw.* 36 5
Madrid 40 ¼	*Dublin* 8 ⅛

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	29 36	*Oats*	11 15
Rye	12 18	*Tares*	20 23
Barley	13 18	*Peaſe*	21 29
H. Beans	20 23	*H. Peaſe*	16 18
P. Malt	19 26	*B. Malt*	16 19

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Jan.* 22. to *Feb.* 19.

Chriſtned	Males 652	Females 605	1257
Buried	Males 1474	Females 1641	3115
Died under 2 Years old			900
Between 2 and 5			245
5	10		105
10	20		107
20	30		190
30	40		281
40	50		306
50	60		340
60	70		271
70	80		244
80	90		105
90 and upwards			21
			3115

Hay 37 to 43*s.* a Load.

ON

ON the 5th of last Month, the Duke of *Bourbon*, Prince of the Blood, and Great Master of the King's Houshold, who was Prime Minister of *France*, before the present Cardinal got the Reins into his Hands, died at *Chantilly* near *Paris*, in the 48th Year of his Age. By his Death, the Cardinal seems to be left without a Rival, and may therefore probably leave the Reins of Government in *that* Kingdom to whomsoever he pleases to appoint; which is no very good Omen for *this*.

From the same Place, we have the following remarkable Account of the Death of two Persons, *viz.* That on the 11th of last Month, the Marchioness *de Rhode* died at *Paris*, aged 88; and that her Steward dropt down dead the Moment he heard the News; but our Correspondent does not say, whether it was for Grief at his Mistress's Death, or for Fear of being called to an Account by her Executors.

We have long Accounts from *Spain* of their Preparations and Successes in the present War; but whether true or not we shall not pretend to warrant. Some of them, such as they are, we shall give our Readers, as follows. Of *December* the 25th we are told, that their Privateers have taken five more *English* Ships: That there is an Army of 30,000 Foot and 500 Horse ordered to assemble in *Gallicia*, under the Command of the Duke of *Ormond*, the Earl *Marshal*, and General *Mackdonald*, with which they intend to invade *England*, with the Chevalier's eldest Son at their Head; but they should have told us, that they are preparing Wings with which this Army may fly over to *Britain*; for we are sure they have no Ships to transport them, nor Men of War sufficient to convoy them. Besides this Army, they are forming another between *Malaga* and *Gibraltar*, in order to besiege the latter; and a third at *Barcelona*, to be commanded by their chief General, the Duke *de Montemar*, with which they intend to attack the Island of *Minorca*; but in both these Expeditions too, they must have Wings; for they can no other Way attack either of these Places with Success, unless they were Masters at Sea. To this they add another Story as improbable as any of the former: That the Court of *Spain* has taken sure Measures to have a sufficient Fund as long as the War continues, for the Execution of its Designs: If this proves true, as they can have none of their Treasure from *America*, either the War must be *very short*, or their Designs *very small*.

By way of Balance, we shall now give some Accounts of the Misfortunes, 'tis said, they have met with, which, if not true, are at least more probable than the former. They are as follows, *viz.* That Admiral *Vernon*, with a Body of Troops, had made a Descent upon the Island of *Cuba*, and had taken a Post which was defended by 12 Pieces of Cannon: That the *Hector* Man of War, Sir *Yelverton Peyton*, had taken a *Spanish* Man of War of 40 Guns, and carried her into *Virginia*: That a *New-England* Privateer, *Philip Dumaresque* Commander, had taken a large *Spanish* Ship in Sight of the *Canaries*, which was thought to be a Register Ship of great Value, expected from *Campeachy*, called the *N. S. de Pilar*, Captain *Miranda*: And that two *Spanish* Men of War sailing from *Cadiz* to *Ferrol* in *Gallicia*, with Ammunition, Provisions, &c. for the Army there, had fell in with four *English* Men of War; and that after some Engagement, one of the two, named the *Gallicia*, of 80 Brass Guns and 600 Men, was sunk, and the other of 60 Guns taken.

We hear from *Rome*, that on the 18th of *December* last, his Holiness the *Pope* departed this Life; having a few days before signed an Indulto, whereby he gave the King of *Spain* leave to raise *two Millions of Crowns* upon the Clergy of *Spain*, not even excepting the *Jesuits*.

From *Vienna* we are told, that there is an Alliance upon the Point of being concluded between the King of *Great Britain* and the King of *Sardinia*, into which the Grand Duke of *Tuscany* would likewise enter. This Alliance, our wise *Dutch* Politicians, *or rather our wise* English *Politicians, who date their Letters from the* Hague, say, may probably become sufficient to traverse the Designs and Projects of the Courts of *France* and *Spain*.

The King of *Prussia*, in order to remove those Disorders that proceed from Licentiousness, has published an Edict, whereby all Persons, of what Rank or Condition soever, who shall for the future seduce young Girls, shall be obliged to marry them, in order to repair their Honour; which Edict his Majesty has enjoined to be strictly executed: But if it be, we may prophesy, *that young Girls, instead of being seduced, will often become the Seducers*.

According to our last Letters from *Moscow*, dated the 22d of last Month, there are still near 30,000 Men in the Neighbourhood of that City, where Count *Munich* is expected every Day. A Report is spread, that a Memorial is drawing up in the Chancellor's Offices, containing a full Account of all the Discoveries lately made here, and that it is to be sent to all the Empress's Ministers abroad, and to all the Governors of Provinces, in order to convince the Publick, that if her Imperial Majesty has made use of Severity, it was because there was no Room left to exercise her Clemency. (See p. 51.) The 3d Instant, the Court receiv'd an Express from Count *Munich*, with the agreeable News that the Exchange of the Ratifications of the Treaty with the Porte, was perform'd at *Constantinople*, the 28th of *December* last.

The

HISTORICAL *and* MISCELLANEOUS.

1. A Compendious and rational Inſtitution of the *Latin* Tongue. By *T. Bowles*, D. D. Sold by *C. Rivington*, 8vo. price 2*s.* 6*d.*

2. A *Chineſe* Tale. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 2*s.*

3. An Account of all the principal Froſts for above an hundred Years paſt. Sold by *C. Corbet*, price 6*d.*

4. The third Book of *Horace*'s Odes, *&c.* In *Engliſh* Proſe. Printed for *J. Davidſon*, pr. 1*s.*

5. The Principles of Moral Philoſophy. By *Geo. Turnbull*, L. L. D. Printed for *J. Noon* and *A. Millar*, 8vo, price 6*s.* 6*d.*

6. Confirmation, what, to, by whom, and when to be adminiſtred. Printed for *J. Amey*, price 1*s.*

7. A Tranſlation of the *French* King's Ordinance, *&c.* Printed for *J. Millan*, pr. 6*d.*

8. A new Dictionary, *Spaniſh* and *Engliſh*, and *Engliſh* and *Spaniſh*. By *Peter Pineda*. Printed for *F. Gyles*, *T. Woodward*, *T. Cox*, and *A. Millar*, Folio, price 1*l.* 5*s.*

9. Two Letters on the Coin and Currency in the *Leeward Iſlands*. Sold by *C. Corbet*, pr. 1*s.*

10. The Art of diſſecting human Bodies. By *G. Thomſon*, M. D. Printed for *J. Davidſon*, 8vo, price 4*s.*

11. An hiſtorical, critical, and practical Treatiſe of the Gout. By *Tho. Thomſon*, M. D. Printed for *J. Hughes*, 8vo, price 6*s.* 6*d.*

12. The Hiſtory of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in *Ireland*, with the true State and Condition of that Kingdom before the Year 1640; being a Vindication of *James* Duke of *Ormond*, during his faithful Adminiſtration in *Ireland*. By *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*. The third Edition, with his Lordſhip's Effigies. Printed for *T. Cooper*, pr. 4*s.* in Calf.

LAW, POLITICAL.

13. An Explanation of the Prints of the *European* Race. Printed for *T. Cooper*, pr. 1*s.*

14. The Clerk's Inſtructor in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts. Printed for *S. Birt*, *D. Browne*, and *J. Shuckburgh*, 8vo, price 6*s.* 6*d.*

15. The Rules of Practice common-plac'd, with Remarks. Printed for *J. Hodges*, 8vo, price 3*s.* 6*d.*

16. Select Caſes in Chancery from 1724 to 1733. Printed for *S. Birt*, *D. Browne*, and *J. Shuckburgh*, 8vo, price 4*s.* 6*d.* ſew'd.

17. The Fitneſs of repealing the Septennial Act at this Juncture. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 1*s.*

18. An Appeal to the Publick in relation to viſitaterial Power. Sold by *J. Roberts*, pr. 1*s.*

POETICAL.

19. *Arminius*. A Tragedy. Printed for *J. Clarke* at the *Royal Exchange*, price 5*s.*

20. The Progreſs of *Spain*. A Poem. Sold by *J. Applebee*, pr. 1*s.*

21. Hobbinol; or, the Rural Games. By *W. Somerville*, Eſq; Printed for *J. Stagg*, pr. 3*s.*

22. Money. A Poem. By *Benj. Parker*, Sold by *T. Cooper*, pr. 6*d.*

23. Deity. A Poem. Printed for *J. Roberts*, pr. 1*s.*

24. The Operator after the Manner of the Beggars Opera. Sold by *T. Payne*, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

25. The firſt Satire of *Juvenal* imitated. Printed for *H. Gorebam*, price 1*s.*

SERMONS.

26. A Sermon preach'd at St. *George's Hanover* Square, *Jan.* 27, 1739-40. On Occaſion of a Collection made for the poor Inhabitants, in that very ſevere Seaſon. By *A. Trebeck*, B. D. 2d Edition. Printed for *T. Aſtley* and *W. Shropſhire*, price 6*d.*

27. A Sermon preach'd in the Pariſh Church of *Mortlake*, on the Faſt-Day. By *Ed. Arnold*, L. L. B. Printed for *J. Clarke*, pr. 6*d.*

28. A Sermon preach'd at *Lambeth* on the Faſt-Day. By *J. Denne*, D. D. Printed for *J. Pemberton*, price 6*d.*

29. A Sermon preach'd at *Kew* Chapel on the Faſt-Day. By *T. Morell*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d.*

30. A Sermon preached before the Univerſity of *Oxford* on the Faſt-Day. By *W. Hartt*, M. A. Printed for *R. Goſling* and *G. Hawkins*, pr. 6*d.*

31. A Sermon preach'd on the Faſt-Day. By *G. Smyth*, M. A. Printed for *R. Hett*, price 6*d.*

32. A Sermon preach'd on the Faſt-Day. By *John Guiſe*, D. D. Printed for *J. Oſwald*, price 6*d.*

33. A Sermon preach'd before the Houſe of Lords. By the Biſhop of *Bangor*. Printed for *J. Pemberton*, price 6*d.*

34. A Sermon preach'd before the Houſe of Commons on *Jan.* 30. By *J. Whalley*, D. D. Printed for *F. Gyles*, price 6*d.*

35. A Sermon preach'd before the Univerſity of *Oxford*, *July* 1, 1739. By *T. Hutchinſon*, D. D. Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 6*d.*

36. A Sermon preached in the Cathedral Church of *Worceſter*, *Nov.* 5, 1739. By *R. Meadowcourt*, A. M. Printed for *J. Oſborn*, price 4*d.*

37. A Sermon preached in 1684. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d.*

38. A Sermon on eternal Miſery. With a Preface. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s.*

39. A Sermon preach'd at *Great Torrington*. By *S. Johnſon*, M. A. Printed for *C. Rivington*, price 6*d.*

40. Two Sermons on the Publick Faſt, *&c.* By *W. Harris*, D. D. Printed by *J. Wilſon*, price 1*s.*

41. A Sermon on New-Year's Day. By *R. Wright*. Printed for *R. Hett*, price 4*d.*

THEOLOGICAL.

42. Three Diſcourſes on important and curious Subjects. Printed for *T. Cooper*, pr. 1*s.*

43. Remarks on Mr. *Chubb*'s True Goſpel, *&c.* By *G. Wigbtwick*, M. A. Printed for *J. Noon*, *J. Oſwald*, and *J. Buckland*, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

MARCH, 1740.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 65.

The next Debate I ſhall give you an Account of, was occaſioned by his Majeſty's Meſſage to Parliament, on the 10*th of* May *laſt; for as ſoon as we heard of that Meſſage, we reſolved to make it a Subject of Debate; and upon the Day appointed for that Purpoſe,* Cn. Domitius Calvinus *opened the Debate with a Speech, the Subſtance whereof was as follows,* viz.

My Lords,

AS his Majeſty's moſt gracious Meſſage to this Houſe conſiſts of two Parts, one of which relates to the Treaty lately concluded with the King of *Denmark*, which he has been ſo good as to order to lay before us, and the other to the Augmentation of his Forces, and the other Meaſures that may, in this critical Juncture, become neceſſary; I ſhall beg Leave to conſider them diſtinctly, and in Order, as they ſtand in the Meſſage. As to the Treaty with *Denmark*, I believe, the Expediency, and even the Neceſſity of concluding ſuch a Treaty, upon the preſent Occaſion, will be acknowledged by every Lord that conſiders the remarkable Turn of Affairs, which has lately happened in *Sweden*, and the precarious State the Tranquillity of this Nation now ſtands in. It is a Misfortune attending a free Government in every Country, to have their People divided into Factions or Parties; and this Misfortune *Sweden* of courſe relapſed into, as ſoon as they had recovered and eſtabliſhed their Liberties, upon the Demiſe of their late Sovereign. That Kingdom is now divided into two Parties, one of which is for preſerving the Peace with all its Neighbours, particularly *Muſcovy*, and ſtrictly obſerving thoſe Treaties that have been concluded ſince the Acceſſion of their preſent King; whereas the other, which is the moſt turbulent, and of courſe the moſt popular, is for taking the firſt Opportunity for endeavouring to recover thoſe Provinces which were diſmembered from that Kingdom, by the Misfortunes of the late Reign, notwithſtanding their having been

yielded to the Potentates now in Poſſeſſion of them, in the moſt ſolemn Manner, and by the moſt expreſs and explicit Treaties of Peace.

Of theſe two Parties, my Lords, the firſt has always been for cultivating a good Correſpondence with this Nation; becauſe they may depend upon being ſupported by us, in caſe their Country ſhould be unjuſtly attacked by any ambitious Neighbour: They have nothing but juſt and peaceable Views; and in theſe, they ſtand in no Need of any Alliance but that of this Kingdom. But the Views of the other Party, my Lords, are very different: Their Views are unjuſt, and in the Proſecution of ſuch, they can expect no Encouragement or Aſſiſtance from this Nation. They can expect Aſſiſtance from no Power in *Europe* but *France*; and this makes them ready to ſecond the Views of that Kingdom, and to enter into any Alliance that may be propoſed to them by the Court of *France*. This Party, by their Intrigues among the Members of the laſt Diet, and by the Hopes they gave the People of recovering their loſt Provinces, which, however improbable, will always be popular, have got themſelves eſtabliſhed in the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs; and, as ſoon as they had effected this, they immediately concluded an Alliance with *France*, and began to make Preparations both by Sea and Land, as if they had ſome grand Project in View.

What the Deſign of theſe Preparations may be, or what Deſign the *French* may have in giving ſo large a Subſidy to *Sweden*, and in offering ſo conſiderable a Subſidy to *Denmark*, are Secrets which the World is not as yet let into; but, conſidering the precarious Footing upon which the Peace between *Spain* and us ſtands at preſent, and conſidering the Uncertainty of the Meaſures *France* may take, in caſe of a War between this Nation and *Spain*, it would have been very imprudent in us, to have allowed *France* to engage both the northern Crowns in an Alliance, in which there would probably have been ſome ſecret Articles, which might have been of great Prejudice to this Nation. I have already ſhewn, why it was impoſſible for us to prevent the now governing Party in *Sweden*, from entering into the Alliance propoſed to them by *France*; therefore, the only Thing we could do, was to prevent the Acceſſion of *Denmark* to that Alliance; and there was no other Method for doing this, but by concluding, with *Denmark*, ſuch a Treaty as his Majeſty has now ordered to be laid before you. For this Reaſon, I am convinced, there is no Lord in this Houſe, that will not readily approve of this Treaty, and moſt chearfully concur in enabling his Majeſty to make good the Engagements he has thereby entered into.

My Lords, the Advantages that muſt accrue to this Nation from the Treaty now before us, appear upon the Face of the Treaty itſelf; but, when I tell your Lordſhips, that no Alliance was ever more earneſtly ſollicited, than the Alliance of *Denmark* was by *France* upon this Occaſion, theſe Advantages will appear to be more conſiderable, and the Neceſſity we were under of concluding this Treaty will become manifeſt. The Subſidy we are to pay to the Crown of *Denmark*, is, 'tis true, a little extraordinary; but when we conſider, that a much larger Subſidy was offered by *France*, we muſt conclude, that nothing more evidently points out to us the Wiſdom of the King of *Denmark*, and his good Inclinations towards this Nation, than his rejecting, upon this Occaſion, the Offers of *France*, and accepting from us a much ſmaller Subſidy

than

than was offered to him by that Kingdom. I ſhall grant, it was more for the Intereſt of *Denmark* to join in an Alliance with this Kingdom, than to join in an Alliance with *France*; but, when the Intereſt of a Court happens to be oppoſite to that of the Country, it requires ſome Addreſs in thoſe that apply to them, it requires Wiſdom in the Court applied to, for prevailing upon them to prefer the latter. This was the Caſe in our late Negotiations with *Denmark*: It was the Intereſt of that Court to accept of the larger Subſidy offered by *France*; it was the Intereſt of the Country to accept of the leſſer Subſidy offered by *Great Britain*. This, we may ſuppoſe, was ſet in its true Light, by thoſe who were employed by his Majeſty in that Negotiation; and his *Daniſh* Majeſty's natural good Senſe prevailed with him, as it ought, and, I hope, always will, to prefer a future Intereſt to a preſent Advantage, and to ſacrifice his own immediate Intereſt to the Happineſs of his Country, and the Security of his Poſterity.

I hope your Lordſhips will excuſe my having ſaid ſo much upon the firſt Part of the Meſſage now under your Conſideration, which is, indeed, of ſuch a Nature, that I cannot ſuggeſt to myſelf any Objection that can be made againſt our complying with it; and as to the other Part of the Meſſage, it appears, in my Way of Thinking, as reaſonable as the former. I have often heard thoſe plauſible Arguments, that are commonly made uſe of againſt Votes of Credit and Confidence. Perhaps they may be repeated upon this Occaſion; and, I ſhall allow, that ſuch Votes ought not to be paſſed, but in Caſes of an extraordinary Nature. I ſhall grant, it would be dangerous to introduce the Cuſtom of concluding every Seſſion of Parliament with a Vote of Credit and Confidence, to the King then upon the Throne; but this is what was never contended for; and whatever may be done upon any extraordinary Emergency, can be no Precedent for doing the like, when no ſuch Emergency exiſts. Upon ſuch Occaſions, therefore, we are to conſider the Situation of our Affairs at that Inſtant of Time; in order, from thence, to determine, whether ſuch a Vote be then neceſſary or no. If we do this, I believe, every Lord that hears me muſt agree, that a Vote of Credit and Confidence was never more neceſſary than it is at this preſent Conjuncture. We have, 'tis true, a Convention with *Spain*; but that Convention is only a Sort of Preliminary: The principal Articles in Diſpute between *Spain* and us, remain yet to be adjuſted; and even thoſe Articles, which by this Convention were finally ſettled, remain ſtill uncomplied with. The beſt Way of ſecuring a Compliance, is to be in a Condition to compel it; and the only Method by which we can expect to have the other Articles adjuſted to our own Liking, is to ſhew that we are ready to vindicate our Rights by Force of Arms, in caſe the *Spaniards* ſhould continue obſtinate in refuſing to acknowledge them by peaceable Means.

The Seſſion, my Lords, is now drawing towards a Concluſion. The Parliament will probably be prorogued; the Seaſon of the Year is now ſo far advanced, that it will even become neceſſary for his Majeſty to prorogue it, before he can know what may be the Reſult of the preſent Counſels of *Spain*; and, if we ſhould ſeparate, without enabling his Majeſty to put the Nation into a warlike Poſture, as ſoon as the Exigency of our Affairs may require, it will encourage the Court of *Spain*, not only to refuſe giving us Satisfaction with regard to thoſe Diſputes

that remain as yet to be adjuſted, but alſo to refuſe performing thoſe Stipulations which they have expreſsly promiſed by that Convention, which has been ratified by both Crowns. Thus, by neglecting to furniſh his Majeſty with thoſe Powers that are neceſſary for enabling him to engage in a War, we ſhall render a War unavoidable: By a groundleſs Apprehenſion of running ourſelves into a Danger of a domeſtick Nature, we ſhall run ourſelves into a real foreign Danger; and by refuſing to impower his Majeſty to put the Nation to a ſmall Expence, which, by his being impowered to do ſo, may become unneceſſary, and which we are ſure his Majeſty will not put us to unleſs it be neceſſary, we may ſubject the Nation to an immenſe Charge, which in its preſent Circumſtances, I am ſorry to ſay, it is not well able to bear.

From theſe Conſiderations, my Lords, I muſt be of Opinion, that there is as much Reaſon for our complying with the ſecond Part of this Meſſage, as with the firſt; and as I can apprehend no Danger from our complying with both, I ſhall take the Liberty to move your Lordſhips to reſolve, *That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to thank him for laying before this Houſe, the Treaty lately concluded with the King of* Denmark; *and to aſſure his Majeſty, that this Houſe will not only concur in enabling him to make good the Engagements he has entered into by that Treaty; but alſo in enabling and ſupporting him to make ſuch further Augmentation of his Forces, either by Sea or Land, as may become abſolutely neceſſary; and in concerting ſuch Meaſures, as the Exigency of Affairs may require.*

The next that ſpoke upon this Occaſion, was M. Agrippa, *whoſe Speech was to this Effect,* viz.

My Lords,

THE noble Duke has very properly divided his Majeſty's Meſſage into two Parts. It conſiſts, indeed, of two Parts, and they are of ſo different a Nature, and ſo diſtinct from one another, that I am ſurprized at his Majeſty's having been adviſed to join them together in one and the ſame Meſſage. They are ſo diſtinct, that it is impoſſible to ſpeak to them both together; and therefore I muſt conſider them ſeparately, as the noble Duke has done before me.

With regard to the firſt Part, my Lords, which relates to the Treaty lately concluded with *Denmark*, if the Meſſage had been confined to that Treaty alone, I am perſuaded no Objection would have been made, by any Lord in this Houſe, to our complying with what his Majeſty deſires; and, as I have often taken the Liberty to find fault with our late Meaſures, I am glad to have this Opportunity of giving my Approbation to ſomething that has been done by thoſe now at the Head of our Adminiſtration. In our preſent Circumſtances, my Lords, and conſidering the preſent unlucky Poſture of Affairs in *Europe*, to which we have, by our late Meaſures, not a little contributed, the concluding of this Treaty was abſolutely neceſſary for us, in order to prevent *Denmark*'s entering into any Engagements that might be of dangerous Conſequence to the Intereſt of this Nation in particular, and the Tranquillity of *Europe* in general. Therefore, however expenſive this Treaty may be to us, yet, in the Main, I muſt think it was a wiſe, a right, and a neceſſary Meaſure. But, at the ſame Time, I cannot help obſerving, what can eſcape the Obſervation of no Man, who compares this Treaty with thoſe that have been concluded upon former Occaſions

ſions between the two Crowns, That a Nation, like a private Man, the lower it ſinks in its Credit, the dearer it muſt pay for every Favour it is obliged to ſue for.

This Obſervation occurs the more readily to me, my Lords, becauſe I was once concerned in negotiating a Treaty of the ſame Kind with the Crown of *Denmark*. When I had the Honour to be employed by his late Majeſty in his Negotiations with the northern Crowns, a Treaty was concluded between him and the King of *Denmark*, of the ſame Nature with this now before us: But by that Treaty, we paid but 70 *Crowns* for each Horſe-man his *Daniſh* Majeſty was to keep in Readineſs for our Service; whereas, by this Treaty, we are to pay 80 *Crowns* for every ſuch Horſe-man; which Difference, tho' it may appear inconſiderable when conſidered with reſpect to each ſingle Man, yet, upon 1000 Horſe-men, the Number ſtipulated by this Treaty, it amounts to a very large Sum; and it is the more conſiderable, becauſe, by the Treaty, we are obliged to pay immediately one Moiety of this 80 *Crowns* for each Horſe-man, and 30 *Crowns* for each Foot Soldier, whether we have Occaſion for theſe Troops or no. In this Light, the Difference of 10 *Crowns* upon each Horſe-man, will appear to be of ſome Conſequence, eſpecially, if we conſider the preſent unfortunate Circumſtances of this Nation, and the great Charge we muſt be at, if a War ſhould enſue between us and *Spain*, which I have, indeed, long thought inevitable, and I have now more Reaſon to think ſo than ever I had before.

Beſides this Diſadvantage, my Lords, there are ſeveral others, which every Lord may ſee, by comparing the two Treaties; but what is ſtill worſe, this Treaty can be of no Advantage to us, except that of preventing *Denmark*'s engaging againſt us, unleſs we can engage in our Intereſt ſeveral other Powers upon the Continent, beſides *Denmark*. We can, by this Treaty, make no uſe of the *Daniſh* Troops, in any Expedition we may think fit to undertake againſt *Spain*; becauſe it is expreſsly provided, by the 6th Article of this Treaty, That this Corps of *Daniſh* Troops ſhall not be made uſe of either in *Italy*, or upon the Fleet, nor is it to be tranſported, in Whole or in Part, beyond Sea, after it is come out of the Territories of *Denmark*, except for the Defence of the Kindoms of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*. Nay, if *France* ſhould join with *Spain* againſt us, we could make no uſe of this Body of *Daniſh* Troops, either againſt *Spain* or *France*, unleſs we ſhould have Occaſion to form an Army in *Germany* or *Flanders* againſt *France*; and this we neither can, nor ſhall have the leaſt Occaſion for, unleſs we can form a Confederacy amongſt the Princes and States, who have Dominions in that Part of the World; which we have, as yet, I believe, no great Hopes of being able to accompliſh.

This Treaty with *Denmark*, my Lords, is but a preparatory Step towards accompliſhing ſo great and neceſſary a Deſign. Several other Steps muſt be made, and particularly, there is another Power upon the Continent, whom I may likewiſe call a northern Power, whoſe Alliance we ought to ſeek, upon the preſent Occaſion, as much as that of *Denmark*. When I ſay ſo, I believe, every Lord that hears me will ſuppoſe, I mean the King of *Pruſſia*. He is a powerful Prince: He is a Proteſtant Prince, my Lords; and one of the chief Supports of the Proteſtant Cauſe in *Germany*. It is hardly poſſibly, that ever any natural Difference can ariſe between this Nation and that Crown; therefore we ought always to cultivate

a

a good Correſpondence with him: We ought even to promote his Intereſt, and ſupport his Pretenſions, as far as may be conſiſtent with our own Safety. While we do this, we may depend upon a grateful Return; becauſe, it will always be his Intereſt to be grateful, which, amongſt Princes, is the only Gratitude that can, with Aſſurance, be depended on. By our Religion, we are embarked upon the ſame Bottom with the King of *Pruſſia*; and as there can be no Jarring of Intereſts between the two Crowns, we ought to ſupport one another in all juſt Pretenſions, we ought to aſſiſt one another againſt every unjuſt Attack. Therefore, I wiſh the ſecoad Part of this Meſſage had been to acquaint us of a new Alliance concluded with the King of *Pruſſia*, and to deſire, that his Majeſty might be enabled to perform the Engagements thereby entered into; which, I am ſure, would have been a ſecond Part more agreeable to the firſt, than that which now ſtands ſecond in this Meſſage.

The Danger of *Sweden*'s diſturbing the Tranquillity of the North, by attacking *Muſcovy*, was not our only Motive for concluding this Treaty with *Denmark*. If it had, I am ſure, it would have been ridiculous in us to put ourſelves to ſuch an Expence. We might have truſted to *Muſcovy* for defending itſelf; and *Denmark* was not only by Treaty, but in Intereſt obliged to aſſiſt *Muſcovy*, in caſe it had been attack'd by *Sweden*; therefore, it would have been ridiculous in us, to engage *Denmark* by a large Subſidy, to do what was neceſſary for their own Safety. But this, my Lords, was far from being our only Motive: It was our own Safety that made it neceſſary for us to conclude this Treaty: It was to prevent the Fleets of *Denmark* and *Sweden* from being joined with that of *France*. Such a Conjunction we had, we have ſtill great Reaſon to guard againſt on our own Account, and without Regard to the Tranquillity of the North; becauſe, in caſe of a War between us and *Spain*, we do not know what Part *France* may take in the War: We are pretty certain, I believe, it will take no Part with us; and, if the *French* ſhould join with the *Spaniards* againſt us, it would be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence, to have the Navy of *France* increaſed and ſupported by the Ships and Seamen of *Denmark* as well as *Sweden*.

This, my Lords, is what makes me in general approve of the Treaty now laid before us. If our Credit had been better, we might probably have obtained it upon more reaſonable Terms, and at a leſs Expence; for tho' *France* offered perhaps a larger Subſidy, yet the Terms were far from being ſo advantageous for the King or Country of *Denmark*; it was not poſſible they ſhould be ſo; becauſe, in Conſideration of the Subſidy offered by the Court of *France*, that Court would certainly have inſiſted upon a Number of Seamen and Ships of War from *Denmark*, as ſoon as they might have Occaſion for them. They ſtood in no Need of any of the Land Forces of *Denmark*; they ſtood in great Need of their Seamen and Ships of War; therefore, they would certainly have ſtipulated a Number of the latter, as a Return for the Subſidy they were to pay. This, the King of *Denmark* could not furniſh, or keep in Readineſs, without putting himſelf to a very extraordinary and a new Expence. Whereas, we deſired only a Number of Land Forces, which the King of *Denmark* can furniſh without putting himſelf to any new Expence, becauſe, he keeps in conſtant Pay ſo great a Number of regular Troops, that he can furniſh us with the 6000 ſtipulated by this Treaty, without adding one Man to the Number he has now in his Pay.

With

With regard therefore to the Court of *Denmark*, it was their Intereſt to accept of the leſſer Subſidy from us, rather than the larger Subſidy from *France*; and, with regard to the Country, I am ſure it was more for the Intereſt of the People of *Denmark* to ſend away 6000 of their regular Troops, than to ſend away 6000 of their Seamen. The latter they could not ſpare without deſtreſſing their Trade; but, as to their regular Troops, it is for the Intereſt of the People of *Denmark*, it is the Intereſt of every Country where ſuch Troops are kept up, to have them quartered any where, rather than at Home. To this, I muſt add, my Lords, that the Terms offered, and the Engagements deſired by *France*, could not but be inconſiſtent with thoſe Treaties which are now ſubſiſting between *Muſcovy* and *Denmark*; and, I believe, every Man in *Denmark* ſaw, that no Subſidy that was, or could be offered by *France*, would be equal to the Prejudice the Crown and Country of *Denmark* might ſuſtain, by the Forfeiture of its Alliance with the *Ruſſian* Empire.

But, my Lords, the Forfeiture of the Friendſhip and Confidence of the Court of *Ruſſia*, was not the only Prejudice the Crown and Kingdom of *Denmark* would have ſuffered, by engaging in an Alliance with *France* upon this Occaſion. Such an Alliance would have been a Breach of that antient Friendſhip, which has ſo long ſubſiſted between *Denmark* and this Kingdom; and this might have been in many Reſpects of fatal Conſequence to *Denmark*. Their chief Nurſery for Seamen depends upon their Trade with this Kingdom: It depends upon their being allowed to import into this Kingdom, their Timber and all Sorts of naval Stores, in their own Shipping, which is an Advantage, we may take from them, whenever we have a Mind; and, if we ſhould take this Advantage from them, their Alliance would ſoon come to be deſpiſed by *France*; becauſe it could be of little or no Service to that Kingdom. Nay, without a conſiderable Number of Seamen, and a large Squadron of Men of War, they would not be able to keep a Communication and a mutual Dependence between the ſeveral Parts of their own Dominions: Their King would then be obliged to depend upon *France*, for the Preſervation of his Crown; and the certain Conſequence of this would be, an abſolute Subjection to the King of *France*; which is a Danger they have no Reaſon to apprehend from the King of *Great Britain*; becauſe, by the Nature of our Government, our King muſt conſult the Happineſs of his People more than his own Ambition; and it is inconſiſtent with our Happineſs to attempt to make Conqueſts upon any Part of the Continent of *Europe*.

Thus it muſt appear, my Lords, that tho' this Treaty with the *Danes*, be a Meaſure which in our preſent Circumſtances I highly approve, yet, in our having brought about ſuch a Treaty, we have no great Cauſe to boaſt of our Wiſdom in Politicks, or our Skill in Negotiation: It was what common Senſe dictated to us, and the Circumſtances of the two Nations rendered extremely convenient, if not abſolutely neceſſary for them. I wiſh we had allowed ourſelves to be as much governed by common Senſe in all our former Treaties and Nogotiations: If we had never deviated from the Dictates of common Senſe, in order, I believe, to amaze the World with the Profoundneſs of our Politicks, neither the Circumſtances of this Nation, nor the Circumſtances of *Europe*, would have been in the untoward Poſture in which they are at preſent.

But

But now, my Lords, with regard to the ſecond Part of this Meſſage; I am, indeed, not a little ſurprized, how it came to be tack'd to the firſt. As all Meſſages are, in this Houſe, ſuppoſed to be Meſſages from the Miniſter, I may ſay, without giving any juſt Offence, that the two Parts of this Meſſage ſeem to have been deſignedly tack'd together, in order to make the firſt Part ſerve as an alluring Vehicle, for enticing us to ſwallow down the bitter Pill contained in the ſecond. A general and unlimited Vote of Credit and Confidence, is a Thing of a moſt dangerous Nature. Such a Demand, our Anceſtors would have been amazed at, and would certainly have rejected with Scorn. The Practice is but of a modern Date in this Kingdom. It was never heard of before the Revolution; and never became frequent, till this Nation was bleſſed with our preſent wiſe Adminiſtration. Since that happy Period began, I ſhall grant, that ſuch Meſſages have been frequent, and always punctually complied with, notwithſtanding our having been in a continual Courſe of Peace, tho' I cannot ſay, Tranquillity, during the whole Time. What the Reaſons were for making ſuch Demands, or what the Reaſons were for complying ſo punctually with them, I ſhall not now enquire; but, I muſt think, that ſuch Demands, and ſuch Compliances, are rather an Omen of our bad Conduct in Time to come, than a Demonſtration of our good Conduct in Time paſt.

Whatever we may think, my Lords, here, at home, I have good Reaſon to believe, that the Frequency of ſuch Demands, and the ready Compliance they have all met with, renders our Conſtitution the common Jeſt of every Man abroad. Our Pretences to Liberty will, I fear, in a ſhort Time, become as much the Ridicule of Foreigners, as our late Conduct has already rendered our Pretences to the Holding of the Balance of Power in *Europe*. I was confirmed in this Opinion, by a Queſtion lately put to me by a *French* Nobleman: He was a Man of good Senſe, and yet, he one Day ſeriouſly aſk'd me, what Difference there was between the Parliament of *England*, and the Parliaments they have in *France*. I readily anſwered, and I hope I had ſome Ground for ſaying, That in *France*, the King makes their Laws or Edicts, and their Parliaments muſt comply with whatever the King deſires; but in *England*, our Laws are made by King and Parliament, and our Parliaments may refuſe to comply with what the King deſires. To which, he as readily replied, In your late Hiſtory, we read of ſeveral extraordinary Meſſages or Demands ſent by your King to his Parliament, no one of which was ever refuſed; and pray, where is the Difference between an Edict made by the King, and an Edict made by King and Parliament, if the Parliament never refuſes what the King is pleaſed to demand; for, our Parliaments claim the Privilege of refuſing as well as yours; and, if a Trial were to be made, ſuch a Refuſal might, perhaps, be found as inſignificant in *England*, as it now appears to be in *France*.

This, I am apt to believe, my Lords, is the Way of Thinking in other Countries, as well as *France*; and, if a general Vote of Credit and Confidence ſhould once become a Sort of cuſtomary Compliment from the Parliament to the Crown, at the End of every Seſſion, or as often as our Miniſters may think fit to deſire it, this may become the Way of Thinking at home as well as abroad. If this ſhould ever come to be the Caſe, our Parliaments will of courſe become deſpicable in the Eyes of moſt

moſt of our own People; and, when the Form of an Act of Parliament begins to be contemned, a Proclamation may eaſily and ſafely be ſubſtituted in its Stead. It would, indeed, be happy for the Nation, it were ſo; for, when a Parliament ceaſes to be a Check upon Miniſters, it becomes an uſeleſs and unneceſſary Burden upon the People. The Repreſentatives of the People in Parliament, muſt always be paid, ſome way or other, by the People: If their Wages are not paid openly and fairly by their reſpective Conſtituents, as they were formerly, a Majority of them may, in future Times, be always ready to accept of Wages from the Adminiſtration, which muſt, at laſt, come out of the Pockets of the People, and will fall with a much greater Weight upon them, at the ſame Time that it renders their Repreſentatives of no uſe to them. There is no Way of preventing this, but by putting it out of the Power of Miniſters to pay Wages, either to the Electors or Elected; and this can be no way done, but by ſtrictly confining publick Grants to publick Services, according to the Eſtimates previouſly delivered in to Parliament.

But ſuppoſe, my Lords, our Conſtitution could be no way endangered by a Compliance with this extraordinary Demand, I do not think it is in our Power to comply with every Article of it. To enable his Majeſty to augment his Forces by Land, is what, I think, we cannot do, by a Vote of this Houſe. We have already, by the Mutiny Bill, limited the Number of Land Forces, for the Service of this enſuing Year, to 17704 Men. By that Bill, which is already paſſed into a Law, we ſay, that the whole Number of Men for Guards and Gariſons in *Great Britain*, to be kept up for the enſuing Year, ſhall be 17704 Men; and ſhall we pretend, by a Vote of this Houſe, to enable his Majeſty to keep up a greater Number? Would not this be repealing an Act of Parliament by a Vote of this Houſe? Will any Lord pretend to ſay we have ſuch a Power? By the Mutiny Bill, my Lords, a certain limited Number of Men are diveſted of the Privileges they enjoy as *Britiſh* Subjects, and made liable to martial Law: Can we add to this Number by a Vote? Can we, by ſuch a Method, diveſt any one ſingle Man in the Kingdom of any Privilege he enjoys as a Subject of *Great Britain?* Such a Pretence, my Lords, may be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence: If we once begin to aſſume ſuch a Power, I ſhall expect, in a little Time, to hear it inſiſted on, that the *Habeas Corpus* Act, or *Magna Charta* itſelf, may be ſuſpended by a Vote of this Houſe; and as ſuch a Vote may be obtained by Surprize, and the Parliament immediately diſſolved or prorogued, we may judge what a precarious State the Liberties of this Nation would be in, ſhould the leaſt Pretence be given for introducing ſuch a Maxim.

Therefore, my Lords, however fond we may be of complying with the firſt Part of this Meſſage, I think, it is evident, that we neither can nor ought to comply with the ſecond. Let us but conſider the Circumſtances we are in with regard to *Spain*, and we muſt think it a little odd, that ſuch a Meſſage ſhould have been ſent to us at ſuch a Time. In leſs than a Fortnight we ſhall be able to determine poſitively, whether we are to have Peace or War. If we are to have Peace, there was no Occaſion for ſending ſuch a Meſſage, there can be no Neceſſity for our complying with it; unleſs we have a Mind to make a Breach in our Conſtitution, out of mere Compliment to the Miniſter:

niſter: And, if we are to have War, we ought to provide for the Proſecution of that War, in a regular and parliamentary Method. The 24th of this Month, is the laſt Day *Spain* has for paying the 95,000*l.* ſtipulated by the late Convention. If they fail of Performance, we muſt go to War: It would be diſhonourable to the laſt Degree, to ſue for a Performance of that Article, by any other Means than the Mouth of our Cannon. But, if they pay that Sum of Money, on or before that Day, tho' it be but a ſmall Recompence for the Damages we have ſuſtained, yet I ſhall think it a certain Omen of Peace, becauſe I ſhall look upon it as a Teſtimony of their having a real Inclination to do us Juſtice. For this Reaſon, I think, the only proper Method we can take upon this Occaſion, is to reſume the Houſe *, and adjourn the Conſideration of his Majeſty's moſt gracious Meſſage, to the 25th of this Month; for, if it ſhould then appear, that we muſt go to War, I am ſure, no Lord in this Houſe can be more zealous than I ſhall be, for enabling his Majeſty to proſecute the War, in the moſt vigorous and effectual Manner.

The next Speech I ſhall give you, was that made by C. Plinius Cæcilius, *who ſpoke to the Effect as follows,* viz.

My Lords,

AS moſt of the Arguments that have been urged againſt our complying with this Meſſage, have been chiefly directed againſt that Part of it, by which his Majeſty hopes to be enabled and ſupported by his Parliament, in making ſuch further Augmentation of his Forces, either by Sea or Land, as may become abſolutely neceſſary, and in concerting ſuch Meaſures, as the Exigency of Affairs may require; I ſhall confine what I have to ſay upon the Subject, to that Part of the Meſſage; for I cannot think the noble Lord who propoſed reſuming the Houſe, was ſerious when he made that Propoſition. I cannot think, he really intended we ſhould defer a Moment giving his Majeſty the utmoſt Satisfaction, as to that Part of the Meſſage which relates to the Treaty with *Denmark*. The noble Lord himſelf gave one of the beſt Reaſons that can be thought of, for an immediate Compliance with that Part of the Meſſage. He told us, that in our preſent Circumſtances, it was neceſſary for us to bring ſeveral other Powers, beſides that of *Denmark*, into an Alliance with us. Whether this be ſo or not, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but if it is, I am ſure, we ought not to delay one Moment, our coming to a Reſolution to approve of this Treaty with *Denmark*, and to declare that we will enable his Majeſty to make good the Engagements he has thereby entered into. What a Damp would it throw upon his Majeſty's Negotiations, for concluding Treaties of Alliance with the other Powers of *Europe*, if they ſhould hear, that the Parliament had delayed approving of the very firſt Treaty of that Kind, which his Majeſty has thought fit to make upon the preſent Occaſion. This would of courſe put a Stop to all his Majeſty's Negotiations at foreign Courts, and at ſome of them, it might be the Occaſion of an abſolute Diſappointment; becauſe it might, it probably would, make ſome of them immediately reſolve to accept of the Terms offered by our Enemies, who are now endeavouring to out-bid us at every Court in *Europe*.

There-

* *N. B. Our Club, upon this Occaſion, ſuppoſed themſelves to be in what is called, in the Language of Parliament, a Committee of the whole Houſe.*

Therefore, my Lords, I hope we ſhall immediately agree to what the noble Duke has been pleaſed to propoſe, with regard to the firſt Part of this Meſſage, whatever we may do as to that which regards the ſecond. But, even as to the ſecond, I cannot think there is the leaſt Weight in any of the Objections that have been made againſt our complying with it. Our Conſtitution can be no way endangered by the Parliament's giving the Crown their Authority, to do what it may do without any ſuch Authority. By the very Nature of our Conſtitution, the Crown has, during the Receſs of Parliament, a Sort of Dictatorial Power to take care *ne quid Detrimenti Reſpublica capiat*; and, in Conſequence of this Power, his Majeſty may augment his Forces, both by Sea and Land, if it ſhould become abſolutely neceſſary, and he may concert ſuch Meaſures as any ſudden Exigency may require, without a previous Authority from Parliament for that Purpoſe. When it can be foreſeen, that ſuch a Neceſſity may probably happen, or that ſuch an Exigency may probably ariſe, the Authority of Parliament ought to be previouſly aſk'd; and, when that Probability appears to be in any high Degree, either from the Circumſtances of Affairs at the Time, or from what his Majeſty then communicates, the Parliament ought to grant the Authority demanded. Such a Meſſage from the Crown, or the Parliament's complying with that Meſſage, is ſo far from being inconſiſtent with, that it is highly agreeable to our Conſtitution; becauſe, the ſending of ſuch a Meſſage, is a Token of that Regard which the Crown ought always to have for the Authority of Parliament, and a Compliance with it, is a Teſtimony of that Concern which the Parliament ought always to have for the publick Safety.

I am not at all ſurprized, my Lords, that no ſuch Meſſage was ever heard of before the Revolution. Before that happy Settlement of our Conſtitution, moſt of our Kings ſhewed as little Regard to our Parliaments as they poſſibly could. They never aſked either the Advice or Authority of Parliament, but when it was abſolutely neceſſary for them to do ſo. Nay, they were ſo fond of Prerogative, and of acting by that alone, that they attempted too many Things by Virtue of Prerogative, which ought not to have been done without the Authority of Parliament. But as King *William* never made uſe of the Prerogative of the Crown, but in Caſes in which only it ought to have been made uſe of, that is, when the publick Safety made it neceſſary, he applied by Meſſage for the Authority of Parliament, as often as he had Occaſion: Queen *Anne* did the ſame: His late Majeſty could not fail of following ſo good an Example; and if ſuch Meſſages have been more frequent in this Reign than in any former, it muſt have proceeded from the many Changes that have lately happened in the Affairs of *Europe*, and the extraordinary Regard his preſent Majeſty has for the Privileges and Authority of Parliament. It could proceed from no ſiniſter Deſign; becauſe no bad Uſe has been made of the ready Compliance, his Majeſty has met with from his Parliament upon every ſuch Occaſion. It cannot be ſo much as inſinuated, that, in Conſequence of theſe Complyances, his Majeſty has put the Nation to any unneceſſary Expence, or that the Expences the Nation has been put to, in Conſequence of the Confidence repoſed from Time to Time in his Majeſty, have not been regularly and ſtrictly accounted for; and therefore, during his preſent Majeſty's Reign at leaſt, I ſhould

think, that our paſt Experience ought to be ſufficient for removing all future Jealouſy.

But ſuppoſe, my Lords, that our former Kings had all endeavoured as much to ſhew a Regard for the Authority of Parliament, as ſome of them did endeavour to ſhew a Contempt of it, yet, before the Revolution, there was no Occaſion for any ſuch Meſſage, becauſe the Cuſtom of appropriating the publick Grants to their reſpective Services did not till then take Place. Before that Time, the publick Grants were made without any Appropriation; ſo that the King, or his Servants by his Authority, could apply the Money to ſuch Services as they thought moſt preſſing; and, if any ſudden Emergency happened, which required an extraordinary and immediate Expence, the Services that were not ſo preſſing, were put off, or left unſupplied, till the Parliament ſhould meet, in order to make a new Proviſion for them, and the Money deſigned for them was applied to thoſe unforeſeen Exigencies which demanded an immediate Supply. Whereas, ſince the Cuſtom prevailed, of appropriating all Parliamentary Grants to their reſpective Services, no Miniſter can, even by his Majeſty's Authority, apply to one Service, however urgent, what has been appropriated by Parliament to another; and therefore, when there is a Probability, that ſome Services may accidentally ariſe, during the Receſs of Parliament, that could not be foreſeen, or that could not be regularly provided for by Parliament, it becomes neceſſary to furniſh his Majeſty with ſuch a Credit and Confidence, as is demanded by the ſecond Part of the Meſſage, now under our Conſideration.

As this Credit and Confidence, my Lords, can laſt no longer than till next Seſſion of Parliament, and as every following Seſſion of Parliament muſt neceſſarily begin, within ſeven or eight Months after the Expiration of the preceding, it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that any ſuch Vote of Credit and Confidence can ever be of dangerous Conſequence to our Conſtitution; becauſe, in ſo ſhort a Time, it will always be impoſſible to raiſe and diſcipline ſuch a Number of Forces, or to levy ſuch Sums of Money, as would be neceſſary for overturning the Liberties of this Nation; eſpecially, if we conſider, that, by Virtue of ſuch a Vote of Credit and Confidence, his Majeſty can impoſe no Taxes, nor force any Loans, nor can any Man thereby be compelled to liſt in his Majeſty's Land Service. If the Adminiſtration ſhould attempt to levy Forces, or borrow Money, without any apparent Neceſſity, the People would immediately become jealous of their having Deſigns againſt the Liberties of their Country; and, in that Caſe, no Man would lend Money to the Government, or liſt in the Government's Service: Even the Officers of the Army themſelves, would be apt to declare againſt ſuch new Levies, and if they did not refuſe to obey, they would certainly be very negligent in fulfilling the Orders iſſued for that Purpoſe; which would of courſe render the Deſigns of the Adminiſtration abortive, and next Seſſion of Parliament would certainly puniſh them for the Attempt.

Thus it muſt appear, my Lords, that our Conſtitution can be brought into no Danger, by our complying with what is propoſed; and as to our having a Power to comply with every Thing demanded by this Meſſage, I wonder to hear it made the leaſt Doubt of. We have not, my Lords, by the Mutiny Bill, confined or limited the Number of Troops to be kept up for the enſuing

Year. We had no Occaſion to do ſo; becauſe, the keeping up of any Number of Troops, within this Kingdom in Time of Peace, without Conſent of Parliament, is, by the Nature of our Conſtitution illegal, and is expreſsly declared to be ſo, not only by the Claim of Right, but by the Preamble to that very Bill itſelf. For this Reaſon, a certain Number of Troops is mentioned in the Preamble to that Bill, in order that we may give our Conſent to the keeping up of that Number; but none of the enacting Clauſes relate to that Number, or any other Number. They relate to all the Troops that ſhall be kept up; and if, by any future Vote, we give our Conſent to the keeping up of a greater Number than is mentioned in the Preamble of that Bill, the enacting Clauſes relate to, and comprehend the additional Number, as well as the Number mentioned in the Preamble. Therefore, the Reſolution we may come to upon this Occaſion, can no way be underſtood as a Repeal, or as an Alteration of the Mutiny Bill: It can be conſidered only as a Signification of the Conſent of Parliament, to the keeping up of a greater Number of Troops than were thought neceſſary when the Mutiny Bill was paſſed; and ſurely the Conſent of Parliament may be ſignified by a Vote or Reſolution, in Purſuance of a Meſſage from his Majeſty, as well as by the Preamble to a Bill.

We do not, my Lords, by the Reſolution now propoſed, ſubject any Man in the Kingdom to martial Law, nor do we diveſt any Man in the Kingdom of the Privileges he enjoys, or ought to enjoy, as a Subject of *Great Britain*. It is already done to our Hands, by the Mutiny Bill, which is now paſſed into a Law. By that Bill, every Man that ſhall voluntarily liſt himſelf in his Majeſty's Land Service, without any Reſtriction as to the Number of Men ſo to be liſted, is made liable to martial Law; and, by the Reſolution now propoſed, we only give our Conſent to his Majeſty's taking a greater Number into that Service, than we conſented to by the Preamble of that Bill. There is nothing therefore in what is now propoſed, that can furniſh the leaſt Pretence for laying it down as a Maxim, that the *Habeas Corpus* Act, or any other Act, can be ſuſpended by a Vote of both, or either Houſe of Parliament.

From what I have ſaid, my Lords, I hope it will appear, that there is no Weight in any of the Objections made to our complying with this Meſſage. But, in my Opinion, our refuſing, or even delaying to comply, may, in the preſent tickliſh Conjuncture of Affairs, be attended with the moſt fatal Conſequences. *Spain* has already long depended upon gaining ſome Advantage from our inteſtine Diviſions. It is to this only, we can with Juſtice impute the Obſtinacy they have ſhewn in refuſing to do us Juſtice. They have, at laſt, promiſed to make us ſome Satisfaction for paſt Injuries; and the Term allowed them for performing that Promiſe, is now near expired; but, if the 95,000*l.* which they are to pay to us on that Account, were now in *London*, and ready to be paid, I do not know but our delaying to give his Majeſty the Satisfaction of complying with his moſt gracious Meſſage, would prevent that Sum's being paid within the Term limited. The Agents for *Spain* would immediately begin to expect a Breach between his Majeſty and his Parliament, which would of courſe encourage them to delay making that ſtipulated Payment, till they had new Inſtructions from *Spain*; and thus, by delaying to agree with his Majeſty's Meſſage, we ſhould render

der a War unavoidable, at the ſame Time that we rendered it impoſſible for his Majeſty to provide for it, either by Alliances abroad, or Armaments at home. For theſe Reaſons, I ſhall moſt heartily join with the noble Duke in the Motion he has made, and I hope we ſhall have the Concurrence of a Majority of this Houſe.

[*This* JOURNAL *to be continued in our next.*]

Common Senſe, March 1. N° 161.

The firſt Principles of Religion neceſſary to the Preſervation of Liberty. (*See Vol.* VIII. *p.* 210, *&c.*)

SIR,

WHatever our *modern* fine Gentlemen may think, I am convinced, that what we call *political* or *ſocial Liberty* depends ſo abſolutely upon the *firſt Principles* of Religion, that there is no ſupporting the *former* among a People who are generally abandoned as to the *latter*. When a Man begins to doubt of the Exiſtence of *a ſupreme Being*, or of the Exiſtence of *his Soul* after its Separation from the Body, or of his being *liable* to anſwer *in a future State* for his Conduct *in this*, he naturally, and even reaſonably, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, fixes his whole Hopes upon the *Advancement* of his Fortune *in this World*. Such a Man has no Motive for adhering *ſtedfaſtly* to the Cauſe of *Virtue* and *Liberty*, but the *natural Fondneſs* for *Eſteem* and *Fame*; nor has he any Check upon his *vicious Appetites*, but that of *temporal Puniſhment*, and that of *Shame* or *Remorſe* for having been guilty of that which, he knows, will be condemned or ridiculed by thoſe he has an Eſteem or Regard for; and how *weak* theſe Motives are for the *Support* of Virtue, Morality, or ſocial Liberty, both Reaſon and Experience may evince.

The Hopes of *advancing* one's Fortune *in this World*, are ſo far from being a Motive for a Man's *joining* in the Support of *Liberty*, that with the far greateſt Part of the People, I mean thoſe of *mean* or *middling* Circumſtances, ſuch Hopes muſt generally afford ſtrong Motives for *joining* that Party which aims at *its Deſtruction*; for, under *arbitrary* Governments, Men make greater and more ſudden Advances, than can be made in *a free* and *well regulated* Society. By the Whim, or Fondneſs of an *arbitrary* Prince or Prime Miniſter, a Man may, from the *meaneſt* Circumſtances, jump at once into the *higheſt* Rank and greateſt Fortune: Whereas, under a *free Government*, no Man can riſe but by ſlow Degrees; and as the publick Money is *ſparingly* advanced, and muſt be *ſtrictly* accounted for, no Man can expect to make a *very great* Fortune by *ſerving*, much leſs by *cheating* the *Publick*.

From hence 'tis plain, that in a *free* State, a Man of *low* Circumſtances, whoſe *only* Motive for Action is the Hopes of *advancing* his Fortune, will always have moſt to hope for, by *joining* thoſe that are for *overturning* the *Conſtitution*; and theſe Hopes will generally prevail with *ſuch Men* to believe, that the Invaders of Liberty have the greateſt Probability of Succeſs, which will of courſe induce moſt of them to join with that Party.—Therefore, we muſt conclude, that when the People of any Society begin to be *generally* influenced by *mercenary* Motives only, the *Liberties* of that People muſt neceſſarily ſoon fall a *Victim* to ſome *bold Invader*, unleſs Care be taken to reſtore and eſtabliſh among them, the Principles of *true Religion* and *Virtue*.

I ſhall grant, that a Man who fore-

foreſees and conſiders Conſequences, and has a juſt Senſe of the Misfortune of being under a *ſlaviſh* Subjection to the *arbitrary* Will of any Man, will always be for ſupporting a *free* Government; but in political Matters, how few are there that foreſee or conſider the Conſequences of their Actions? How many, even of the *better* Sort, that would chuſe to be *Slaves* to thoſe *above them*, provided they might exerciſe an *arbitrary* and *tyrannical* Rule over all *below them?* And a *ſelfiſh* Fellow, who expects great Additions to his Fortune, by the Eſtabliſhment of *arbitrary* Power, will probably conclude, that the *Increaſe* of his Poſſeſſions will atone for the *Precarioufneſs* of his Title.

With *ſuch* Men, the Deſire of Eſteem or Fame can be no ſufficient Guard againſt their *joining* in the eſtabliſhing of *arbitrary* Power; for this Deſire is always governed and directed by the Company a Man keeps, and the Party he joins himſelf with. It may be as fully ſatisfied by being eminent in a *Courſe* of *Wickedneſs*, as by being eminent in a *Courſe* of *Virtue*; and when a Man begins to *aſſociate* himſelf with *Villains* and *Knaves* only, he at the ſame Time begins to *deſpiſe* all Men of *Honour* or *Honeſty*; becauſe he is, by the Company he keeps, taught to look upon all *ſuch* as *Madmen* or *Fools*; ſo that the human Affection of Shame or Remorſe, is in him directly inverted: Inſtead of being a *Bar* to *Wickedneſs*, it becomes a *Bar* to *Virtue*.

Se jam pridem potentiæ gloriæque abunde adeptum, were, I may ſay, among the laſt Words of that *great wicked Man*, *Julius Cæſar*, which ſhew, that he was as proud of the Glory, *he thought*, he had acquired by *deſtroying* the *Liberties* of *his Country*, as ever *L. Junius Brutus* appeared to be, of the Glory of *recovering* and *eſtabliſhing* its *Liberties*; and *Julius Cæſar*'s Soldiers were as proud of appearing faithful *to him*, and valiant *in his* Service, as they could have been, had they appeared faithful and valiant *in the Service of their Country*. Even a Pick-pocket is as vain of being the moſt dexterous *of his Gang*, as a Patriot can be, of being the moſt eloquent and the moſt ſtedfaſt *in the Cauſe of Liberty*: And a Highwayman and a Hero are equally proud of their Adventures; the only Difference is, that the Deſire of Eſteem or Fame *in the former*, is founded on *Vices* which he is taught to look on as *Virtues*; *in the latter*, it is founded upon the Principles of *true Religion* and *Virtue*.

The Deſire of Eſteem or Fame can therefore contribute to the Support of *Liberty*, only when it is founded upon *right Principles*; and *ſuch* Principles cannot be ſupported without a thorough Conviction, that there is *a ſupreme Being*, to whom we muſt be *accountable in a future* State for our Behaviour *in this*, and that the Duty he has preſcribed to us is, *1ſt*, To contribute as much as we can to the Preſervation and Happineſs of Mankind. *2dly*, To contribute to the Preſervation and Happineſs of the Society. *3dly*, To contribute to the Preſervation and Happineſs of our Family. *4thly*, To preſerve our own Lives as long, and improve our own Happineſs as much as we can.

Theſe are the four Meaſures of our Duty *in this Life*, and each of the *following* is *conditional* with Regard to the *preceding*.

A Man who is throroughly convinced of this, will always *deſpiſe* the Eſteem of *Villains* and *Knaves*, and will never deſire any Fame but that which is founded upon a *Performance* of his *Duty*; becauſe, if he fails in, or departs from his Duty, whatever may be his Fate *in this World*, he is ſure of being expoſed

to

to eternal Shame, Deriſion, and Remorſe *in the next*.—But a Man who has no Views beyond *this Life*, nor any Principles beſides thoſe which are founded upon *ill governed* or *ill directed* Appetites, may be eaſily, and, as I have ſhewn, probably led aſtray by the *Humours* or *falſe Maxims* that prevail among thoſe with whom he aſſociates himſelf; and as to *temporal Puniſhments*, they can be no Bar to a Man's joining a Party that aims at the Eſtabliſhment of *arbitrary* Power; for when Men are reſolved to ſet themſelves *above the Laws of their Country*, which they never do till they have ſome Reaſon to hope for Succeſs, they can be under little or no Fear of ſuffering *by thoſe Laws:* At leaſt, their *Fears* of temporal Puniſhment muſt *diminiſh*, in Proportion as their *Hopes* of Succeſs *increaſe*; ſo that the Fear of temporal Puniſhment can be no ſufficient Motive for preventing a Man's *joining* that Party which intends to *deſtroy* the *Liberties* of their Country; and if ſuch a Party ſhould ſucceed, every Sort of temporal Puniſhment, inſtead of being a Check *to Wickedneſs*, becomes a Check *to Virtue:* Inſtead of being a Barrier againſt *arbitrary Power*, it becomes a Barrier againſt the Reſtoration of *Liberty*.—As *Hudibras* facetiouſly but truly expreſſes it,

So when tyrannick uſurpation
Invades the freedom of a nation,
The laws o' th' land that were intended
To keep it out, are made defend it.

From theſe Reflections we may ſee, that the only Way to *preſerve* the *Liberties* of a Country, is to eſtabliſh and preſerve among the People, eſpecially thoſe of the *meaner* Sort, a thorough Conviction of, and a ſtrict Regard for the *firſt Principles* of Religion; by which I do not mean the Eſtabliſhment of any *particular* Sect, or of any *particular* Set of religious Doctrines.—On the contrary, I believe the Diſtinctions and Animoſities that have been introduced, and induſtriouſly propagated between the *ſeveral* Sects of Chriſtianity, have been of the moſt *pernicious* Conſequence both to *Religion* and *Virtue*; and the *more particular* any Sect is rendered, that is to ſay, the more its *Credenda* and *Ceremonies* are multiplied, the *leſs Regard* will its Profeſſors have for thoſe which ought to be the *firſt Principles* of every Religion. Men have naturally a warm Zeal for the Opinions they profeſs, and when that Zeal comes to be wholly attached to the Forms, Ceremonies, or ſupplemental Doctrines of any *particular* Sect, it may lead Profeſſors of that Sect to tranſgreſs the *fundamental* Rules of Religion and Virtue, by ſacrificing the *Conſtitution* and *Liberties* of their Country, to their Deſire of having the *particular* Sect they are of, *ſet up* or *preſerved*, as the *eſtabliſhed* Religion of their Country.

For this Reaſon, I have always thought, that the *moſt uſeful* Writers upon any Subject in which Religion has a Concern, are thoſe that have endeavoured to eſtabliſh or recommend the *fundamental* Principles of Religion, without ſhewing too ſanguine an Attachment to the *diſtinguiſhing* Doctrines of any *particular* Sect.—On this Account he concludes with recommending an Eſſay, lately publiſhed, *for demonſtrating the Immateriality and free Agency of the Soul.*

Craftſman, March 1. N° 713.

A Letter to a Gentleman in the Country, relating to the Election of Parliament-Men. Written and publiſh'd at the Beginning of Queen Anne's *Reign.*

SIR,

BY what you write, there ſeems to be in the Country an univerſal Apprehenſion of all thinking Men, that our *next Parliament*, under

der God, will determine the Fortune of these Kingdoms, and make us a *free*, or *enslaved People*. Mens Eyes begin to be open, and see their Error, in chusing *Members of Parliament*, for their *Addresses* and *Expences*, or for (what is equally as bad) the Recommendation of *great Men*.

We may remember when *this Evil* began, and what supported it. —But that, which was then but *Scurvy-Spots* on the Body, is of late, by the Corruption of *Places* and *Pensions*, become *Plague-Sores*, which hath almost infected the whole Nation.

I shall never forget the Answer of a *great Man*, six Years since, to one who came with a Project for lessening the Charge of *Offices*, both as to *Number* and *Value*; which was this: *You would do the King more Service, at this Time, to enlarge both*; and it is done to the Purpose, if we have 10,000 *Men in civil Employments*, the least of whom have some Influence on *Elections*, by *Friends* or *Relations*; and they have been said to hold their Employments by the Tenure of *that Service*.—We have no Need of *such Artifices* now; and we ought to mark the *Men*, that use them.

What Entertainment would *Old England* have given to *Men*, who had no Pretence to *Elections*, except *Presents to their Wives*, and *Drink to their Husbands?*—Such Persons would have been hurl'd out of the Country like *Gypsies*; and then the *greatest Expence* would not have been the *Merits of their Choice*.

I have often wonder'd, that Persons of the least Understanding should not see the Meaning of Mens travelling from one End of the Kingdom to the other for an *Election*. —Men do not spend their *Time* and *Money* for Moon-shine. —The bare Title of *worthy Member* will not answer the Expence of 500 or 1000*l*.

We should except against a *Jury-man*, who gives Money to be put upon it; and is there not much more Reason to consider a Man, who hath our Lives and Fortunes in his Hands, and, we are told, even *without Controul*, or so much as to be heard by *Petition?* If it be so, we have the more Reason to be careful in our Choice, and never give our Vote for a Man we don't know. The common Objection is ridiculous; *that there is not a Man in some Corporations fit to serve in Parliament*. There may not, perhaps, be one fit for a *publick Employment*, and that which attends it; but there are few Corporations, which have not some Men in them, who can *follow*, if they cannot *lead honest Men* in a Vote; and there are never wanting Gentlemen in the Neighbourhood of a Corporation, fitter to be trusted than *Grecian Merchants*, *Lawyers*, *Clerks*, and *Commissioners*, Inhabitants of *London* and *Westminster*. If we chuse Men of *our own Country*, we should blush with the *Roman* to see a virtuous *Cato* rejected, and a vicious *Vatinius* chosen; but when we chuse Men from *abroad*, we generally do it. Methinks, it admits of no Doubt, as I said before. Will any Man serve a *Corporation*, which he hath no more Interest in than the *Purchase of his Election?* There must be something more; and this I take to be the Reason why our *Taxes* are so great. It is commonly said, that *one Third of them went amongst the Managers*; and whenever faulty Men were questioned, *Hush-Money* went abroad, and a *downright Vote* saved them. At this Time, it was observed, that tho' the Majority of the House were *Corporation-Choice*, yet not *Corporation-Men*, but *Sea* and *Land-Admirals*, *Irish* and *Welsh Judges*, *London Stock-Jobbers*, &c. and a *worse Set of Men*, which Time will shew.—This, if there were no more, would alarm a wiser Nation, to see their

Religion and *Fortunes* in the Power of Men, who have no Stake with them in *either*.

This Thought often makes my Heart tremble. A *Vote in Parliament* may give up a *whole People*, whilſt their *Navies* and *Armies* are fighting to preſerve them; and none but thoſe, who believe our *Corporation-Volunteers* are Men of publick Spirits, that deſign nothing for themſelves, can think the Nation ſafe under *ſuch Repreſentatives*. But we ſee the *moſt buſy of our Champions* advanc'd, and *others* not pleas'd, when neglected.—Are *theſe* Men fit to be choſen again?

Phyſicians tell us, that if Men in a malignant Diſtemper *feel no Pain*, their Condition is deſperate. If a *Parliament* ſhould be tainted, and the *Nation* be not ſenſible, *what then?*

It was the Saying of a *great Man*, in the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, that *England* could never be undone but by a *Parliament*.—Pray God avert it now!

We have been unfortunate in a *Party-Reign* very near to an *Anarchy*, when the Government was modelled to the *prevalent Faction* in every Seſſion. There is the ſame Spirit abroad now, diſtinguiſhing itſelf by the Names of *Whigs* and *High-Churchmen*. One cries out, Take care of the Church: Another, We are in Danger of *Popery*: When any Man with half an Eye may ſee the Deſign is only to ſtrengthen a *Party*. They, who get moſt in *Parliament*, have the *Government*, and conſequently the Diſpoſal of *Employments*.

Now is the Time to defeat and for ever damn *theſe Vultures of the Nation*; and ſuch an Opportunity never offer'd before.

We have another Queen *Elizabeth* on the Throne, whatever more, nothing leſs in *exemplary Piety*, and of whoſe *Judgment* and *Temper* there have been invincible Inſtances, before ſhe aſcended the Throne.—The ſame Spirit ſtill guides her.

Let us lay aſide all *Party-Men*, and with one Voice ſet the *Queen* above them. Let her *Servants* be really *Servants*, not *Governors*.—She hath no Need of *Tricks* in Government. Her *Parliament* is her great Council. Chuſe them well, and ſhe will be under no Neceſſity to make uſe of *ill Men*.

I think it a great Fault amongſt us to cry out againſt the *Miniſtry* and *Men in Employment*. I believe, indeed, the Nation never had worſe than in the laſt Reign.—Yet without any Reflection upon that *great Man*.

Who choſe them? Was it not *ourſelves?* The Day we elect *Purchaſers*, we give them an *Office*.—That is their Buſineſs.

Now to prevent *this Foundation-Evil*, for ſo it is, let us chuſe, according to our excellent Conſtitution, *Men amongſt ourſelves*, of known Integrity and Fortune in the Places for which they are choſen; ſince then we ſhould have a *Country Parliament*, Men as unacquainted with *Court-Preferments* as *David* was with *Saul*'s Armour. But he kill'd *Goliah* with his *rural Weapons*. So with a *Country Parliament*, let us conquer the *Tools of Fraud* at home, make them refund Millions of *their late Harveſt*, eaſe the Nation of their *Taxes*, and yet raiſe *greater Supplies*.

Such a Parliament of *old Britons* would confute the Opinion that we have loſt our *Engliſh* Integrity, and would mortify the *French Leviathan*, who hath more Hopes from our *Corruption* and *weak Management* than the Force of *his own Arms*.

We ſhould conſider that we have enter'd into a *War*, in which our All is at Stake; our *Trade*, *Manufactures* and *Navigation*, which are the Funds that ſupport our *Fleets* and

and *Armies*, will abate; and, to add to our Misfortunes, we have a dismal Prospect of a *growing Poor*.

We complain'd, during the last War, when we were not shorten'd in our *Trade*, as we are now.—The *same Management* we had then would change our *Money-Lotteries* into *Men-Lotteries*, and we shall want Money to pay them.

But we have yet enought to drop the last Penny with *Europe*, if we manage without *Fraud*, and be not like Larks, lur'd into the Net by the fictitious Glare of the Glass of Preferment; not considering that we do but rob *ourselves* to give up all to the *French*.

If this be duly consider'd, we should rather pray than drink for *Elections*; and then we may hope that God will give us *Judges as at the first, and Counsellors as in the Beginning*. But if our *Elections* are secured by *Promises*, as some brag, such Engagements are void when All is at Stake, and this our last Throw for the *English* Nation.

Let us not fool ourselves. If we miscarry in *this Parliament*, we are a lost People. Pray God give every Man in the Nation Understanding to consider it!—We shall then have a great Change; no *Pensioners*, no *Placemen*, no *Expectants*, nor *Volunteers* in the *House of Commons*; no Men, who want Covering of *former Cheats*, or any that set up for *new*. —We may know the *Goats* by their Bleating.

I am, Sir, &c.

Daily Gazetteer, Feb. 29.

To the Author of certain Speeches, Pamphlets, *and* Evening Posts.

My L——,

THE Propriety of this Address your good Sense will not allow you to doubt. You who are so ready to attack others, must be at all Times ready to defend yourself; and that Vivacity of Spirit which hurries you into notorious Breaches of Decorum, if it can be offer'd in your Excuse, ought also to be consider'd as mine. I have, and I think it an Honour to have, as deep a Respect and as warm an Affection for an Hon. Person whom you have grossly abused, as you can possibly have Prejudice or Dislike. For this Reason I cannot hear with Patience, or bear in Silence the Outrages with which you treat him: Outrages as undeserv'd as they are ill-manner'd; and which, tho' they may have some Effect upon low and canker'd Minds, yet with Men of Sense, and such as have a just Notion of Decency, they expose you much more than they injure him, as they are evident Proofs of inveterate Malice; tho' thay contain only vague and unsupported Charges of Ambition and Corruption: Charges which any hot-headed young Man may bring against the gravest and most able Minister: Charges which will be always supported by the Restless and Rapacious: And Charges by which the best Friends to the Publick in all States, have, thro' the Craftiness of the Few, and the Madness of the Many, been but too often over-born.

That a Person of your Quality, and in your Situation, ought to be above Dependence, and ready on all Occasions to speak your Sentiments freely, is what every Man must grant: A Thing not only reasonable but grateful in the Eyes of that Hon. Person whom you have so bitterly reproach'd; and who, in spite of all your's, and your Party's Reproaches, will be consider'd by Posterity, as the warmest and most sincere Friend to Liberty this Nation ever saw. But that forgetting your own Station and his, losing all Sense of Places, and all Respect to Persons, you should run out into violent Invectives instead of sober Rea-

ſoning, take up the Employment of a Pamphleteer, and even condeſcend to lead Coffee-houſe Scandal, by dropping in an Evening's Inſtructions on the Conduct of the Houſe, is inconceivably odd: It is what your beſt Friends are aſhamed of now, and what ſome ten Years hence yourſelf will remember with Regret.

There are indeed, who applaud your Behaviour, who admire your Eloquence, and are in Raptures at the Boldneſs of your Expreſſions. But who are they? Why, my L——, they are two Sorts of People. Some who have as much Wit and more Cunning than yourſelf: They are glad to ſee you blow that Fire, by which they hope to warm themſelves at their Eaſe. Some there are, who thro' Want of Parts, and Abundance of Fire, are captivated with what they do not underſtand; and becauſe they are ſure that your Conduct is very unuſual, they conclude that it is very heroick. In ſhort, you are the Tool of the former Sort of People, and the latter are Dupes to you. By theſe eaſy Marks, you will be able to diſtinguiſh the Inſincerity and Folly of thoſe, who tell you that you excel *Cicero*, and that the next Age will value your Orations as much as we do thoſe of *Demoſthenes*. You will pardon my entering into the Secrets of your Adminiſtration, ſince you are ſo great an Enemy to all Secrets in that of his Majeſty.

I do not doubt but you will think this very impertinent, becauſe you apprehend that the preſent Situation of Affairs ſufficiently warrants the Liberties you take. The State is in the utmoſt Danger, the People univerſally corrupted, and my Country on the Brink of Ruin; and ſhall I not ſpeak, ſay you? Shall I not paint *Verres* in his proper Colours? Alas, my L——, there never was an Oppoſition that did not ſay the ſame Thing. My Lord *Clarendon*, the beſt Miniſter our Fathers ever ſaw, was talked out of Power and into Baniſhment on the ſame Pretences: And then thoſe who baniſh'd him, did juſt what they charg'd him with. It is the eaſieſt Matter in the World to declaim either againſt a Prince or a Miniſter: Call the one *Claudius*, or *Nero*; the other *Sejanus* or *Pallas*, and the Buſineſs is done. Arguments and Ornaments are eaſily found: Your firſt Oration perſuades the Mob, the ſecond yourſelf, of the Truth of what you ſay; tho' the Prince all this while may be *Auguſtus*, and the Miniſter *Agrippa*. Not that I am ſuch a Fool as to think, or ſuch a Slave as to ſay, that all Princes are good, and all Miniſters upright. No, my L——, I am ſenſible there have been, and I make no queſtion but there may be Tyrants and Oppreſſors cover'd with illuſtrious Titles; and under ſuch Perſons I ſhall always eſteem a warm Attachment to the Cauſe of Liberty, and a generous Contempt of Danger, heroick Virtues. But, bleſſed be God, my L——, theſe are no ſuch Times.

In the Reign of K. *Charles* II. the People of *Scotland* were governed with ſuch Severity, that the Privy-Council had juſt Reaſon to apprehend they might not always be in the Humour to bear. To ſecure therefore themſelves againſt the Reſentment of an oppreſſed Nation, they thought proper to convert ſeveral Gentlemens Houſes into Gariſons, in ſuch Parts of the Country as were leaſt affected to them and their Intereſts: A Proceeding not only repugnant to the Rules of natural Juſtice, but ſtrictly ſpeaking, in Defiance of the Conſtitution, and in direct Violation of an expreſs Law of the Land. The Gentlemen thus oppreſſed, made Choice of one of their Number, a Perſon of Figure,

gure, Family, and Fortune, and ſent him to *Edinburgh*, to repreſent their Grievances modeſtly, and to obtain, if it was poſſible, Redreſs by legal Means. This Nobleman purſued his Inſtructions; he neither made fierce Speeches, or pretended to write flaming Pamphlets, but he demanded what the Laws gave him a Right to demand; and when he was refuſed, he proteſted, as he might legally do: Whereupon the Privy-Council committed him cloſe Priſoner, kept him confined many Years; and when he was at laſt ſet at Liberty, the Reaſon aſſigned for it was, *That the political Cauſes for reſtraining him, did no longer ſubſiſt.* This illuſtrious Perſon was a good Patriot, a Friend to Liberty, and a Lover of his Country; and on the Eſtabliſhment of the preſent Government declared, *That he had ſeen all that his Soul wiſhed.*

To oppoſe arbitrary Power, and to reſiſt Oppreſſors, is what all the Friends to Revolution Principles have always contended for, and will always think right. To diſturb all Governments, and to diſtreſs every Adminiſtration, are Miſchiefs imputed to Revolution Principles, by ſuch as ſeek to render them odious. Whoever therefore ſo far follows the Dictates either of his Paſſions or his Prejudices, as to confound Tyranny and Authority, the executive Power of Miniſters with the lawleſs Dominion exerciſed by *Machiavelian* Stateſmen; whoever, I ſay, will do this, either out of Pride of Heart, or from private Views, will miſapply Revolution Principles, and ſerve the Purpoſes of thoſe who are Enemies to them; he may make other People think him a Patriot, nay he may think himſelf ſo; but he will be no more a Patriot than a Miſer is a Man of Œconomy, or a Spend-thrift a Man of Spirit. He may reaſon, he may rally, he may conclude his Speeches, like Epigrams, with a *Sting* or a *Point*: But if he concludes from all this, that he is a great Speaker, or a true Friend to the Publick, he will make a very wrong Concluſion. The only Way to ſerve the Publick is to do the Buſineſs of the Publick: Not to meet in Breakfaſt Cabals, in order to digeſt the Flouriſhes of the Day, to cap Witticiſms, and adjuſt Repartees, to meet at Dinner in order to applaud the happy Reſult of the Morning's Conferences, and in the Evening to entertain Coffee-houſes with the fine Things ſaid in the H—— of C———s, interſperſed with ſhrewd Obſervations that were never made, and bold Innuendos that were never glanced. Be theſe the trivial Arts of Egg-ſhell Politicians! Stateſmen juſt reliev'd from the Burden of a Satchel, and who are eager to ſhew how lately they came from School, and how expedient it would be to ſend them thither once again.

Thoſe who fancy that ſuch Diſcourſes can irritate, or ſo much as diſpleaſe Men in Power, farther than as they prejudice publick Affairs, and interfere with the Buſineſs of the Nation, are much too complaiſant towards theſe Declaimers and their Performances. If indeed ours was abſolutely a popular Government, ſuch Harangues, however frothy and ungrounded, might chagrin even the wiſeſt Adminiſtration, it being the Misfortune of Democracies to turn like Weather-cocks with the ſlighteſt as well as with the ſtrongeſt Blaſts, and to veer continually till worn out by their own Motion. But our Conſtitution being of another Structure, a great Man, free from Guilt, may likewiſe be free from Fear, tho' his Places beget Envy, and his Power be attended with Malice, even from thoſe whom he protects. To this is owing that Firmneſs at which ſome People are ſo much amazed,

and

and that Calmneſs and Want of Emotion which they ſeem at a Loſs to account for. A Man who does his Duty, and ſees his Endeavours bleſſed with Succeſs, may well enough bear with the inconſiderate Cenſures of ſuch as attempt to judge, without proper Lights, of his Conduct, and out of a fond Ambition to appear Men of ſhining Parts themſelves, do their utmoſt to depreciate his. His Serenity and his Safety are owing to the ſame Cauſe, the *Superiority of his Genius.*

Before I conclude this Letter, I muſt put you in mind of one of your own ſmart Reflections: You are very angry with him whom you inſolently, and without the leaſt Correſpondence in Character, call *Verres*, for entertaining a certain Aſſembly with a tedious Panegyrick on his own Adminiſtration. Indeed, my good L——, you are very partial! When you are inclin'd to be eloquent for an Hour, to retail common Places, and to *ſtate* the *Riſe* and *Progreſs* of your own *Notions* of *Men* and *Things*, then you expect that All ſhould be huſh, and Silence wrapt in Admiration. But if after all this, and twenty Times more from your Coadjutors, the Hon. Perſon whom you abuſe, at laſt riſes in his own Defence, and, to ſhew that he does not abſolutely contemn your Cenſures, enters of his own Accord into the Reaſons of his Conduct: This, forſooth, is tedious and intolerable. Good God! what Sort of Reaſoning is this? Or what would the Men have who employ'd it? They boaſt perpetually of their own perſuaſive Rhetorick, and yet they are afraid to truſt it. They deſpiſe the Parts of him whom they decry, and yet they are not able to endure that he ſhould make uſe of them. But thus it will always be; Falſhood and Darkneſs, tho' they may for a Time obſcure, cannot however hinder Truth and Light from breaking out at laſt. Thoſe in the preſent Oppoſition, and amongſt them your L——p, are more excuſable than at firſt Sight appears. Your Declamations might be unanſwerable, if he, againſt whom you declaim, would but hold his Tongue. His Innocence is in Truth an Entrenchment hard to be forc'd; on the one hand, it hinders you from Proofs, on the other, it furniſhes him with Spirits. It would be no difficult Taſk to ſhew the Weakneſs of ſome other Obſervations, ſuch as, *That a large Majority is an infallible Sign of Corruption*, and that yet, *The Approaching a Majority is an indubitable Proof of encreaſing Virtue.* Alas! alas! Prejudice is a bad Medium; *we can never ſee, thro' it, Things as they are*; ſometimes they appear double, ſometimes divided: I have known an Officer well-dreſs'd taken for a *Raw-head-and-bloody-bones*, and I remember a *Set* of *Virtuoſi* in *Durham-yard*, making Uſe of a certain *Teleſcope*, and *ſwearing* on the *Faith* of it, *That they ſaw Ships of the Line riding in the Harbour of* Dunkirk. But, my L——, whatever the Gallery Audience may have, the Gentlemen on the Floor, in a certain Place, have not the leaſt Notion of the Second-ſight: They will believe their own Eyes, and will not truſt ever ſo quick-ſighted a Perſon as you are to ſee for them. I know that this Language will be ill received; but as I recommend, ſo I am proud of ſpeaking Truth, which therefore I hope you will pardon in

Your moſt obedient humble Servant,

R. FREEMAN.

After this Letter, the following is very proper to be inſerted, *viz.*

London Evening-Poſt, March 8.

His ſaltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani
Munere——— Æneis, L. 6.

I DON'T know whether the Age is not corrupted to ſuch a Degree,

gree, as that even the Virtue of the Dead may be thought a disagreeable Subject; and therefore it is with some Diffidence that I sit down to write this Paper. But while the Liberty of the Press remains, a better Use of it cannot be made, than to pay *Funeral Honours* to those, who lived and died the Friends of their Country: At least the Office is a pleasing one to the Writer himself.—Let the superior Spirits, who *write*, who *dictate*, or who *pay* the *Daily Gazetteers*, insult the Concern of honest Men upon a national Loss; let them with equal Decency, and Greatness of Mind, * attack *the Son*, while drooping *over the scarce-cold Corpse of the Father*; but I should not answer the Design of my writing, if I did not endeavour to adorn the Hearse of *the late Earl of* Marchmont †, with the most honourable Escutcheon, *unask'd*, and *disinterested Praise*.

Piety, Loyalty, and publick Spirit were in the Mind of that Nobleman concurrent Principles of Action, equally impelling him to the Good of his Country: His Piety taught him to please God by serving Mankind; his Loyalty taught him to serve his King by opposing Male-Administration; and his publick Spirit taught him to consider the *Hanover* Succession, as happy, and valuable to us, *because it confirms and strengthens our Liberties*. The Merit *his Family* had in securing *the present Establishment*, will be always remember'd in the Nation, tho' it may be forgot in the Court: And could his Lordship, who saw it succeed thro' so many Difficulties, have seen *the Ends propos'd by it* fully compleated, Liberty secured from Corruption as well as from Violence, and the Rights of the Nation solidly fix'd on the Independance of Parliament, *that Rock against which the Gates of Hell cannot prevail*; had he seen *this* done, he might have then *declar'd, that he had seen all that his Soul wish'd* ‡. Nor were his utmost Endeavours wanting to accomplish this Work. The first Maxim of his Policy was, *that the Legislature should be free and uninfluenc'd*: By this Rule he judged of the Intentions of Ministers; by this Rule he govern'd his own personal Conduct. He would have been as much asham'd, he would have thought it as infamous, when he represented the Nobility of *Scotland* in Parliament, to have acted unworthily of the high Trust repos'd in him *there*, as, when he represented the King in foreign Courts, to have dishonour'd *that Character*, by giving up its Rights, or debasing its Dignity. He did neither—He served with Honour at home and abroad. The present Ministry soon recall'd him from foreign Employments: In the memorable Labours of the Year Twenty-five, in the Treaty of *Hanover*, in the consequential Negotiations at *Soissons*, *Seville* and *Madrid*, *he had no Part*.

While he sat in the House of Lords, a Scheme was brought into Parliament, for subjecting this great and noble Nation to the *vilest of Tyrants*, the *foul, importunate*, and *rapacious Harpies of the Excise*. But tho' we were sunk enough at that Time to endure the Attempt, we were not yet so lost as to let it succeed: The national Spirit rous'd itself, struggled for Life, and prevail'd; and in *this last Triumph of Liberty* the Earl of *Marchmont* gloriously shared. He lost a *great Place*—He would have lost his whole Fortune—He would have gone to ‖ Prison *with his Father*—He would have gone to a Scaffold, he would have laid down *his Life* with Joy for the

* *Vid.* Gazetteer *of* Feb. 29. † *He died* Feb. 27. *See the* DEATHS *in this Month.*
‡ Gazetteer, Feb. 29. ‖ *Ibid.*

the Rights of his Country.—I ſay this from thoſe who knew him, who knew his Heart to be full of that Flame, which glow'd in a *Ruſſel*, in a *Wallace*, in every Martyr of Liberty.

Others might *talk* better than he, might excel more in thoſe *tinſel Abilities*, to which the Futility of this Age gives an Air of Importance: But the Earl of *Marchmont* would have *acted*, would have encounter'd the moſt trying Occaſions with adequate Spirit and Fortitude. As far as he could ſhew this, he did—Every great publick Meaſure, while he was upon the Stage of Buſineſs, had his zealous Concurrence. If more were not attempted, if ſome fail'd of Succeſs, it was not owing to any Inactivity, any Slackneſs *in him*. In his very Retirement his Thoughts were buſy, his Heart warm, his Soul tranſported with a Deſire of advancing the Cauſe of his Country: To this he exhorted his Friends; to this he train'd up his Children; to this he influenced all whom his Authority, or Perſuaſions could move. Thus lived, thus died this truly virtuous, and *therefore great Man:* Nor were his Virtues unrewarded by Providence, even in this Life; he ſaw them deſcend to his Children, ſaw *two Sons* of uncommon Abilities, cultivating and improving thoſe Abilities by uncommon Application, animating them with the ſame noble Spirit, and directing them to the ſame generous Purpoſes, as had inſpir'd their Father in the whole Courſe of his publick Behaviour, from his oppoſing *the Jacobite Frenzy* in his earlieſt Youth, to his oppoſing *the Whig Corruption* in the Decline of his Age.

The laſt Years of his Life might have been too painful to him under the Anguiſh of Sickneſs, and the Concern for his Country, that was ſtill more ſenſibly aching at his Heart, if he had ever heard any Account of what *was done in a certain Aſſembly*, without at the ſame Time hearing what *was ſaid there* by one of his Children. This Alleviation Providence gave him, and a great one it was, a great one not to the Father only, but to the Patriot; for he might have ſaid of his Sons, as old *Alethes* in *Virgil* does of *Niſus* and *Euryalus:*

Di Patrii, quorum ſemper ſub Numine Troja eſt,
Non tamen omnino Teucros delere paratis,
Cum tales Animos Juvenum, et tam certa tuliſtis
Pectora. Sic memorans humeros, dextraſque tenebat
Amborum, et vultum lachrymis, atque ora rigabat.

Had his Lordſhip been a Peer of *England*, had he been an *Engliſh* Gentleman only, it wou'd have been ſome Conſolation to the Publick, when Death removed him from the Care of it, that his Place in the Legiſlature might have been ſo worthily fill'd by his Heir. But the Death of Lord *Marchmont* robs his Country of Lord *Polwarth* too. This Parliament muſt hear him no more—muſt no more be inſtructed by all that Maſs of Knowledge he had acquir'd at an Age, when the firſt Rudiments of Buſineſs are often to be learnt even by Men of Ability. That Eloquence, which cou'd give Light to the darkeſt, Grace to the dryeſt, and Spirit to the coldeſt Parts of Publick Buſineſs, muſt triumph no more over perplex'd Evaſions, confident Aſſertions, and Parliamentary Craft. The Houſe of Commons has loſt him for ever, and the Loſs will be felt by the Publick, even tho' the Houſe of Lords ſhou'd gain ſo uſeful a Member, to aſſiſt their Debates, *when they do debate*, and their Councils, *when their Councils are aſk'd*. But a Vacancy muſt happen, or perhaps a new Parliament, before his Lordſhip can obtain a Seat *there*. Then, and not till then, can he appear upon a Theatre fit for the Part, the important Part that Nature form'd him to act: Then he may again employ his Talents to *enquire*, and to *reform*;

again exert *that Spirit*, which is ſo much his own diſtinguiſhing Excellence, to animate the Langour of a ſupine, inſenſible Age, to excite the drooping Virtues of honeſt Men, who deſpair of the Publick, and by that Deſpair accelerate the Ruin they fear; to *blow that Fire*, by the Light of which ſo many glorious Exploits, ſo many Deeds of Virtue and Wiſdom were perform'd by our Anceſtors, without whoſe kindly Heat, no Fruits of Liberty can be rais'd, or ſupported, *the ſacred Fire of Patriotiſm*, which is now almoſt extinct. To this Part his Lordſhip is call'd by the Voice of the Publick, and his Electors undoubtedly will follow that Voice. If thoſe Electors, indeed, were the low Inhabitants of ſome proſtitute Borough, compoſed of Wretches, who ſubſiſt upon ſeptennial Bribery, of Smugglers trembling under the Laſh of Penal Laws, and of the little Officers of the Revenue, more dependent ſtill, and more ſlaviſh; if ſuch a ſpiritleſs, ignorant, undiſtinguiſhing Crew, deaf to Reputation, blind to Merit, void of all Sentiment, all Senſe, all Feeling, but the leprous Itch of Corruption; if *ſuch*, I ſay, were to be *his Lordſhip's Electors*, then, I confeſs, he might have Reaſon to doubt the Event: Neither his Talents, nor his Induſtry, nor his Integrity cou'd be of Uſe to him there, againſt the meaneſt Penſioner of the moſt unpopular Court. But his Electors are the Peers of *Scotland*, deſcended from Anceſtors *of unſubmitting Spirits*, Champions and Heroes of Freedom; whom neither their own Kings, nor ours, ever cou'd bow to the Yoke; who, thro' infinite Toils, thro' Blood, thro' Civil-Wars, thro' Revolutions of Government, from the earlieſt Times, preſerv'd their own Country free; and to whom, in the laſt Age, *England* owed *her Liberty too: Such* were the Men, before whoſe Sons, when they elect new Repreſentatives, the preſent Earl of *Marchmont* will, I hope, appear as a Candidate; will appear one of the foremoſt upon *the only Liſt* they will ever regard, *the Liſt* of untainted, uninfluenced, able, and vigilant Patriots. Every Virtue will *ſollicit for him*, the Wiſhes, and Prayers of every good Man in the united Iſland of *Great Britain*, will *attend him to his Election:* The Danger of the Times, the Wants of his Country, will demand his Aſſiſtance: *Thus recommended, thus ſupported*, can he fail of Succeſs?——

Common Senſe, March 8. N°. 162.

The faſhionably Style, or Miſapplication of CHARACTERS, *expos'd.*

I HAVE long ſeen with Concern and Indignation, the moſt reſpectable Names, originally appropriated to the moſt valuable Characters, not only laviſh'd and proſtituted where none of thoſe Qualities exiſted, which they ſeem'd to imply; but even abus'd to diſguiſe and cover Vice and Folly. In this Confuſion and Miſapplication of Denominations, Vice exults in its Exemption from Infamy, its greateſt Check, and Virtue mourns the Loſs of thoſe honorary Diſtinctions ſo juſtly due to her; while the Unwary, miſtaking the Signs, frequently ſet up to their Coſt at the wrong Houſe.

A Man muſt have been ſome Time converſant in the World, and have got a Key to the faſhionable Language, to be able to form a true Opinion of Men from the Characters given them. For Example, one would not at firſt imagine, that a Man of nice Honour, only meant a deliberate Murderer; a careful Man, a Thief; an honeſt Gentleman, only a Whig or a Tory, according as the Perſon is who gives him the Character; or that a very honeſt Fellow, meant nothing but a very drunken

one; and a very good Sort of Man, or a very good-natur'd Man, meant either nothing at all, or meant a Fool.

One of the principal Duties in moral, and moſt valuable Qualities in ſocial Life, is certainly *good Nature*, by which I mean, a ſtrong Benevolence to Mankind; a Deſire of relieving their Diſtreſs, and of promoting their Good; and a Willingneſs to employ our Labour, Money, and Credit for thoſe Purpoſes. This I take to be the true Definition of real good Nature, ariſing from Sentiment and Reflexion, and founded upon that great Principle both of Morality and Chriſtianity, of doing as we would be done by. But how unlike is this to that which generally uſurps its Name? How laviſhly is the Character beſtow'd? It is now univerſal, and ſeems to have abſorb'd all others; one hardly hears any thing elſe ſaid of any Body, and one hardly knows any Body, of whom that is not ſaid. Every Man is the *beſt-natur'd Man alive*, the Panegyrick is indiſcriminate, is made and return'd like Bows, and upon as ſlight Knowledge or Acquaintance. The Truth is, it is the ſtaple Commodity that Knaves and Fools traffick in, and export: But if Pride and Self-Love did not take off their Goods, they would ſoon leave off their Trade.

Common Decency and good Manners, are frequently miſtaken for, or miſcall'd good Nature, eſpecially by the Ladies; every Man at his firſt Introduction into Company ſeems to be *a very good-natur'd* or *a very good Sort of Man*; for in polite Mouths thoſe Terms are now ſynonymous. I would gladly aſk by what he ſeems ſo? And what Harmony of Features, what Complexion, and what Size denote a very good-natur'd Man? But indeed how ſhould he ſeem otherwiſe upon ſo ſlight an Acquaintance, unleſs he were a Madman into the Bargain? This extempore Commendation then, means no more of a Man, than it does of a Houſe-Dog, which is, that he does not bite in the Day-Time; and is juſt as ſolid a Proof of his good Nature, as his not ſt—g would be of his Cleanlineſs. It ſeems therefore as unreaſonable to beſtow this Character upon this unknown Perſon, as it would be unjuſt to give him a contrary one; and he may ſurely wait contented with that of a decent Man, till he is known to deſerve a better.

Good Humour is almoſt always miſtaken for good Nature. A Man who talks much, and chearfully, laughs readily, and takes the Tone of the Company, be it what it will, is inſtantly pronounc'd a good-natur'd Man: Tho' I have known very many of theſe good-humour'd People lay out their whole Stock of good Humour to great Advantage in mix'd Company, and reſerve an abundant one of ill Nature to diſpoſe of among thoſe, who depend upon them.

A Man of complaiſant Vices, is at the Top of faſhionable good Nature. If in the Hours of Riot and Exceſs, he has no Will of his own, but chearfully adopts the Vice of the Majority of the Company: If he pimps for his Companions, aſſiſts them in their drunken Scrapes, and lends them Money for their unjuſtifiable Wants; theſe Effects of ſympathizing Profligacy are aſcrib'd to an inexhauſtible Fund of good Nature; tho' at the ſame Time this beſt-natur'd Man alive, is known to brutalize and ſtarve his Wife and Children, beat his Servants, ruin his Tradeſmen, and ſell his Country.

The protecting and ſkreening of Iniquity and Guilt, eſpecially with relation to the Publick, is moſt unjuſtly term'd good Nature: Tho' it can only proceed from a Participation of the Crime, a Willingneſs to com-

commit it, or a Conſciouſneſs of equal Guilt. Virtue knows no Indulgence to Crimes, it puniſhes the Offence, tho' it pities the Offender. The avow'd Patron and *Skreen* of all Corruption and publick Guilt, has *wiſely* and *for good Reaſons* propagated, and eſtabliſh'd this Doctrine; and branded with the Want of *good Nature* and *Candor* thoſe, who from a real Benevolence to Mankind, endeavour to detect and puniſh ſuch Crimes, as tend to the Subverſion of all Government, and the Ruin of all Society.

Fools, as Fools, are, by the Courteſy of *England*, call'd good-natur'd; tho', poſſibly, none leſs deſerve that Character. Fools may indeed have that Kind of good Nature, that ariſes from weak Nerves, and ſympathizing Senſations, which is no more than an involuntary Movement, and an Effect of Self-love: But they can never have that which proceeds from Sentiment and Reflexion. The ſame Thing will affect them with Mirth or Grief, according to the Tone in which it is related; and their Compaſſion is always excited by ſome uncompaſſionate Circumſtance, never by the main Object. Thus they'll hear of a Murder with Indifference; but if the Throat be cut from Ear to Ear, or the dead Body dragg'd by the Hair of the Head, they ſhudder with Horror, and melt into Pity. Theſe however are the beſt Kind of Fools, the harmleſs inoffenſive Fools, little above Vegetables; but who, from intending no Harm, have a Right to Toleration, tho' they have no Claim to Favour.

But there is a much worſe, and more numerous Sort of Fools; which are the crafty, ſubtle, deſigning Fools; who riſe juſt enough out of the Fool, to get a little into the Knave, and who have juſt Senſe enough to know, that they have not Senſe enough to recommend them, and therefore have Recourſe to the Appearances of great good Nature, which they produce upon all Occaſions, like Bills of Health, to get Admittance. Theſe People have reduc'd good Nature to a Science, and proceed ſyſtematically. Their Tone is ſoft and plaintive, their Converſation ſtuff'd with fulſome Panegyrick, tender Epithets, and compaſſionate Interjections; ſuch as, *alas! poor Man!* &c. Nay, their Tenderneſs extends to Animals, and they careſs Dogs and Birds, with the gentle Appellations, of poor Things, and poor Fellows. By theſe Arts they impoſe upon the weak and ſuperficially judging Part of Mankind, and are not only well receiv'd in Companies, but admitted into Friendſhips and Confidences, which they ſeldom fail to abuſe, when it ſuits with their Intereſt. Theſe Fools are the implacable Enemies of Men of Parts; they lament their ill Nature, wiſh they would employ their Wit better, and even thank God that they have none themſelves, ſince they find it is always to be exerciſed at the Expence of good Nature: Thus endeavouring to confound Wit and ill Nature together, and make them ſeem inſeparable. With theſe the numerous Body of abler Knaves combines, and between them both, under the falſe and intereſted Pretence of good Nature, they have almoſt eſtabliſh'd a general Amneſty for Vice and Folly.

All paſſionate People, without Exception, are reckon'd extreamly good-natur'd, no Matter how often they are in a Paſſion, or what Miſchief they do in it. *He is the beſt-natur'd in the World when he is not angry*, is a very common Expreſſion, which in Truth means no more nor no leſs, than that he is good-natur'd, when he is not ill-natur'd. But ſurely if theſe very good-natur'd cholerick People had any good Na-

ture at all, they would, in their lucid Intervals, desire to be lock'd up for the rest of their Lives, that they might do no more Mischief.

Having thus shewn what good Nature is not, and torn off that common Mask of Knaves and Fools, I need say very little to shew what it really is. Every Body feels what it is, tho' so many miscal, and so few practise it. Let then that glorious Character be only bestow'd upon those, who, by Acts of Tenderness, Compassion and Generosity, really deserve it; and let not, what is only their Due, be indiscriminately lavish'd among the Undeserving, either from the selfish Views of expected Returns, or for want of something else to say, which is often the Case. Praise is a Debt due to Merit only, and those who give it where it is not deserv'd, are as unjust as those, who from an ostentatious Generosity, or private Views, give away to others, what is due to their lawful Creditors. Virtue dares discriminate and speak out, but those who universally commend, despair of Praise themselves upon any other Terms; as those who universally blame, despair of it upon any Terms at all.

Craftsman, March 8. N° 714.

Of natural and honest, and corrupt and scandalous Dependencies; with the Arts and Practices of wicked Ministers.

TO speak in a *strict, religious Sense*, no Body can be said to be properly independent; for all *human Creatures* are absolutely dependent upon their *Creator*, by whom they *live, move, and have their Being*.

In a *natural, moral*, and *religious Sense* likewise, no Body can be said to be perfectly independent; for a *Child* is certainly dependent on its *Parents*; a *Wife* upon her *Husband*, as well as an *Husband* upon his *Wife*; a *Tenant* upon his *Landlord*, a *Landlord* upon his *Tenant*; and every *good Man* upon his *Friends* and *Benefactors*, for their mutual Interests.

Nay, even in a *political Sense*, there are many just and honourable Dependencies; such as those of the *People* upon the *Prince*, and of the *Prince* upon the *People*; of the *Representatives of the People* upon their *Constituents*, and of the *Constituents* upon their *Representatives*.

All these are *honest Dependencies*, inseparable from human Nature, and the Conduct of Government, which cannot subsist without the reciprocal Aid of the *Governors* and the *Governed*; but the Misfortune is, that the *former* have too much Advantage of the *latter*, not only by creating *corrupt Dependencies*, but by the false Notions, which too many Men conceive of *Friendship*, *Honour* and *Gratitude*.

This Point (says Mr. *D'Anvers*) is very well explain'd in the LONDON MAGAZINE of *January* last; from whence he takes some Extracts, where the several Kinds of *Dependencies*, which are there divided into *five Sorts*, are particularly enumerated and illustrated.—*As our Readers may see this in our said* MAGAZINE *for* January *last*, p. 4 D, 5, *'tis needless to repeat it.*

After this, Mr. D'Anvers *proceeds thus:* I think the most scandalous and corrupt Men of all are *those*, who having gain'd a Reputation by the Profession of *Independency*, and raised their Fortunes by acting, speaking, or writing in the Cause of *Liberty*, turn about on a sudden, and by their Practices renounce all Pretence to their former Principles. Yet such Men as these will never want Encouragement under a *bad Administration*; for as it is a common Observation, that *religious Converts* are the most furious Enemies to those,

those, whom they desert; so it is equally, true that a *political Apostate* always becomes the most abject *Tool of Power*, and gives his *Corruptor* an Opportunity of representing all *Patriotism* and *publick Virtue*, as mere Pretexts to cover ambitious and self-interested Views.—How many Instances of this does every Age afford us?—I wish I could entirely except the present.

Whenever this happens to be the Case, both the *Corruptor* and the *Corrupted* will not scruple to tell us in plain Terms, that Opposition to *Ministers* is dangerous to *Liberty*, because it may incite them to make themselves *absolute*, for their own Security.—When a *Minister* hath this in his Power, the *Constitution* must be destroy'd, and it would be ridiculous to boast any longer of *Liberty*.—But this Argument is fit only for the Mouth of an *Highwayman*, who is often obliged to commit *Murder*, rather than suffer himself to be taken, and brought to Justice.

Another vile Method of *wicked Ministers* to support themselves is, by laying the Odium of all their bad Measures upon their *Sovereign*, and setting him up as a Screen to protect them from the just Vengeance of an *injur'd People*. This is directly contrary to one of the chief Maxims of our Constitution, *that the King can do no Wrong*; but according to the modest Doctrines of *such Ministers* and *their Advocates*, the Maxim ought to be inverted and run thus; *the King can do no Good*; for they will never fail to arrogate every Thing of that Nature to *themselves*; tho' it might be intirely owing to the Wisdom and Command of their *Master*. Thus if he should be resolved to declare *War* against an insulting Enemy, and it should be attended with Success, they would certainly impute it to *their own wise Counsels*, tho' it was ever so well known, that they opposed it with all their Power. But if it should prove unsuccessful, they would as certainly endeavour to throw all the Blame upon the Rashness and Obstinacy of *their royal Master*, against their Advice, tho' he should be manifestly driven into it by their *blundering Negotiations*, *pusillanimous Conduct*, and the *Cries of the People*.—In the same Manner, if they should find themselves under the Necessity of patching up an *ignominious Peace*, they would, no doubt, shift it off from their own Shoulders, and lay it upon *him*, whose sole Prerogative it is to make *Peace* and *War*. But if, by some unforeseen Accident, or lucky Turn, it should happen to prove more advantageous than the wisest Man could possibly expect, the whold Merit would be ascribed to *their dexterous Management and Address*, without allowing their *Prince* any Share in it.

To this may be added, that the Ends of a *just* and *necessary War* have been too often defeated by *their own Want of Skill* to conduct it, or a mean Jealousy of *those*, who have. It is likewise in their Power to frustrate the Operations of a *War*, which did not suit with *their own Designs*, by misleading their *Prince*, and giving wrong Instructions to his *Commanders*, both by *Land* and *Sea*, or cramping them in the *Execution* of their Duty; as well as by oppressing the People with *exorbitant Taxes*, and almost destroying their *Trade*, in Hopes that they will at last cry out for *Peace*, without any adequate Reparation for their *past Losses* and *Expences*.

Such Practices have been often made use of by *wicked Ministers*, in former Times; for I shall say nothing of the present; tho' the *ministerial Alchymists* may endeavour to extract *Sedition* out of these plain, general Observations, and prudently apply them to their *Patron*; which

no

no doubt will be paying him a very great Compliment. No body is ſafe againſt *theſe Artiſts*; for they have found out a Method of converting all Writings, except *Flattery*, into *Libels*, whether they relate to *paſt*, *preſent*, or *future Times*; and begin once more to call aloud upon the *ſecular Arm* to prove the Force of their Arguments, and the Truth of their Aſſertions.

I ſhall therefore conclude in one Word with ſaying; let *Libelling*, properly ſo call'd, be puniſh'd; but let not *Corruption* go unpuniſh'd, and be ſuffer'd to grow rampant in all Parts of the Kingdom, in Defiance of our *Laws*, and *common Honeſty*.

ABSTRACT of a Pamphlet, entitled, *Ways and Means to man the Navy, with not leſs than* 15,000 *able Sailors, on any Emergency*, &c. *By* THOMAS ROBE, *Eſq*;

WERE an Act of Parliament to be paſſed for eſtabliſhing not leſs than 15,000 able Seamen certain for ever for the King's Service, I can plainly demonſtrate, that the Advantages which would accrue to every Part of the Nation from it, would render the extraordinary Expence of ſuch Eſtabliſhment, if any at all, very inconſiderable.

By the Advance-Money that ſhould be given, and the Certainty of not being diſmiſs'd, after any ſhort Expedition, from his Majeſty's Service, the Number of Voluntiers that would immediately offer themſelves, would very quickly make up the Liſt propoſed; nor would the Manner, in which they ſhould be employ'd, even at thoſe Times, when the Fleet may have a Call but for a very few of them, be a leſs Temptation for them to enter.

As his Majeſty's Docks and Yards do continually maintain a very large Number of Workmen in the ſeveral Articles relating to the Navy, one Part of the ſaid Seamen might, with little Prejudice to the Hands already employed, be made uſe of in the Time of Peace, in the Work there: At firſt, in ſuch Parts only of it, as may be moſt eaſily attained in a very little Time, till by Degrees they may arrive to ſuch a tolerable Knowledge in the others, as will not only enable them, by the Money they ſhall earn, to maintain themſelves and Families very comfortably, but render them, when required to their original Province of Sailing, more uſeful and expert in the entire Management of every Particular belonging to the Ship; whilſt the other Part of them ſhall have a Permit for

to ſail in the Merchants and Coaſters Service, by which Means they will acquire ſuch perfect Knowledge of the many Rocks and Sands that almoſt entirely ſurround us, that they may prove, when ſummoned again into his Majeſty's Navy, of very important Uſe, even in the Quality of Pilots. And to prevent any Difficulty, or Diſpute, that may ariſe between the Maſters of ſuch Veſſels, and the King's Sailors, that want to ſhip themſelves on board them, the Merchants or Maſters ſhall be obliged to receive into their Veſſels one Half of their Complement, of the King's Men, at the common Wages, who ſhall likewiſe have a written Power or Authority granted them, to ſhip themſelves on board any Coaſters or Veſſels, trading in any Port of *Great Britain* where they are, provided they do not exceed the Number of other Hands ſhipped on board of the ſaid Veſſels. A Regiſter may alſo be kept at every Port, of the Number of Hands each Veſſel ſhips, and a General Regiſter in *London*, near the *Royal-Exchange*, or ſome other convenient Place, that the Government may not only be aſſured of the punctual and ready Compliance of the Merchants or Captains, in receiving their Complement of King's Men; but in caſe of an immediate Want of them for his Majeſty's Service, they may the more eaſily be ſummoned for that Purpoſe; and if many of theſe Sailors ſhould ſeek Employment all at the ſame Port, where there were Veſſels lying in Expectation of Hands, there may be ſuch Regulations, that no one Veſſel ſhould take in more than an equal Proportion of the ſaid Sailors. As for Inſtance, if 3 Veſſels lay in the ſame Port, ſuppoſing each Veſſel to carry 10 Hands, and 5 of his Majeſty's Men ſhould offer themſelves only to one of theſe 3 Ships, they ſhall not be allowed to go all together in that one Veſſel, but ſhall diſtribute themſelves amongſt the 3, and that Veſſel whoſe Lot it was to have but one, ſhall receive the next King's Man that comes to enter himſelf at that Port, as his fair Dividend. No Owners or Maſters of the Veſſels before-mentioned, ſhall prefer in their firſt Choice of the Hands they propoſe to ſhip, any other Sailors to thoſe belonging to his Majeſty; but if no Application is made from any of them, the Captains may be at their Diſcretion to receive others for the whole Voyage. And for the further Eaſe of the ſaid eſtabliſhed Number of Seamen, and to make them in every Degree more uſeful to the Government: after the Expiration of

for which the Permit was granted to one Half of them to go into the Merchants Service, there may be an Exchange of Stations by Rotation for the ſame Length of Time, between ſome of them,

and

and those that were left and employed at home. Hereby the Inconveniencies which the Merchants may otherwise sustain, from having most of the Hands in their Vessels, during the Time of War, impress'd, perhaps, just as they are clearing out for their Voyage, will immediately vanish. If the Exigence of Affairs should constrain the Government to call off its Men into its own Service, it may be supposed that the Merchants will have Time enough, from the first Summons of his Majesty for his Sailors to return, till the Time limited for such Return, to provide themselves with a Supply, and even without being necessitated to pay any such exorbitant Wages, as the Scarcity and Timidity of the Seamen, during the Time of a Press, exacts from them. If, as I am inform'd by some Persons, who pretend to have made a pretty exact Computation of the Number of Seamen employed in the Merchants and Coasters Service, there may really be upwards of 60,000, then, were the whole established Number of his Majesty's Seamen distributed equally among the Merchants, in the Room of some of the others, such Seamen would be less in Proportion than one fourth Part of each Ship's Complement; so that the Merchants can neither scruple to receive so few, to the Prejudice of the other Sailors, nor think it any Grievance to part with them, when his Majesty's Occasions demand them.

As it is an inherent Principle in every *Englishman*, to submit with Reluctance to any Thing that seems to carry a Check upon their Liberty, so I would not in this Engagement to his Majesty's Service, have the Men constrained to bind themselves up either for Life, or for a long Term of Years, but chuse to leave it to their own Discretion, to quit the Service when they have an Inclination, on this easy and reasonable Condition only, that they shall be oblig'd to give six Months Notice of their Intention, on the Failure of which, proper Penalties may be thought of to be inflicted. Such an Engagement as this, will be no more than what is enter'd into almost every Day, between Man and Man, in every Branch or Kind of Business; but for their Encouragement, not only to enter, but to continue in the Service voluntarily, I could wish an easy Fund might be found out, whereby the Government might be enabled to cloath them from Head to Foot, once in two Years; with a Silver Medal of the Flag of *England*, to be worn as a peculiar and honourable Distinction, from all others Sailors *.

For the first 3 Years, any able Seamen may be admitted upon this Establishment, not exceeding 40 Years of Age, but after the said 3 Years none shall exceed the Age of 30 †. And as a further Reward and Inducement for their long Continuance in the Service, it is propos'd, that those who have serv'd for such a Quantity of Years, or done such Services as A the Discretion of the Board of Admiralty, or the Commissioners shall judge worthy of it, shall receive a small Pension for Life, tho' they are not any way disabled in the Service; and in case any one of them leaves a Widow, she shall enjoy for her Life one Moiety of what was before his Allowance; but if any of them quit the Service, and afterwards re-enter, they should have but half the Benefit of the Time B they serv'd before. And if any of them, whilst in the Merchants Service, should, by any Accident, sustain any Damage in their Limbs so as to render them incapable of earning their Bread as Sailors for the future, they should be consider'd, notwithstanding, as the King's Men, and receive the same Benefit of a Pension, or the Hospital, as if they had C sustained such Wounds or Damage in one of the King's own Ships ‡. And at last, to all these considerable and tempting Advantages, I would join that great and most necessary Encouragement of all, the Certainty of having their Pay, whatever Capacity they serve in, whether in Merchant-Ships or the Government's own, on the most easy Regulations both to themselves, their Creditors, Friends D or Relations, who may be their Executors, or possess'd of their Powers of Attorney, without any unnecessary Delays upon Account of unjust and vexatious Claims, and free from exorbitant and unwarrantable Deductions, which have been but too frequent a Practice in former Times.

As to the Fund I mention'd for maintaining the 15,000 Seamen: Were the Lords of E the Admiralty to be empower'd by Act of Parliament, to drain and enclose such of the waste and derelict Lands as they can find Purchasers for, on Lease for a Term of Years, at *per Acre*, reserving or allowing to the Lord of the Manor, or the Persons who have the Right of Common *per Acre*, some Part of the Amount of the Rents F of them would be sufficient to answer the whole Charge of this Establishment.

And as the supplying *Greenwich* Hospital with a suitable Fund to perfect the good Design of that Institution, was recommended by his late Majesty, in the Year 1725, another Part might be appropriated for that Use, whilst no inconsiderable Surplus would remain to

* *It is proper that the Name of the Sailor and the Time of Entrance with a Number, be engraven on the Back of each Medal, and that they be return'd in case of Death, or upon any of the Sailors leaving his Majesty's Service.* † *'Tis more practicable out of the Number of Sailors which at present are in his Majesty's Service, that the* 15,000 *Men be at a proper Time made choice of, for the Purposes herein mention'd.* ‡ *A Deduction of* per *Month out of each Sailor's Pay, will be sufficient to answer these Demands.*

to be return'd into the Treaſury towards the Sinking Fund.

N. B. *As there are abundance of Acres, that are almoſt covered with Water, ſome Part of the* 15,000 *eſtabliſh'd Sailors might be employ'd in draining them.*

Craftſman, March 15. Nº 715.

Of the ARMY, *Quartering Soldiers*, &c.

GREAT Complaints have been made, for many Years paſt, of keeping up a numerous Body of *mercenary Forces*, in Time of *Peace*; and they are certainly dangerous even in Time of *War*, unleſs employ'd abroad, or when we have any juſt and well-grounded Apprehenſions of an *Invaſion*; which can hardly ever be the Caſe, whilſt our Coaſts are guarded by a large and powerful Squadron of Ships of War.

During the two laſt great Wars of K. *William* and Q. *Anne*, we had a very inconſiderable Army kept up at home, in Compariſon to what we have at preſent; tho' in the former War, *Lewis* XIV openly ſupported K. *James*, and in the latter the Cauſe of the *Pretender*.

Upon concluding the Treaty of Peace at *Ryſwick*, in one Reign, and the Treaty of *Utrecht*, in the other, our *regular Land Forces* were reduced, I think, to 7 or 8000 *Men*, except the *Penſioners in Chelſea-College*, which occaſion'd great Murmurs and Complaints againſt the Adminiſtration at that Time, as if it was keeping up an additional Army *in Petto*; and therefore we may aſſure ourſelves that no ſuch Arts have been ever practiſed ſince by our excellent *Whig-Miniſters*, which would be at leaſt an Apology for the Conduct of their *Tory Predeceſſors*.

But however that may be, it cannot be forgot that the Invalids of *Chelſea-College* were thought a ſufficient Guard for a *certain Hon. Gentleman*, who retired thither, not many Years ago, for Protection againſt the pretended Deſigns of the *Populace*; tho' it afterwards appear'd that Nothing but his own panick Fears prevented him from ſleeping very quietly and ſecurely in Town.

But to come to the Point: Our *Land-Forces*, are augmented to almoſt double the Number of what they were, in Time of *Peace*; and yet theſe were generally thought much too numerous by all Men of Candor and Impartiality.

Beſides the publick Expence of maintaining ſo large an Army, which amounts at leaſt to a *Million* a Year; it hath been computed, *that every Soldier quarter'd upon an* Inn-keeper, *in Town, or Country, coſts* that Inn-keeper *near as much as he coſts the Government*; not to mention the inſolent Behaviour, Incroachments, Waſte, Debauchery, and lewd Examples of *ſuch profligate* and almoſt *lawleſs Gueſts*.

Theſe Hardſhips induced the *Inn-keepers*, ſome Years ago, to petition the Parliament for Redreſs; upon which they granted the *Dragoons*, as I remember, an additional Pay of 3*d* a Man *per Diem*, in order to render them leſs burthenſome to thoſe, upon whom they are quarter'd. What Effect this may have had, I cannot pretend to ſay; tho' it hath certainly put the Publick to a conſiderable Expence.

But a Doubt having lately ariſen, whether the *Mutiny and Deſertion Act*, as it hath been worded for many Years paſt, was obligatory upon *Inn-keepers*, and *other Maſters of publick Houſes*, within that Act, to provide the Soldiers billeted upon them with any Thing but *Quarters*; a Clauſe was propoſed in the laſt *Mutiny Bill*, for explaining the *former Act*, and obliging the ſaid *Inn-keepers*, and *other Maſters of publick Houſes*, to furniſh the Soldiers billeted upon them with *Proviſions of Eating and Drinking*, as well as *Quarters*, at ſo much a Day.—But this was oppoſed ſo vigorouſly, as an unreaſonable Innovation, that the *Projector* thought fit to give it up, and ſuffer the Act to ſtand upon its uſual Footing.

Several good Arguments were produced for oppoſing this Motion; ſome of which I ſhall briefly mention.

In the *firſt Place*, It was ſaid that *Inn-keepers*, and other Perſons ſubject to the Act for quartering *Soldiers* upon them, were already very much burden'd and harraſſed with *Exciſes*, and *penal Laws*; particularly the late Act againſt *Retailing of ſpirituous Liquors*; for whatever Service *that Law* may have done to the Health, Lives, and Morals of the *loweſt People*, (of which we have not yet ſeen any conſiderable Effects) it hath certainly been of very great Prejudice to *publick Houſes* of all Kinds, by depriving them of the moſt profitable Part of their Buſineſs, which enabled them to quarter *Soldiers*, without running the Hazard of incurring the *Penalties of the Law*; eſpecially thoſe, who ſtand upon *high Rents*, and hold their Houſes by *Leaſe*, for a long Term of Years.

2*dly*, If *this Motion* had taken Effect, it would have obliged many Perſons to take down their *Signs*, and leave off *their Buſineſs*, as many have done already, upon the ſame Account, whilſt we had not much above half the preſent Number of *ſtanding Forces*.—It hath, indeed, been often objected, and with too much Reaſon, that we are over-ſtock'd with *publick Houſes*; and that it would be of great Benefit to the Nation, if half of them were ſhut up. This is in the Power of the *civil Magiſtrates*, by refuſing *Licences* to above a *certain Number of Houſes* in every County, Diſtrict, or Pariſh. But, in

that

that Case, what will become of our Revenue, which depends too much upon *Tipling Houses*; or where shall the *present extraordinary standing Army* be quarter'd? For,

3*dly*, If a great Number of *Inn-holders* and *Victuallers* should not think proper to leave off their Business, and turn themselves a-drift in the World, they would probably apply to *Parliament* for additional Pay to the *Foot-Soldiers*, as they formerly did for the *Dragoons*; which would be a farther very great Expence to the Nation.

Or, *Lastly*, if the *Parliament* should happen to be in an *ill Humour*, (which may, perhaps, be thought a ridiculous Supposition) and refuse *such an Augmentation of Pay*, the only Remedy left to provide for so numerous an Army as the present, is by *Barracks* in Winter, and *Encampments* in Summer; *from which, good Lord, deliver us!*—For, in such a Case, we may bid adieu to the *Liberties of this Nation* for ever.

I shall conclude with declaring, that it is very far from my Intentions, to discourage our *Inn-holders* from continuing the usual Custom of quartering and providing for *our Army*, whatever it may be.—Those in *distant Counties*, where Provisions for *Man* and *Horse* are cheap, may possibly be no great Losers, or Sufferers, except their Trouble; and since the neighbouring Counties to this *great Metropolis*, where *high Rents* and *extraordinary Taxes* make every Necessary of Life very dear, are at present secured from this *compulsive Law*, I hope it will induce them to comply with the *same Custom*, as far as the Nature of their Circumstances will admit, in order to prevent a much greater Evil to their Country, by *Barracks* and *Encampments*.

Common Sense, March 22. N° 164.

PISTOL's *threatening* LETTER *to* COMMON SENSE.

WE receiv'd some Months since a short Epistle, containing not above four or five Lines, but full of Anger; the Gentleman who sent it subscribed himself *Antient Pistol*: We made no Observations upon it, nor return'd any Answer, taking it for granted, that, as the Gentleman was newly listed into the ministerial Regiment of Pen-men, he was obliged to abuse some Body; and as we know very well who they are that direct and dictate to him, his falling upon us at such an unmerciful Rate, we took as a certain Mark that his Pay-masters were of Opinion that we had done the Publick some Service.

I am sorry to find that our Silence and Temper on that Occasion hath not procured us better Quarter, for we have just now receiv'd a second Epistle, from the same Hand, more furious than the former.

I shall give it our Readers, leaving them to judge, whether we merit such Treatment.

'*Bezonian* base—thou who Common Sense
'are call'd, once more, my noble Thoughts
'I will to thee communicate—perpend my
'Words—preponderate the Accents of my
'Tongue.

A 'Listen, I say, with both thy recreant
'Ears, while I to thee impart my Pleasure
'positive, and Will peremptory, that thou
'no more presume to throw thy Wit sar-
'castick at *Pistol*'s Friends,—use Lenity to
'Men of Mould, and let *Caveto* be thy
'Counsellor.

'The Sum of my Command is this—
B 'drop thy enormous Pen, replete with Ink
'seditious, and let me hear no more of
'blundering Treaties—of Chimney-sweepers
'black, or blacker Placemen.—Art thou
'wise, ha?—Hast thou an Ounce of Brains
'in thy Fundibulum?—Rejoice therefore—
'sing Hallelujahs—unite in Chorus with true
'Men of Mettle, chant loud the Praises of
'Sir Knight, and join with Lads of Price to
C 'kiss his Colon.

'If thou wilt praise Sir Knight,—a Place-
'man shalt thou be, and Profits will ensue,
'and present Pay.—Peace shall commence,
'and *Pistol* be thy Friend.

'Know'st thou the Joys of *Burgundy*?—
'Know'st thou sparkling *Champaigne*? *Cham-*
'*paigne* Elymosinary!—once more, I say, be
'wise, and we will quaff together, together
D 'we will quaff celestial Tipple, till *Titan*'s
'Face look red, and *Luna* shews her Tail.

'Hast thou e'er seen the black-ey'd
'Nymphs of *Drury*?—*Dol Tearsheet*, fairest
'of all that Train, shall from the powdering-
'Tub, step forth (in Spight of Malady of
'*France*) to cheer her Heroe and regale her
'*Pistol*.—Fear we *Mercury*, or Pills, no!—
E 'have we not seen the seven Stars?

'In Days of yore, Fortune was *Pistol*'s
'Foe.—Pursued by Catchpoles,—in Durance
'vile detain'd, *Pistol*'s great Soul grew sad;
'but what of that? Base is the Slave that
'pays:—But lo! the fickle Goddess blind,
'that turns, and turns her Wheel, at last
'hath turn'd up Trumps, and now I sing of
'Benefits and golden Joys.

F 'Sir Knight, of Head most blundering,
'but of Fingers cunning (I kiss his dirty
'Hands) hath rais'd my Heart above my
'Galligaskins:—Pensions he gives like Pins:
'—True Brotherhood is sworn between us;
'he is to be my *Purse*, and I will be his
'*Pistol*.

'Pronounce no more of Negroes, name
'not Honour,—the Words offend my Ears.
G '—Shall hollow Jades, made lean with
'Taxes, compare with pensioned Cannibals
'and *Trojan Greeks*? No! a Fico for your
'Honour, Fico of *Spain*, say I.—Honour is
'dead, as Nail in Door:—Honour! what is
'it?

'it? It is my Sir Knight's Foot-ball, and he 'hath kick'd it o'er the Moon.

'The Things which *Piſtol* ſpeaks are juſt. '—I'll ſee thee damn'd to *Pluto*'s muddy 'Lake, where *Erebus* and Tortures vile ſhall 'ſinge thee with King *Cerberus*, e'er I re- 'nounce a Penſion, or quit Sir Knight and 'Negroes ſleek, to join with Patriots ſhabby.

'It doth inflame my noble Liver, to hear A 'thee vociferate againſt Bribes moſt ſalutary, 'and Blunders moſt ſublime.—No more af- 'front Corruption, for *Piſtol* loves it much. '—By my Sword, I ſwear, yea, by truſty 'Bilboa, if thou preſumeſt once more to 'name the Word Corruption,—I will retort 'Corruption in thy marvellous Face:—Cor- 'ruption in thy Teeth, and in thy Throat, B 'and in thy hateful Lungs; yea, in thy 'Maw, *perdie*; and, which is more, within 'thy naſty Mouth.—O Hound of *Creet!* 'tremendous Common Senſe! I will retort 'Corruption in thy Midriff, in thy damn'd 'Scrotum, and in thy Diaphragma.

'Talk'ſt thou to us of Axes and of Gib- 'bets?—May Gallows gape for Common 'Senſe, but let not Sir —— vital Thread be C 'cut by Edge of Penny Cord:—Forbid it '*Urſa major*, *Urſa minor*;—forbid it all 'the Gods.—Should Dung-hill Cocks, un- 'penſion'd and unplaced, confront the *Helicon*, 'and conquer ſweet Sir Knight,—then *Piſtol* 'lay thy Head in Fury's Lap, and come 'thou long-lived Mortal Death, abridge his 'doleful Days.

'Diſcuſs unto me, damn'd furious Wight, D 'egregious Common Senſe.—Doſt thou ol- 'fact me?—Knoweſt thou puiſſant *Piſtol*, 'ha?—Knoweſt thou the valiant Imp of 'Fame?—Rouſe not the Lion's Whelp.— 'Shouldſt thou provoke my manly Choler, 'Inciſion muſt enſue.

'Come, *Atropos*, for grievous ghaſtly 'Wounds ſhall then untwine the Siſters E 'three.—Fear we Broadſides? No!—let the 'Fiend give Fire,—rouſe up Revenge with 'fell *Alecto*'s Snakes—down Fates—hold 'Hook and Line—*Coupe la Gorge* is the 'Word, for *Piſtol*'s Cock is up, and flaſhing 'Fire muſt follow.

Yours, PISTOL *for ever.*

I don't know what to ſay to this Letter. The Stile indeed is ſomething different from that of a *Gazetteer*, and if it was printed in that Paper, it might give a little Spirit to their grave and ſolemn Nonſenſe; yet I am very much at a Loſs what to ſay to it, for it is ſo very ſublime that I muſt freely own it is above my Capacity to anſwer it.

Craftſman, March 22. N° 716.

Of the BILL *for regiſtering* SEAMEN.

HAVING conſider'd, in my laſt, the Clauſe propoſed in the *Mutiny-Act*, for obliging all *Inn-keepers*, and *other Maſters of publick Houſes*, to provide for the *Soldiers* quarter'd upon them, at a very great Loſs; (ſee p. 136.) I ſhall now proceed to the *Bill* brought into the *Houſe of Commons*, *for regiſtering all Seamen, Watermen, Fiſhermen, Lightermen, Keelmen, Bargemen, and Sea-faring Men, capable of Service at Sea, throughout his Majeſty's Dominions*; upon which I ſhall, at preſent, make only a few curſory Remarks.

The Preamble to *this Bill* is very plauſible and cajoling, being deſign'd only, as is therein ſet forth, *for giving all due Encouragement to Mariners and Seamen, in which the Welfare and Proſperity of his Majeſty's Dominions are greatly concern'd.*—This is certainly very true; but almoſt every Clauſe after, is ſo far from giving *all due Encouragement to our Seamen and Mariners*, that they conſiſt only of *Diſcouragements*, ſuch as *Compulſion*, *Penalties*, and *other Hardſhips*, as I ſhall preſently prove.

In the firſt Place, I muſt obſerve, that it is propoſed, by *this Bill*, that *all the Dominions of the Crown of* Great Britain *ſhall be divided, or diſtinguiſh'd, or be conſider'd as divided and diſtinguiſh'd into different and diſtinct Diviſions*; the firſt for that Part of *Great Britain* call'd *England*; the ſecond for that Part of *Great Britain* call'd *Scotland*; and the third for the Kingdom of *Ireland*. Theſe are to be the *principal Diviſions*; but each of them were likewiſe to be ſubdivided again into as many *ſubordinate and inferior Diſtricts*, as the *Lord High Admiral of* Great Britain, or the *Commiſſioners of the Admiralty*, for the Time being, ſhould reſpectively order, direct, and appoint. It was alſo propoſed, that the *Lord High Admiral*, or the *Commiſſioners of the Admiralty*, for the Time being, ſhould be authorized to eſtabliſh and keep a *Regiſtry-Office*, in any ſuch Port or Place of the ſaid Diſtrict, to be nominated by themſelves, as they ſhall think proper. They were to be farther impower'd to appoint, remove, and diſplace all the *Regiſter Officers* of the inferior Diſtricts, and to ſubſtitute others in their Room, at Diſcretion.

Without making any nice and critical Obſervations, how ſuch a Clauſe might affect our *Conſtitution*, (by which I mean our *antient Conſtitution*) I ſhall only take Notice, that *a certain Hon. Gentleman* hath got an admirable Knack of multiplying *Places*, and never offers an Act for the *publick Emolument*, without having *his own private Intereſt and Safety* in View. What the Number of *Regiſter-Officers*, for the Diviſions and Subdiviſions of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, with the Salaries deſign'd for them, might be, I cannot pretend to ſay; becauſe I have not the Honour to be in the Secrets of the *Projector*, and there is no making any true Judgment from *Blanks*.

But I think that any Man may eaſily fill up

up one *Blank* of a Clauſe, where it is ſaid, that every *regiſter'd Perſon* is render'd incapable of a Settlement at *Land* till the Age of which I ſuppoſe to be 55 Years; becauſe *Sailors*, at that Age, are already exempted from being preſs'd, by an Act of Parliament now in Force; and therefore this is no Favour to the *poor Seamen*, nor to the *Merchants*; for when a Man is diſabled by old Age, or other Infirmities, for the *King's Service*, of what Uſe can he be to the *Merchants*, notwithſtanding the gracious Liberty of being allow'd, at that Age, to ſerve in any Merchant-Ship, or Veſſel, belonging to any of his Majeſty's Subjects.

Many Perſons, bred up to good Trades, have been forc'd, by the Follies and Extravagancies of Youth, to enter themſelves into the *Sea Service*, for ſome Years, in order to conceal themſelves; and yet frequently return home to their *Trades*, pay their *Creditors*, and grow rich. But by the *Act*, which was propos'd, and drawn up by our *grand Projector*, all ſuch Perſons would be obliged to *regiſter* themſelves in ſome particular Diſtrict, and not to remove from thence, without Notice in what other Diſtrict they have entered themſelves and to which they belong.—From whence it may be apprehended, that every *Seaman*, or *Sea-faring Man*, of what Condition ſoever, except *Commiſſion* and *Warrant-Officers*, would have been liable to all the Penalties of *this intended Act*.

Nay, even the moſt *ordinary Sailors*, by *Marriage*, *lucky Accidents*, or *Frugality*, frequently ſettle themſelves in good Buſineſs, and provide very well for their *Wives* and *Families*; which *this Regiſter-Act* would have abſolutely prevented, by obliging them to be at a Call whenever ſummon'd.

No certain Proviſion is made, by *this Bill*, for their Maintenance at *Land*, and for their conſtant Employment at *Sea*.—But when any of them, by Induſtry, have got themſelves into a Way of Buſineſs, for their Support, they were to be torn from it, perhaps for a *Spit-head Expedition*; and, on their Diſcharge, are left to ſeek for another Livelihood.

The moſt *uſeful Part of the People* wou'd have been render'd, by *this Bill*, the *greateſt Slaves*; for when they ſhould be once *regiſter'd*, neither the moſt reputable and ſubſtantial Trades, nor the paſſing thro' all *Pariſh Offices* could exempt them from *Sea-Service*, as it does from all others.

They would therefore be in a worſe Condition than the *meaneſt liſted Soldier*, becauſe the *Soldier* can at any Time buy his Diſcharge, for *ten* or *twenty Guineas*; whereas the *Sailor* muſt be liable to every Summons, till the Age, as is ſuppoſed, of 55 Years, and can never be ſecure againſt a Call from his Buſineſs, unleſs by the Protection of *ſome Creatures of Power*, which can be only obtain'd by giving a ſervile Vote at every Election. This Conſideration was not, perhaps, the leaſt Inducement to the *Projector of this Bill*.

If *this Act* had taken Place, it would certainly have proved a Prejudice, inſtead of a Benefit, to the *Navy*; for the *Sailors* cannot be the only Perſons ignorant of their Value.—They muſt know, that the Wealth and even the Safety of the Nation depends upon *them*.—They might therefore have been provoked to deſert that cruel Country, which could cut them off from the deareſt Privilege of an *Engliſhman*, that of a ſure and inviolable Retreat to a *Wife* and *Family*, after the Dangers, Fatigues, and Hardſhips, which they have undergone, in the Service of their Country; and this for no other Reaſon than becauſe they deſerve more Encouragement and more Privileges than any other Body of their Fellow-Subjects.—It would, at leaſt, have ſtopt the growing Supply of the *Navy*; becauſe very few Men would have been inclinable to enter into a State of *Slavery*, whilſt they had it in their Power to continue in *Freedom*.

The Illegality and brutiſh Exerciſe of the Power of *Impreſſing*, makes every good Man wiſh that ſome *proper Act* might be made to encourage a *voluntary Regiſter of Seamen*, for the Honour of his Majeſty, as well as the Intereſt and Defence of his Kingdoms.—But a *compulſive Regiſtry*, as the late Bill was deſign'd to be, is big with ſo many evil Conſequences, that it muſt neceſſarily tend to the abſolute Deſtruction of the *Navy*.

The Obſervations, which I have made upon *this Bill*, give me the faireſt Opportunity of paying my humble Tribute of Praiſe to *that brave Admiral*, who hath ſo glorioufly retrieved the antient Honour of the *Britiſh Flag*. (See the *Occurrences* in this Month.)—But this is ſo large a Field, that I muſt take another Opportunity to expatiate upon it.

Univerſal Spectator, N° 596.

FASHIONABLE EDUCATION.

THERE has been a Maxim of late too much inculcated, which is, to let Youth have an *early Knowledge of the World*; hence it is that we have Boys and Girls at 14 and 15 have gain'd, according to this modern Phraſe, *a Knowledge of the World*, who thro' their whole Lives will never know one neceſſary Qualification of Life: They become inſtructed in the Vices and Follies of *Rakes* and *Coquets* at an Age, when the Principles of true Knowledge and Virtue ſhould be eſtabliſh'd.

I ſaw the other Day a Proof of what I have advanc'd. I was intreated by *Will Airy*, to take a Family Dinner with him;

which Invitation I accepted with the more Pleaſure, as he told me I ſhould ſee the *fineſt Boy* and *Girl* in *Chriſtendom:* I made Allowance for the Fondneſs of a Father in ſpeaking ſo of his own Children, and expected to be very agreeably entertain'd, as *Miſs* I underſtood was turn'd of 13, and *Maſter* about 15. I have naturally a Satisfaction in obſerving the Progreſſions of human Nature, and was therefore highly delighted to think that in my Friend's Children I ſhould ſee it in its moſt *amiable Stage*; for at thoſe Years *Beauty* and *Knowledge* are riſing with great Speed to *Perfection*, and that *uncorrupted Simplicity* which they ſhould then enjoy, renders them charming. When we came to my Friend's Houſe, it ſeems *Miſs* was gone with *Mamma* to an *Auction*, and *Maſter* to take a Turn into the *Mall*. They all came home much about when the Dinner was ſpoilt, and after a little genteel Bickering between *Will* and his *Lady* we ſat down: The little gloomy Chagrin was ſoon diſſipated by this Addreſs of *Miſs* to her Father.—*O, Papa! we have ſeen the moſt charming Things at the Auction, ſo neat and ſo cheap—There is an* India *Skreen you muſt let my* Mamma *have—it comes but to—to—I forget how many Guineas—but you muſt let* Mamma *have it*—My Dear, ſays her Father, we don't want one.—*Why truly, Mr.* Airy, (replies his Wife) *ours is not in Taſte, and if you make me a Preſent of this, you will oblige me.*—My Friend began to look a little grave, but before he could reply, his Daughter accoſted him again—*Why, Papa, Miſs* Polly Squander's *Mamma has one, and why ſhou'd not we?—You'll have my Mamma vex herſelf ſick about it,—and I am ſure I ſhall fret myſelf almoſt dead if you deny it us.*—On *Will*'s ſeeming Compliance, the young Lady and her Mamma appear'd more compos'd, and he with much Satisfaction whiſper'd me—*Cou'd you have thought a Girl of her Age had ſo much Knowledge?*—I made Anſwer with a Smile, which ſeem'd to give him great Pleaſure, and he was therefore reſolv'd to ſhew the *Genius* of the Boy.—*Well, Sir,* ſays he, *how have you diſpos'd of yourſelf ſince your Maſters left you in the Morning?—When I had dreſs'd myſelf,* (replies the Spark) *I took a Turn in the* Mall, *where I met young Maſter* Flutter, *who laſt Week was made a Captain in the Marines; and, Sir, he has made me promiſe to go to the Play with him to Night.*—And do you intend to go, ſays his Father? To which his Son, with ſome Warmth, anſwer'd—*Pray, Sir, when I have engag'd in a Party, how can I in Honour get off?* My Friend riſing up with ſome Emotion, alarm'd me a little; but his Speech much more, for in a high Tone, *Sir,* (cry'd he) *keep your Honour for ever ſacred, and when I know you loſe your Honour, you loſe your Father's Affections.—There's a Guinea for your Pocket.*—Then turning to me—*Such generous Principles and Knowledge of Mankind ought to be encourag'd, Mr.* Stonecaſtle.—When the Cloth was taken away, I had a mind to converſe a little with this knowing Youth, and unfortunately aſk'd him what School he went to?—*School, Sir!* ſays he, with ſome Indignation; wherefore I imagin'd he might, as he was ſo forward a Genius, have been lately taken from one, and made an Apology, in aſking him whether he had left *Weſtminſter*, or *Eton*, or *Winchester*, or—*Sir*, replies he, with an Air of Pride, *I was never at any of thoſe Schools—I was educated at home.*—But you intend for *Oxford* or *Cambridge?—No, Sir,* ſaid he, *I am to go to a foreign Univerſity, and ſo have the Benefit of Travelling and Univerſity Learning at the ſame Time.*—I was going to ſpeak to my Friend on this Subject, when he himſelf thus ſpoke to me.—*I ſee, Mr.* Stonecaſtle, *you are ſurpriz'd at this, but the People of Faſhion all come into this Way of Education; it ſhews young People the World, and brings them early to a juſt Knowledge of Mankind: I don't care if my Son has not ſo much* Greek *and* Latin, *I don't intend him for a Parſon.* Our Diſcourſe was now interrupted by two or three young Ladies of about Miſs's Age, who were come to pay her a Viſit. My young Spark took his Leave to meet his *Party* and go to the Play, and at his Departure my Friend ſaid to me, *Is not that Boy, Mr.* Stonecaſtle, *a perfect Man?*—The young Ladies and Mrs. *Airy* were now retir'd into another Room, and *Will* and I had half an Hour's Chit-Chat by ourſelves: I endeavour'd to ſhew him the Error of his educating his Children; but he ſmil'd at me with a genteel kind of Contempt. Juſt as I was going to take my Leave, *Miſs* came running in to make a Requeſt to her Papa—*Dear Papa*, ſays ſhe, *Miſs* Lucy Forward *goes next Monday to the Maſquerade, and you ſaid I ſhou'd go ſoon; pray, Papa, let me go now; and I know Mamma goes, becauſe ſhe beſpoke a Habit this Morning*—I muſt own that my Friend had Prudence enough to deny this Requeſt, but with a Promiſe ſhe ſhou'd certainly go *next Seaſon:* Miſs retir'd in the Dumps, and I took my Leave with Amazement at ſuch a faſhionable Education of Children. I cannot omit another Circumſtance before I conclude: I accidentally dropt into the Play-houſe that Evening, and ſaw my *young Maſter* in one of the Gallery Boxes, with two other young Sparks, and two noted *Courtezans* of the Town.

I need make no Reflections on this kind of Education, the Miſconduct muſt be evidently ſeen; I cou'd wiſh it was leſs practis'd, and that Parents, inſtead of learning their Children to *know* the *World*, wou'd teach them to know *themſelves*.

The ENAMOUR'D SCHOLAR.

Tam Veneri quam Mercurio.

TAKE, take my dry books, for I'll ſtudy no more,
Nor pain my dim eyes whilſt o'er letters I pore:
Tho' I read all the day, what's my ſtudy to me? [upon thee.
All my thoughts, dear miſs *T——n*, are fixt
O'er the meadows and fields when I'm walking alone,
No proſpects delight me, I long for the town.
I naufeate the country, and curſe the pure air,
And ſigh for the park, for miſs *T——n* is there.
When the nightingale ſings, with no pleaſure I hear,
Thy muſical voice alone charms my fond ear;
But when her loſt mate ſhe laments all alone,
Then, then I keep time, for miſs *T——n* I moan. [ſhould go,
Thro' beds of ſweet flowers, if by chance I
Where the lilies and roſes united do grow,
More charming, I cry, are the roſes that grace
The beautiful bluſh in miſs *T——n*'s fair face.
When the ſoft-breathing gale o'er the ſweet noſegay flies,
From the beautiful bed, charming odours ariſe;
Her breath ſends forth odours more charming than thoſe,
More beautiful colours her cheeks do diſcloſe.
Thus, whatever I hear, and whatever I ſee,
Will raiſe in my mind ſome idea of thee.
To ev'ry thing, nature ſome charm has conſign'd,
In thee, all her charms united, we find.

To a LADY, *who ſaid her Heart was* STEEL. *Spoke extempore.*

TO hard'ned ſteel your heart is like,
And mine my dear's a very flint;
But let 'em both together ſtrike,
I'll warrant there's ſome fire in't.

To the MEMORY *of Mr.* GRIFFIN.

LONG had the comic muſe with grief ſurvey'd
Her ſtage declining, and its fire decay'd:
Long had ſhe mourn'd her too precarious ſtate,
And view'd her darling ſons ſubmit to fate:
What anxious care her once gay breaſt inſpir'd,
When *Wilks* and *Cibber*, worn with age, retir'd!
When looking round the melancholy ſtage,
She ſaw her *Johnſon* half diſarm'd with age!
Yet 'mongſt the remnant of the ſcatter'd field,
With ſmiles of joy, thee, *Griffin*, ſhe beheld:
Thy mirthful preſence ever brought relief,
Thy loſs was wanting to compleat her grief:
Her laſt remaining hope was plac'd on thee,
And fix'd to thine ſhe ſaw her deſtiny.
But now—'tis paſt—each feels the kindred woe,
He dies:—and fate has ſtruck th'unerring blow.
The gay, the frolick, flatt'ring ſcene is o'er;
Griffin is loſt—and comedy's no more.
The *Britiſh* bards, renown'd for comic ſtrains,
With joy receive him on th' *Elyſian* plains;
Yet ſigh amidſt their pleaſures there, to find
The laurels wither'd which they left behind.
Fletcher's true nature charms no more the pit,
And mighty *Ben* is robb'd of half his wit:
Farquhar and *Eth'ridge* mourn their humour croſt,
And artful *Congreve*'s finiſh'd ſcenes are loſt.
Ah! where is now the archly drolling jeer!
The frown burleſque, and ſly ſuſpicious leer,
The grinning ſmile, the well-diſſembled rage,
The awkard love ill join'd to tott'ring age,
The counterfeited canting zeal and ſpite,
And the tame fondneſs of the *Plyant* knight?
Oh gentle ſhade! forgive, whilſt round thy hearſe,
Sadly I place my tributary verſe,
That thus thy perſonated acts I ſcan,
And praiſe the actor, but forget the man.
Though on the world's great ſtage to fewer known,
Yet there thy merits the ſpectators own:
And as the one you trod by all approv'd,
On this by all, who ſaw, you liv'd belov'd.
The ready wit, the fancy's ſprightly flow,
The friendly melting at another's woe;
The pleaſing converſe, words diſrob'd of art,
The chearful viſage, and the honeſt heart,
Were ſocial gifts allotted to thy ſhare,
Which all, that knew thee, lov'd; and all, who lov'd, declare;
And, as the cloſing ſcene of death appears,
Give you the laſt ſad plaudit of their tears.

DAVID's LAMENTATION *over* SAUL *and* JONATHAN, *paraphras'd.* 2 Sam. i. 17.

FArewel to honour, and the ſully'd name
Of pomp, while *Gilboa* ſounds *Judæan* ſhame.
Farewel, a long farewel to all that's great,
Heav'n's mimick'd thunder, and the courſer's ſtate.
Let ſofteſt ſtrains the baleful news declare,
And laſting ſilence huſh the murm'ring air;
Let the ſhrill ſongſters of the azure ſky
Suppreſs their warblings, and forget to fly!
Left, fir'd with hoſtile joy, the barb'rous foe,
In ſongs unhallow'd, triumph in our woe;
And thoſe deſcended from *Philiſtia*'s hoſt,
Joy'd at our fall, proclaim their vulgar boaſt.
Mountains of *Gilboa*, let no ſhow'rs deſcend
T'enrich your plains, or rip'ning harveſt bend;
To grace your with'ring fields, no more the toil
Of lab'ring ruſticks till th'unfruitful ſoil;
For there the mighty's ſhield was caſt away,
And *Saul* reſign'd the victory of the day:
As tho' the prophet's horn had ne'er diſplay'd
Its ſacred odours o'er his conſecrated head.

Till

Till now th'avenging ſword of *Saul* in vain
Had ne'er awoke, and left a hoſt unſlain
Upon the martial field, or e'er the bow [foe.
Of *Jonathan* return'd without a vanquiſh'd
Lovely and pleaſant to their lateſt breath
Were *Saul* and *Jonathan*, nor cruel death
There friendſhip could divide; for thouſands ſlain [plain.
Partook the gen'ral ſlaughter, and enrich'd the
Nor half ſo fierce young eaglets wing their way,
Or *Lybian* lions rend the panting prey.
Virgins of *Iſrael*'s land, in ſolemn ſtate
Lament your monarch's and your prince's fate;
'Twas he with richeſt ſcarlet you array'd,
And o'er your veſt the gems and gold diſplay'd.
Say, how your heroes felt the fatal war, [air:
When ſouls fled hov'ring thro' the murm'ring
There my lov'd *Jonathan* gave up his breath
On the high places, and reſign'd to death.
For thee, my *Jonathan*, my fancies rave,
Fain wou'd I ſnatch thee from th'untimely grave:
Fain wou'd I ſave thee from the arms of fate,
And fain revoke what time's explain'd too late.
Not ſo the tender nymph regards the ſwain,
Nor he with half the love requites her pain;
Not ſo the widow'd turtle mourns her love,
Seeking her partner thro' the winding grove.
Iſrael, unhappy ſight! view on thy plain
Thy monarch fallen, and thy herces ſlain.

C. B.

Cæca Jeſuitarum obedientia eſt illicita.
Dialogus inter Chriſtianum & Jeſuitam.

Chr. *NUminis anne inſtar nutus tibi præſulis? anne*
Quicquid is imperitet, tu facies? Jeſ. *Faciam.*
Chr. *Si reges ferro jubeat te cædere?* Jeſ. *Cædam.*
Chr. *Si dare divinâ toxica carne?* Jeſ. *Dabo.*
Chr. *Cur igitur ſanctum ſumis tibi nomen Iësu?*
Iſta putas Chriſto poſſe placere? Jeſ. *Puto.*
Nam mihi præfecti totum eſt in nomine numen:
Ille mihi Jeſus, eſt Deus ille mihi.

VERSES *occaſion'd by ſeeing the Hon. Mrs.* Conolly *paſs thro'* Cellbridge *in her Chair to the* POOR-HOUSE, *attended by Gentlemen and Ladies. Humbly inſcrib'd to Miſs* Burton.

HIGH in his barge with royal ſtate
When * *Edgar*, firſt of *Britons*, ſate,
And to the world his glory ſhow'd,
By ſev'n inferior monarchs row'd,
Th' ambitious king indulg'd his pride,
And thus to future monarchs cry'd:
" Let none with *Edgar*'s glory vie,
" Till ſerv'd with equal majeſty."
How had that pride been quite ſubdu'd,
In *Cellbridge* had he lately view'd,
Greater than him, and more refin'd,
And bleſt with ev'ry grace of mind,
A woman born with happier ſtate!
The nymphs and graces round her wait,
And crowding near, the men of honour
With eager joy attend upon her.
Where'er the ſlow proceſſion goes,
She to her friends and tenants ſhows
The hopes of her returning health,
Sure proſpect of their joy and wealth;
Whilſt ev'ry lip pours forth a pray'r,
Tho' numberleſs, yet all ſincere.
Thrice happy, as thou mov'ſt along
Thro' all the well affection'd throng!
When thine eye marks yon' ſacred † dome,
Th' induſtrious orphans deſtin'd home,
How does thy ſoul exulting view
A charity ſo great, ſo new!
Form'd beyond all that went before,
To feed and to employ the poor,
While in th' extenſive ſcheme we find
An emblem of the donor's mind.
Poets of old were prophets too,
And oh! may my preſage prove true;
May ſhe who ſtud'es well the art
Of teaching wealth to mend the heart,
A ſchool for long loſt learning found,
And bid the muſes haunt the ground.
Beneath her care may ſcience ſpread,
And wiſdom raiſe her lovely head,
And *Cellbridge* future ſchool ſend forth
The ſons of learning, zeal and worth.
Here may ſhe ſee young patriots form'd,
With knowledge fill'd, with virtue warm'd,
Their country's hope, to ſhare the weight,
Or ſave the ruins of the ſtate.
Others adorn'd with ſofter arts,
Shall ſing the praiſes of their hearts,
And in immortal verſe proclaim
Her worth, who rais'd them into fame.
Apollo here ſhall with his lyre,
The youth with emulation fire,
Till ſome vaſt genius ſhall appear,
His thoughts ſublime, his judgment clear,
To tell poſterity her fame,
As *Virgil* did *Auguſtus*' name.
Inſpir'd by her, the muſe ſhall ſpread
Freſh laurels round th' illuſtrious dead,
Who ſhow'd their honeſt wounds ‡ before,
Such as her ‖ ſire and brother bore,
When foremoſt in the glorious cauſe,
They fell for liberty and laws:
Or wake to life, each beauteous face
That bore the image of her race,
And bid a-freſh their roſes bloom,
Tho' loſt for ages in the tomb.

To

* *The twelfth* Britiſh *King.* † *The Charity-Houſe.* ‡ *The* Romans *thought all Wounds diſhoneſt and ſhameful, but thoſe received in the Fore-part of the Body.* ‖ *Sir* Albert Coningham *her Father, and Sir* Albert *her Brother, were both killed in Battle in Defence of their Country.*

To the AUTHOR *of the* LONDON MAGAZINE.

GOOD *Sir*, a ſcribling, green inditer,
Sends greeting, to you monthly writer,
And 'cauſe he's ſure, you cannot know him,
Has ventur'd to inſert a poem:
Tho' *Pegaſus*, your ſenſe diſcerning,
Will ſhudder, at your depth in learning,
Be ſhy, and a moſt pitious caſe in,
And ſtumbling trot, inſtead of pacing.
But oh, Sir! don't be cruel, neither,
You know, what ſad, inclement weather
We've had, for poets to compoſe in,
E'en *Aganippe* has been frozen;
The cruel froſt each work confuſes,
There was no viſiting the muſes;
We could not reach the tuneful laſſes,
For all was ſnow on mount *Parnaſſus*,
And *Pegaſus*, grown lean, and hollow,
For want of maſter's care, *Apollo*;
For he's ſo cold, that like us mortals,
He always kept within his portals,
And there, 'tis true, groom not to flatter,
The maſter's eye makes cattle fatter;
So the poor beaſt has not been able,
Till now, to creep from out his ſtable.
Theſe things, good Sir, I hope you'll ponder,
And well conſider'd, ceaſe your wonder,
To find it dull, inſipid folly,
An offspring of a ſenſeleſs *C—ly*.
My jangling muſe runs faſter, now, and faſter,
I'll therefore ſtop,—pray pardon poetaſter;
And as you like his ſonnets dreſſing,
Peruſe, and put it, pray, the preſs in.
This, Sir, is the petition fervent
Of your obſequious
Humble Servant,
EPHEBUS.

A Deſcription of the MORNING, *on the Arrival of the* SPRING.

NOW bright *Aurora*, with her genial light,
Diſſolves the ſable horror of the night,
And with the blaze of her returning ray,
Gladdens all nature, with the birth of day;
And now with joy, the weary traveller ſpies
The purple glory of the eaſtern ſkies,
Obſerves the tincture, which her ray diſtills,
Gilding the ſummit of the diſtant hills,
Views o'er the meadows, and the painted field,
Which now, a moſt delightful proſpect yield,
Where the ſweet lily, and the bluſhing roſe,
Put forth new odour, and new charms diſcloſe;
Encourag'd thus, his journey he purſues,
Nor mindful of the paſt, his toil renews.
With equal joy, the warblers of the groves
Hail her glad light, and each the ſong improves:
The tow'ring lark, expanded on her wings,
Warbles aloft, while the gay linnet ſings
On the green bough, or near the murm'ring flood,
Join'd with the ſongſters, of the ecchoing wood:
Each thrills his joy, melodious, thro' his throat,
Whilſt neighbouring valleys eccho back the note.
And now the hunters to the woods repair,
To chaſe with hound and horn, the tim'rous hare,
The jolly huntſman tunes his chearful horn,
And with his crys, each greets the bluſhing morn.
E'en ſo the cock, that meſſenger of day,
Perch'd on the dunghill's top, ſalutes her ray,
And with a voice, reſounding thro' the air,
Awakes the peaſant, to his daily care;
Who ſtrait appears with gay, and healthful mien,
And, fill'd his ſcrip, he whiſtles o'er the green,
Yokes to the lazy plough, his gentle ſteeds,
But joy of day the dread of toil exceeds.
So when the world in darkned chaos lay,
All nature gladden'd at the flaſh of day.

MOLLY MOGG *tranſvers'd. On a young* LADY *in* Eſſex.

SAYS gay *Damon*, I prithee diſcover,
From whence takes your ſorrow its riſe,
Why you whine, and you pine like a lover?
Alas! I have ſeen *Sally P——*

Tho', *Thyrſis*, your ſobbing I'll rally,
Without tracing *Drury* o'er twice,
You may get for a ſixpence, a *Sally*,
A *Sally*, much fairer than *P——*

The ſchool-boy's delight is a play-day,
The glotton's delight, is a ſlice;
The land-lord's delight, is the pay-day,
But, mine is my ſweet *Sally P——*

Will-a-wiſp ſets the trav'ller a gadding,
And leads him away in a trice;
But no light can ſet me a madding,
Like the eyes of my ſweet *Sally P——*

For money, in other mens pockets,
The gameſter will cheat on the dice;
But I value not di'monds, and lockets,
Like the ſight of my ſweet *Sally P——*

Who follow for pleaſure the harlot,
Are ſaid to be not very nice;
And I'm ſure, ne'er an am'rous *Charlot*
Can pleaſe, like my ſweet *Sally P——*

I feel, I'm in love to diſtraction,
And long for the fair paradiſe;
And nothing will give ſatisfaction,
But ſeeing my ſweet *Sally P——*

Wits laugh at the conjugal ſtation,
And prefer the pleaſures of vice;
But nothing can leſſen my paſſion,
And love, for my ſweet *Sally P——*

A letter when I am inditing,
Intending to be moſt conciſe;

Comes

Comes *Cupid*, and ſets me a writing
Whole ſheets of my ſweet *Sally P*——
Whenever the charmer is talking,
Her breath is a volly of ſpice;
You'd take her for *Venus*, when walking,
So fair is my ſweet *Sally P*——

If I would not give up the three Graces,
I wiſh I was frozen as ice,
And at court, all the drawing-room faces,
For a glance at my ſweet *Sally P*——

Thoſe ladies want nature and ſpirit,
Our love, and our praiſe, to entice;
Juno, *Venus*, and *Pallas*'s merit
Unite in my ſweet *Sally P*——
Were *Virgil* alive, with his *Phillis*,
To praiſe her, he'd find ſome device,
And his *Phillis*, and fair *Amarillis*,
He'd give, for my ſweet *Sally P*——

The following, compos'd by a Gentleman in France, *on Occaſion of the ill Treatment he met with from a* French *Count, (from whom before he had receiv'd unexpected Favours) for expreſſing himſelf freely in behalf of the Church of* England, *is inſerted from the* Univerſal Spectator, N° 587. *at the particular Deſire of a Correſpondent.*

Two EMMETS. *A* FABLE.

WHERE art or pow'r can prevail
On ev'ry round in nature's ſcale,
There tyrants iron ſceptres ſway,
The weak and ignorant obey:
Hard fate of ſublunary things!
From vileſt reptiles up to kings.
To man with higher pow'rs indu'd,
An ant may bear ſimilitude:
The following tale attend, you'll ſee
How apropos the ſimile.

To ſport himſelf, and kill an idle hour,
An emmet fam'd for learning, wealth and pow'r,
Would lay ſometimes his uſual ſtate aſide,
(Or rather dreſs in humbler guiſe his pride)
Seem equal with the meaneſt piſmire clown,
And prove the ruſtick's parts, and ſhew his own.
It chanc'd on one of cancer's fiery days,
When ſcarce oblique, ſol darts meridian rays,
Beneath a leaf of plantain's ample ſhade,
The mighty ſubject of my tale was laid:
A porter inſect lab'ring in the heat
He ſaw, and becken'd to his cool retreat.
Come, friend, ſaid he, refreſh yourſelf a while,
The live-long day's too many hours to toil:
The humble creature bleſt his ſtars to find
An ant, of rank ſuperior, ſo kind.
The don by various queries ſought to know,
Why this, why that, and t'other thing was ſo.
The ſlave's ſolutions pleas'd to many paſt;
But ah! one fatal query came at laſt:
" When you approach the ſacred grove,
" To pay acknowledgments to *Jove*;
" Say, wou'd it, think you, pleaſe him beſt,
" If north, if ſouth, if eaſt or weſt,
" Your praiſes were to him addreſs'd?"
He ſaid, for decency and order's ſake,
I always choſe the common way to take;
Confeſs his wond'rous goodneſs, wiſdom, pow'r,
And proſtrate towards the riſing ſun adore
Eternal *Jove*, the univerſal lord,
Alike thro' all the world to be ador'd:
Extenſive as his influence his care,
Regards alike his creatures every where:
To his inſpection all things naked be; [thee!
What's mode, or point, or place, O *Jove*, to
Thou wilt, if humble thoughts inſpire my mind,
My ſoul to practiſe all thy laws inclin'd,
As thou art wiſe, and juſt, and good, be kind.
He ſaid. The other red'ning high, confeſs'd
The flaming ardour kindling in his breaſt;
Which, burſting forth, the following words expreſs'd:
Does your conſummate wiſdom diſapprove
The rules and orders firſt receiv'd from *Jove*?
Convey'd, unerring, down from days of old,
Revolving ſuns, a thouſand, thouſand told.
Can reas'ning overthrow plain evidence?
Shall laws divine ſubmit to mortal ſenſe?
Nay, no reply, as you your ſafety prize,
Let ſilence cover your abſurdities:
Purſue the good old path our fathers trod;
Who dares diſpute his laws, blaſphemes his God. [know,
This once for all, farewel; but henceforth
Whene'er we meet, you'll ſurely meet a foe.
The ſlave oblig'd in ſilence to withdraw,
Too late the danger of his freedom ſaw;
And ſighing, heavens! is it thus, ſaid he,
'Twixt ants of high, and ants of low degree?
Can one aſſuming fellow-emmet's frown,
Confute another's notions? prove his own?
Does truth from wealth and power always riſe?
Infallible are all the great and wiſe?
Did *Jove* ordain my reas'ning powers ſow,
Becauſe he'd make my circumſtances ſo?
Does gaudy pomp beſpeak regard divine,
Beſtow'd but where ſuperior favours ſhine?
Concluſions falſe they draw, who judge by ſenſe
The wiſe, tho' ſecret ways of providence;
For ſome are curs'd in ſtate, ſome bleſs'd in indigence.
Where's then the odds, the mighty diff'rence tell,
By which the high, the humble ants excel?
Alike created, and preſerv'd by *Jove*;
Alike the objects of his care and love:
In cells alike our ſhapeleſs embrio's lay,
E'er power ſuffic'd to crawl and ſee the day:
The ſame our ſubſtance, and our form the ſame,
When firſt from dark obſcurity we came.
Alike, when cruſh'd beneath an heedleſs tread,
All ranks of ants lay undiſtinguiſh'd dead.

When

When awful *Jove*'s tremendous thunders roar,
And ſudden torrents from the heavens pour;
When common ruin ſweeps the delug'd plain,
In equal death behold the mingled ſlain.
Why did I tremble at the menace? why?
Since *Jove* beholds us with an equal eye:
Ten thouſand different forms of creed, we find,
Divide the judgments of the emmet kind;
Each think what they embrace the only true;
Tho' all may err, none think they ever do:
While my perceptions govern my aſſent,
Tho' I miſtake, I'm ſurely innocent.
Before th' impartial bar, when all appear,
Who's right, who's wrong, 'twill be determin'd there:
Till then forbear to cenſure things which lie
Within the ken of none but Deity:
Curb then your tow'ring vanity, and know
We equal were, and muſt be ſhortly ſo.
In vain you count your birth, your wit, your ſtore; [no more.
An emmet crowns your boaſt, and you can add

A HYMN.

HAIL ſacred love! before all time
Blaz'd forth thy beauteous flame,
Coæval from eternity
Thou art with God the ſame.

Call'd by the voice divine, earth ſhone
In its firſt luſtre bright;
Love fill'd with ſpecks of gold the ſkies,
And ſun with beaming light:

By love unbounded all this frame
Ten thouſand pleaſures yields;
Love glows in ev'ry ſtar, and paints
The rain-bow, and the fields.

Methinks I hear angelic ſounds
This glorious truth atteſt;
And, God is love, ſee writ in gold
On ev'ry ſeraph's breaſt:

In concord ſweet th' harmonious choirs
Exalt their heav'nly lays,
And, God is love, repeating round,
Diſſolve in ſongs of praiſe.

From beauty's face a flood of light
Tranſports each ardent breaſt,
And joys ineffable, unknown,
With rapture crown the bleſt.

Ad AMICUM.

AMICE, felix! cui metus abſtulit
Nunquam ſoporem; liber at omnibus
Curis petitur ter beata
Sorte, ſupervacuos timores
Diffiare ventis in mare barbarum
Tradens, ſolutus ſollicitudine
Pœnis tyrannorum feroces
Quæ ſtimulatque agitatque mentes,
Dies adurgens proſequitur diem,
Perguntque luces perpetua vice
Perire, nec flores nitentûm
Idem honor uſque manet colorum.
Sortem beatam lætus agè arripe,
Huc, huc Lyæi munera candidi
Afferre manda, dum benignas
Arbor amat ſociare frondes.
Ut multa pulchris ſub nemorum comis
Blandum volucris cantibus æthera
Permulcet, audis? quà per agros
Lympha fugit crepitante rivo.
Moroſa dum non ſollicitans modum
Jocis ſenectus dulcibus attulit,
Hic, hic, Dionæo ſub antro
Nunc Erato recreet jacentes.

J. DINSDALE.

On LOVE.

LOVE, thy ſoft conq'ring fires inflame
The learn'd, and ſpotleſs mind;
Thy gentle, all-attracting pow'r
Renews each failing kind.
Each ſympathetic ſpecies joins
In a cloſe, warm embrace;
But thy ſtrong ardours brighteſt burn
In man's ſuperior race.
What raptures ſeize the raviſh'd ſoul
When beauty charms the eyes,
And virtue warbling from the tongue
Exalts the ſweet ſurprize!
Wou'd reaſon then for freedom plead
From bleſt ecſtatic joy?
Or in *Belinda*'s heav'nly form
Fair virtue ever cloy?
Cold muſt the breaſt be, cold as ice,
That did repel love's flame;
But cou'd a ſtoic this effect,
He ne'er the praiſe wou'd claim.

An ODE. (See p. 141.)

Tam Veneri quam Marti.

CUPID too long engroſs'd my lyre
And gentle lays confeſs'd my fire;
Whilſt the ſoft muſe of love,
Warbling in tender-pleaſing ſtrains,
Has ſung my woes, and ſigh'd my pains,
Cold *Delia*'s heart to move.

But hence, be gone, fond love, away,
To wiſhing maids that mourn thy ſtay;
Or to the am'rous boys,
Who now begin to own thy pow'r,
And artful *Delia*'s charms t'adore,
And ſigh for unknown joys.

Hark, *Clio* ſweeps the warlike ſtrings,
In lofty ſwelling notes ſhe ſings,
She ſounds *to arms, to arms.*
Each ſwelling breaſt freſh fire ſhows,
Each warrior with freſh ardour glows,
Each heart freſh courage warms.

Each ſwells to humble haughty *Spain*,
Their injur'd honour to regain,
Their courage to diſplay;
No bold invader now they fear,
Nay, wiſh the raſh pretender here,
To drive with ſhame away.

Conteſted ſeas they ſoon ſhall mourn,
And injuries too long we've born.—
The *Britiſh* lions roar,
The wolves and meaner beaſts of prey,
Fly like the trembling hind away,
And dread ſuperior pow'r.

Haddock ſhall vindicate the ſea,
Again our injur'd merchants free,
Again ſecure our trade.
For ſee, at *George*'s dread command,
He quits for ſeas, the peaceful land,
The cowards fly, afraid.—

But ah! my muſe in vain eſſays
To ſing rough war in lofty lays,
In vain ſhe ſtrives to fly.
Unequal to the glorious freight,
She ſinks, too weak, beneath the weight,
Nor ſoaring ſeeks the ſky.

Bravely ambitious, breathing war,
Whilſt all their dreaded arms prepare,
And, *Mars*, thy fervor own;
If ought my tender boſom warms,
'Tis beauteous *Sephaliſſa*'s charms;
O love, I'm thine alone. *D. H.*

The Fatal REQUEST.

THUS I to beauteous *Delia* pray'd,
(Now quite deſpairing grown)
"Bleſs with a ſmile, thou charming maid,
"Or kill me with a frown."

She heard, and ſmiling thus reply'd,
"For once I'll grant your will."
Oh! had ſhe frown'd, I ne'er had dy'd;
Her ſmiles too ſurely kill. *D. H.*

On a WATCH.

COULD but our tempers move like this machine,
Not urg'd by paſſion, nor delay'd by ſpleen;
But true to nature's regulating pow'r,
By virtuous acts diſtinguiſh'd ev'ry hour;
Then health and joy would follow, as they ought,
The laws of motion and the laws of thought:
Sweet health, to paſs the preſent moments o'er,
And everlaſting joy, when time ſhall be no more.

Durham, March 7,
1739. *T. HALL.*

The DREAM.

AT night——of love ev'n diſpoſſeſt,
As ſleep my weary limbs oppreſt,
A ſudden dawn o'erſpread my ſoul,
'Twas day, methought, from pole to pole;
While 'fore my eyes delighting ſtood
Green-riſing hills, a ſloping wood.
Pleas'd with the ſcene, I march'd along,
And murmur'd o'er ſome fav'rite ſong;
When lo! what object ſhou'd I ſee,
But, beauteous * *Dorothea*, thee!
Young, blooming, wealthy, fair, and gay;
Read this, ye ſwains, and pine away.

E. W——n.

On FIDELIA *and* CONSTANS.

Felices ter & amplius,
Quos irrupta tenet copula, &c.
HOR.

WHERE'ER you may be, or on *Ida* you go,
Or where thy ſam'd fountains, *Bathonia*, flow,
Who ſeem for each other by nature deſign'd,
So eaſy, good-humour'd, obliging, and kind;
Oh pardon this rapture!—th' intent is ſincere,
And let me, where all things are pleaſant, appear.

The graſs joys below you, above you the ſky,
The feather'd folk, charm'd with your voices, draw nigh;
While Zephyrs, cool-breathing, return the ſoft ſound,
And health, peace, and plenty ſit ſmiling around.
Such ſcenes without envy what eye can ſurvey?
The moments on pinions of gold poſt away.
Such days of warm ſun-ſhine our parents poſſeſs'd
In *Eden*'s green gardens, before they tranſgreſs'd.

SYLVIUS.

From COMMON SENSE.

A FABLE.

A Doctor, whoſe wiſdom lay under his breeches,
Applies to his patients a pair of horſe-leeches.
The creatures, by nature as keen as a *Turk*,
As ſoon as clapt on, fell fouly to work.
They ſuck'd till their mouths from their bellies ran o'er;
And yet, like ſtanch leeches, they coveted more.
The doctor, aghaſt, (for he thought they'd enuff)
Bawl'd out in a rage, will you never drop off?
Oh, oh! quoth a leech, give the devil his due;
We have ſuck'd for ourſelves, w' are now ſucking for you.
The doctor quite melting, like ſnow in the ſun,
Soon alter'd his tone, and bad 'em ſuck on.

MORAL.

Their agents the leeches; you'll eaſily ſcan,
The ſailors were patients (Lord help every man)
But who was the doctor, dec'are if you can.
Pow'r, every man's wiſh, riſes mainly from riches:
Then what matters wiſdom from brain, or from breeches?

THE

* *Miſs* T——s.

Monthly Chronologer.

AT a General Meeting of the Governors and Guardians of the Hoſpital for expos'd and deſerted young Children, on *Feb.* 28. the following were elected new Governors and Guardians, *viz.* Earl of *Rockingham*, Lord *Moynard*, Sir *Jacob Bouverie*, Bart. Sir *Tho. Drury*, Bart. Sir *Wm. Heathcote*, Bart. Sir *Wm. Jolliffe*, Knt. Sir *Tho. Lowther*, Bart. Sir *Harry Lyddall*, Bart. *John Barber*, Eſq; Ald. *John Blatchford*, *Barth. Clarke*, *Charles Eyres*, *Nich. Fazakerly*, Eſqrs. Mr. *John Fell* the Younger, *Rowland Fry*, Eſq; *Cha. Gore*, Eſq; *George Heathcote*, Eſq; Ald. Mr. *Ralph Knox*, *Wm. Nicholas*, *Sam. Sandys*, *Joſhua Smith*, *Jo. Townſend*, *Sigiſmond Trafford*, *Hitch Young*, Eſqrs.

SATURDAY, *March* 1.

The Seſſions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when the following Perſons received Sentence of Death, *viz.* *Elizabeth Hales*, *Eliz. Jarvis*, and *Frances Humphreys*, for robbing *Cha. Dickenſon*.—*John Sawney*, for a Street-Robbery.—*Elizabeth Whitney*, alias *Dibray*, and *Mary Naſh*, alias *Goulding*, for robbing *Geo. Stacey* of 34*l.* 13*s.*—*Samuel Hill*, for Burglary and Felony.—Twenty-two were ordered for Tranſportation, two burnt in the Hand, and two ordered to be whipp'd.

THURSDAY, 6.

His Majeſty ſent a Meſſage to the Houſe of Lords, and alſo another to the Commons, to acquaint them with the intended Marriage of the Princeſs *Mary*, his Majeſty's fourth Daughter, to Prince *Frederick* of *Heſſe*, Son of Prince *William*, Landgrave of *Heſſe*, Brother to the King of *Sweden*.

FRIDAY, 7.

Upwards of 100 Sail of Colliers arrived in the River, laden with Coals, which immediately fell the Price of that Commodity to 27*s.* in the Pool, and 32*s.* deliver'd; whereas during the greateſt Part of the Froſt, they had been above double the Price.

MONDAY, 10.

This Morning about Eight, a private Sentinel of the *Coldſtream* Regiment of Foot-Guards, who was lately ſentenced to be ſhot for Deſertion, was conveyed in a Hackney Coach (attended by a Major and a Divine) from the *Savoy* to the Parade in St. *James*'s Park, where he was receiv'd by a Detachment of 300 Men from the three Regiments, and conducted thence to *Hyde-Park*, (alſo in a Coach, being ſo weak that he could not walk,) where he was ſhot by three Files of Muſqueteers; after which his dead Body, with the Wounds, were expos'd to the Detachment, which marched by in Sight of it.

THURSDAY, 13.

This Evening Captain *Rentone* arrived here Expreſs, with Letters from Vice-Admiral *Vernon*, dated on board his Majeſty's Ship the *Burford* in *Porto Bello* Harbour, the 12th of *Dec.* laſt, to his Grace the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, his Majeſty's Principal Secretary of State; which give the following Account.

On the 5th of *Nov.* laſt, Vice-Admiral *Vernon* ſailed from *Jamaica*, with his Majeſty's Ships the *Burford*, *Hampton-Court*, *Princeſs Louiſa*, *Worceſter*, *Strafford*, *Norwich*, and *Sheerneſs*, the laſt of which he ordered to cruize off *Carthagena*. On the 20th in the Evening he came in Sight of *Porto Bello*, having been delayed in his Paſſage by contrary Winds. There being but little Wind that Evening, tho' a very great Swell, he anchored for that Night ſix Leagues off the Shore, being apprehenſive of driving to the Eaſtward of the Harbour.

On the 21ſt in the Morning, the Admiral ply'd to Windward in Line of Battle, having given the proper Orders for the Attack; but the Wind proving Eaſterly, he was obliged to confine his Attack to the *Iron-Fort* only; cloſe to which the Squadron was piloted by Captain *Rentone*.

Commodore *Brown*, in the *Hampton-Court*, who led the Attack, executed his Part as became an Officer of Experience and Reſolution; and being well followed by Capt. *Herbert* in the *Norwich*, and Capt. *Mayne* in the *Worceſter*, the Admiral perceived that ſome of the *Spaniards* fled from ſeveral Parts of the Fort; upon which he made the Signal for the Boats in which the Soldiers were, to make the beſt of their way in order to their Landing, whilſt he was coming up to the Fort to batter it. The Admiral luffing up as near to the Fort as he could, the Fire of his ſmall Arms commanded the Enemies lower Batteries, and had a good Effect in driving them from thoſe Batteries, from which they could do moſt Harm; and by this Means the Men were alſo ſecured at Landing: And this (as the Enemy afterwards confeſs'd) was the principal Occaſion of their deſerting the lower Batteries, the Small-ſhot from the former Ships not having reach'd them, tho' their Cannon had beat down ſome of the upper Part of the Fort. As the Boats came near the Admiral's Ship, he call'd to them to go directly on Shore under the Walls

of the Fort, tho' there was no Breach made; but this answered as was expected, by throwing the Enemy into a general Consternation, the Officers and Men who had stood to the lower Battery, flying to the upper Part of the Fort, where they held up a White Signal for Capitulating. The Admiral answered with a White Flag, but it was some Time before he could stop his own Men, and those on board the *Strafford*, Capt. *Trevor*, which followed him, from Firing.

In the mean time the Seamen had climb'd up the Walls of the lower Battery and struck the Colours, and then drew the Soldiers up after them, to whom the *Spaniards*, who had retired to the upper Part of the Fort, soon after surrendred at Discretion. Their Number was only 5 Officers and 35 Men, out of above 300, the rest being either killed or wounded, or having made their Escape.

The Ships that went in before the Admiral, were fallen to Leeward, so as to be out of Sight of the *Gloria Castle*; but the Admiral's Ship lying open to the said Castle, they kept firing one of their longest Guns at him till Night; but not being within Point-blank, their Shot either fell short, or went over him; only one Shot went thro' the Head of his Foretop-mast, just above the Rigging, so that it did no Harm.

The Admiral finding they continued their Firing, tried some of his lower Tier at them; which being new Guns, answered beyond Expectation, carrying over the *Gloria Castle* into the Town; none of the Shot falling short, and one of them going thro' the Governor's House, and some thro' other Houses in the Town.

This successful Beginning was attended with a very inconsiderable Loss, there being only 3 Men killed and 5 wounded on board the Admiral's Ship; the like Number were killed and wounded on board the *Worcester*, and one Man had both his Legs shot off on board the *Hampton-Court*. The other Ships had none killed or wounded, and only two Soldiers were shot going ashore, one of which died soon after of his Wounds.

The next Morning, being the 22d, the Admiral went on board Commodore *Brown*, to call the Captains to consult together, and give out the necessary Orders for warping the Ships up the next Night, in order to attack the *Gloria Castle* the Night following, as it would not have been practicable to attempt it in the Day-time. But in this he was prevented, by the Enemy's putting up a White Flag at the *Gloria Castle*, and sending a Boat with a Flag of Truce to the Admiral, with the Governor's Adjutant, and a Lieutenant of a Man of War, who brought the Conditions signed on which they desir'd to capitulate. In Answer to which, the Admiral immediately drew up the Terms on which he would admit them to Capitulation, and dispatched them back again, allowing them only a few Hours to take their Resolution; and within the Time limited they accepted the Conditions offered them. And before Night, on Thursday the said 22d of *Nov.* the Admiral sent Captain *Newton*, who commanded the Detachment of Soldiers from *Jamaica*, with about 120 of the said Soldiers, who took Possession of *Gloria Castle* and *St. Jeronimo Fort*, being the remaining Fortresses that guarded the Harbour of *Porto Bello*, the *Gloria Castle* lying just below the Town, and *St. Jeronimo Fort* just above it.

Articles of Capitulation granted by Edward Vernon, *Esq; Vice-Admiral of the* Blue, *and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Ships and Vessels in the* West-Indies, *and Commodore* Brown; *to Don* Francisco Martines de Retez, *Governor of* Porto Bello, *and Don* Francisco de Abaroa, *Commandant of the* Guarda Costas *at the same Place, the* 22d *of* November 1739. *O. S.*

Artic. I. That the Garison be allowed to march out, as desired, upon Condition the King of *Great Britain*'s Troops be put into Possession of *Gloria Castle*, before Four of the Clock this Evening, and the Garison to march out by Ten of the Clock To-morrow Morning.

That the Inhabitants may either remove, or remain, under a Promise of Security for themselves and their Effects.

II. That the *Spanish* Soldiers may have a Guard, if they think it necessary.

III. They may carry off two Cannons mounted, with ten Charges of Powder for each, and their Match lighted.

IV. The Gates of the *Gloria Castle* must absolutely be in Possession of the King our Master's Troops, by Four of the Clock, and the *Spanish* Garison shall remain in all Safety for their Persons and Effects, till the appointed Time for their marching out, and to carry with them the Provisions and Ammunition necessary for their Safety.

V. That the Ships, with their Apparel and Arms, be absolutely delivered up to the Use of his *Britannick* Majesty; but that all the Officers, both Soldiers and Crew, shall have three Days allowed them to retire with all their Personal Effects; only one Officer being admitted on Board each Ship and Vessel, to take Possession for the King our Master, and see this Article strictly comply'd with.

VI. That provided the Articles abovementioned are strictly complied with, and that Possession be given of *Castle St. Jeronimo*, in the same Manner as is stipulated for the *Castle Gloria*, then the Clergy, the Churches and Town, shall be protected and preserved in all their Immunities and Properties.

And that all Prisoners already taken shall be

be ſet at Liberty before our leaving the Port.

Given under our Hands, on Board his Majeſty's Ship Burford, *in* Porto Bello *Harbour, this 22d Day of* November, 1739. *O. S.*

E. VERNON.
CHA. BROWN.

There were in the Harbour two *Spaniſh* Men of War, of 20 Guns each, and a Snow; the Crews of which ſeeing the regular and bold Attack which was made on the *Iron Fort*, and deſpairing of being able to defend themſelves, fell to plundering the Town in the Night of the 21ſt, and committed great Outrages on the Inhabitants.

The Admiral took on Board his Ships from the ſeveral Fortreſſes 40 Pieces of Braſs Cannon, 10 Braſs Field-Pieces, 4 Braſs Mortars, and 18 Braſs Pattereroes; and rendered unſerviceable above 80 Iron Cannon, by knocking off the Trunnions, and ſpiking them up: He alſo took on board all their Shot and Ammunition, except 122 Barrels of Powder, which he expended in ſpringing Mines, by which all the Fortifications of the Forts were blown up, and entirely demoliſhed, and the Harbour left open and defenceleſs.

Ten thouſand Dollars, that were arrived and deſigned for paying the King of *Spain*'s Troops at *Porto Bello*, falling into the Admiral's Hands, he diſtributed them among his Majeſty's Forces for their Encouragement.

The Admiral was join'd at *Porto Bello* on the 27th of *Nov.* by his Majeſty's Ship the *Diamond*, Capt. *Knowles*; and on the 29th by the *Windſor*, Capt. *Berkeley*; and the *Angleſea*, Capt. *Reddiſh*; he having left Orders at the *Leeward Iſlands* for the ſaid Ships to follow him.

The principal Engineer in the Mining Work, was Capt. *Knowles* of the *Diamond*, aſſiſted by Capt. *Boſcawen*, (who deſired he might ſerve in this Expedition as a Volunteer, his Ship the *Shorebam* not being fit for the Sea) and by Mr. *Barnes*, Purſer of the *Worceſter*, who having been an Officer in the Army, was very uſeful on this Occaſion. Commodore *Brown* had the chief Direction of what was neceſſary to be done at *Gloria Caſtle* and *St. Jeronimo Fort*; and Capt. *Watſon*, Capt. of the Admiral's Ship, took care of the Execution of all that was to be done at the *Iron Fort*, which was built on a Rock; the Walls of the lower Battery, which conſiſted of 22 Guns, were nine Foot thick, and of a hard Stone, cemented with ſuch a fine Mortar, that it was a long Work to make any Impreſſion in it to come to Mine at all.

The lower Battery at *Gloria Caſtle* conſiſted of two regular Baſtions, and a Curtain between them, mounted with 22 Guns, beſides a Line of 8 Guns that pointed to the Mouth of the Harbour; and all the other Guns they had on the *Mooriſh* Parts of both Caſtles, beſides their Battery on *St. Jeronimo*, render'd the Entrance of the Harbour very difficult and dangerous.

In Conſideration of the Services performed by Capt. *Rentone* (who acted as a Pilot in this Expedition) the Admiral thought fit to appoint him Commander of the *Spaniſh* Snow taken in the Harbour of *Porto Bello*; and to ſend his Diſpatches by him to *England* in the ſaid Snow; and the two 20 Gun Ships, which were *Spaniſh Guarda Coſtas*, were by the Admiral's Order fitted up, and taken along with him.

On the 6th of *Dec.* the Admiral was joined at *Porto Bello* by his Majeſty's Ship the *Sheerneſs*, Capt. *Stapleton*, which he had ſent to cruize off *Carthagena*, and which had taken two Veſſels, with Supplies of Ammunition, Stores and Proviſions, that were going to *Carthagena*. On the 7th in the Evening Capt. *Stapleton* having taken in Water, was ſent by the Admiral to cruize on his former Station.

During the Admiral's Stay at *Porto Bello*, he ſent a Letter to the Preſident of *Panama*, demanding the Releaſement of the Factors and Servants of the *South-Sea* Company, who were confined at that Place; in conſequence of which, the Preſident of *Panama* ſent an Officer with Mr. *Humphreys* and Dr. *Wright*, Factors, and alſo with the Servants of the *South-Sea* Company, who were delivered to the Admiral at *Porto Bello*.

The Governor and Inhabitants of *Porto Bello* expreſſed the greateſt Senſe of the Humanity and Generoſity, with which they were treated by the Admiral, and his Majeſty's Squadron under his Command.

On the 13th of *Dec.* Vice-Admiral *Vernon*, with his Squadron, ſailed from *Porto Bello* for *Jamaica*; and being off *Carthagena*, on the 28th of *Dec.* ſent away Capt. *Rentone* in the *Spaniſh* Snow for *England*.

After this remarkable News, a ſhort Account of the Place may be agreeable to ſome of our Readers, by which they will ſee of what Importance it was to the *Spaniards*.

Porto Bello is on the North Side of the famous *Iſthmus* of *America*, commonly call'd the *Iſthmus* of *Darien*, which running in a manner from Eaſt to Weſt, between the *North* and *South Seas*, joins the two vaſt Continents of *North* and *South America*. It is about 18 Leagues from *Panama*, which lies on the South Side of the ſaid *Iſthmus*. *Porto Bello* is a very fair, large and commodious Harbour, affording good Anchoring, and good Shelter for Ships, having a narrow Mouth, and ſpreading wider within. How it was fortify'd and defended, may ſufficiently appear from the brave Exploits of Admiral *Vernon*, before related. At the Bottom of the Harbour lies the Town, bending along the Shore like a Half-moon. It is long and narrow, having two principal Streets, beſides thoſe that go acroſs; with a ſmall Parade about the Middle of it, ſurrounded with pretty fair Houſes.

Houſes. The Town lies open to the Country, and at the Eaſt End of it, where the Road to *Panama* goes out (becauſe of Hills that lie to the Southward of the Town, and obſtruct the direct Paſſage) there lies a long Stable running North and South from the Town to which it joins. This is the King's Stable for the Mules, that are employ'd in the Road betwixt this and *Panama*. *Porto Bello* is an unhealthy Place (tho' not ſo bad as *Nombre de Dios*, where the Buſineſs now tranſacted at *Porto Bello*, was formerly carried on.) The Eaſt-Side is low and ſwampy, and the Sea at low Water leaves the Shore within the Harbour bare, a great Way from the Houſes; which having a black filthy Mud, it ſtinks very much, and breeds noiſom Vapours, thro' the Heat of the Climate, it lying in the 10*th* Degree of North Latitude. For this Reaſon it is but thinly peopled, tho' in the Time of the Trade there were more People, then are to be ſeen in any Place in all *South America* at one Time. For, what this Place was particularly fam'd for, is the *Spaniſh* Galloons coming thither Yearly from *Old Spain*. When they are near the Coaſt, Notice is given by an Advice-Boat, to the Place they are before, that the Fleet is coming: Immediately Poſts are ſent to *Carthagena*, *Panama*, *Lima* in *Peru*, &c. to give Notice, and to haſten the King's Treaſure. After which it was wonderful to ſee, in how ſhort a Time, and with what Quantities of Money and Goods, the Merchants flock'd from all Parts to *Porto Bello*. Immediately there was not a Lodging or a Warehouſe to be had for Money; and a Garret able to hold but a Bed and ſome Cheſts of Money, would coſt 50 Crowns Rent, but for 20 Days Uſe of it. The *Indian* Merchants (of whom there are many, and ſome very wealthy,) ſet up Tents and Hammocks, and encamp'd without the Town. Great Numbers of Periaguas and Canoos, and alſo Sloops and Barks, us'd to come down the *Rio Chagre*, and bring their Goods that Way by Water, which is but a little from *Porto Bello* to the Weſt. But the Plate, or Gold and Silver, us'd to be carried all the Way by Land upon Mules (ſome ſay 2000) from *Panama* to *Porto Bello*. When the Galloons unladed, the Fair began; and 'twas a ſurprizing Sight to ſee, that in leſs then 20 Days the Trade would riſe to ſuch a Height, that the Galloons would take 20 or 25 Millions of Pieces of Eight on Board, beſides the Quantity of Cochineal, Indico, &c. loaded afterwards; and all diſpatch'd with the greateſt Order and Eaſe imaginable, the Conſignments all regular, the Money duly regiſter'd, with the Marks and Numbers diſtinct, and all ſettled: And in a Month more, the Ships ſet Sail, and the Place began to look empty again, as it was before. The Method was, for the Galloons to return to *Carthagena*, and from thence to ſail to the *Havana* in the Iſland of *Cuba*, to meet the Flota from *Vera Crux*, in order to proceed together thro' the Gulf of *Florida* for *Old Spain*. This is not the firſt Time that *Porto Bello* was taken by the *Engliſh*; for Sir *Francis Drake* took it in the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*, and Sir *Henry Morgan* in 1668.

We are aſſured, that among thoſe who ſurrender'd at *Porto Bello* to Admiral *Vernon*, there was the very Man who ſome Years ago cut off Capt. *Jenkins*'s Ear, and otherwiſe inhumanly us'd him; he was known by ſome of the Admiral's Men, who acquainting him with it, he order'd him to be brought into his Preſence, and there in a proper manner upbraided him for his Cruelty; then told him, that as he had given his Honour, that the Perſons of all thoſe who ſurrender'd ſhould be ſafe, he was ſecure for that Time; but that if ever met with again by him, he muſt expect that Treatment he juſtly deſerv'd; and concluded with ſaying, that a generous Enemy ſhould always meet with generous Treatment from him; but ſuch a Barbarity as his could not be forgiven.

We are alſo inform'd, that by the blowing up the Forts at the Harbour of *Porto Bello*, 'twill be in the Power of *Great Britain*, by ſending only a 20 Gun Ship once in 2 Months from *Jamaica*, eaſily to prevent the *Spaniards* from fortifying or rendering the Harbour of any Service to them for the future.

FRIDAY, 14.

The *Worceſter* Mail was robb'd this Morning near *Tyburn* Turnpike, by 2 Foot Pads.

MONDAY, 17.

Mrs. *Stephens* receiv'd the 5000*l.* Reward, aſſign'd to her by an Act of Parliament, on the Diſcovery of her Medicines for the Stone, and Proofs made of their Utility, Efficacy, and Diſſolving Power. An Account of four Perſons cured of a Stone in the Bladder, was publiſh'd by the Truſtees, and the Certificate requir'd by the Act was ſign'd by all of them preſent, except Dr. *Pellet* and Dr. *Neſbit*, who having ſome Doubts, with reſpect to the Words *Diſſolving Power*, choſe to give ſeparate Certificates. (See the Diſcovery of the Medicines, Vol. VIII. p. 297, and the Names of the Truſtees, Ibid. p. 308.)

TUESDAY, 18.

The following Addreſs was preſented to his Majeſty by both Houſes of Parliament.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

We your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament aſſembled, do congratulate your Majeſty on the glorious Succeſs of your Majeſty's Arms in the *Weſt-Indies*, under the Command of Vice Admiral *Vernon*, by entering the Port, and taking the Town of *Porto Bello*, and demoliſhing and levelling

levelling all the Forts and Caſtles belonging thereto, with ſix Ships of War only *.

This Enterprize, ſo wiſely concerted, and ſo bravely conducted, cannot fail of giving the utmoſt Joy to all your Majeſty's faithful Subjects, ſince it affords the moſt reaſonable Hopes and Expectations, that, by the Bleſſing of God upon your Majeſty's Councils and Arms, it may be attended with other important Advantages, and highly contribute to the obtaining real and effectual Security, of thoſe juſt Rights of Navigation and Commerce belonging to your Majeſty's Subjects, for the Preſervation of which, your Majeſty entered into this neceſſary War.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Anſwer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I thank you for your dutiful Congratulations on this Succeſs, which is ſo much for the Honour and Intereſt of my Crown and Kingdoms. The Satisfaction you expreſs in the Meaſures I have taken, is very agreeable to me.

WEDNESDAY, 19.

His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to the following Bills, *viz.* An Act for providing a Marriage Portion for the Princeſs *Mary*, viz. 40,000*l.* An Act for the more effectual ſecuring and encouraging the Trade of his Majeſty's *Britiſh* Subjects to *America*, and for the Encouragement of Seamen to enter into his Majeſty's Service. An Act for naturalizing ſuch foreign Proteſtants, and others therein mentioned, as are ſettled, or ſhall ſettle in any of his Majeſty's Colonies in *America*. An Act for puniſhing Mutiny and Deſertion, and for the better Payment of the Army and their Quarters. An Act to explain and amend an Act made in the firſt Year of the Reign of Q. *Anne*, intituled, An Act for the more effectual preventing the Abuſes and Frauds of Perſons employed in the Working up the Woollen, Linen, Fuſtian, Cotton, and Iron Manufactures of this Kingdom, and for extending the ſaid Act to the Manufactures of Leather. An Act to indemnify Perſons who have omitted to qualify themſelves for Offices and Employments within the Time limited by Law, and for allowing further Time for that Purpoſe. To two Road Bills, the River *Dun* Navigation Bill, and to ſeveral private Bills.

TUESDAY, 25.

A Court of Common-Council was held at *Guild-hall*, when, after about ſix Hours Debate, an Addreſs was agreed to, and drawn up, to congratulate his Majeſty upon the glorious Succeſs of Admiral *Vernon*, in taking *Porto Bello*, demoliſhing the Forts, Caſtles, *&c.* with ſix Men of War only; and the Admiral was voted the Freedom of the City, and to be deliver'd to him in a Gold Box.

At the Aſſizes at *Hertford* one Man receiv'd Sentence of Death for Houſe-breaking: At *Reading*, one for Horſe-ſtealing: At *Bedford* 6 were condemn'd, *viz.* 2 for the Highway, 2 for Horſe-ſtealing, one for Houſe-breaking, and one Woman for ſtealing a Silver Tankard: At *Wincheſter* 8, *viz.* 2 for the Highway, 3 for Horſe-ſtealing, one for Burglary and ſtealing a Mare, one for ravilhing and robbing a Woman, and one Woman for firing a Barn: At *Chelmsford* 12, *viz.* 3 for the Highway, 4 for Horſe-ſtealing, 3 for Houſe-breaking, one for ſtealing Money out of a Houſe, and one for Murder: At *Ayleſbury* 2 were found guilty of Murder: At *Oxford* it was a Maiden Aſſize, *i. e.* none were capitally convicted: At *Dorcheſter* one Man was condemn'd for ſtealing 20*l.* out of a Dwelling-houſe: At *Rocheſter* 6, *viz.* 2 for robbing a Man of 3 Farthings on the Highway, 2 Men and 2 Boys for Horſe-ſtealing: At *York* 3, *viz.* one for Houſe-breaking, one for ſtealing a Mare, and a Woman for murdering her own Child of a Year and a Quarter old, which ſhe confeſs'd to have ſtrangled with her own Hands.

WEDNESDAY, 26.

At the ſtated quarterly General Meeting of the Governors and Guardians of the Hoſpital for expos'd and deſerted Children, the following Gentlemen were elected Governors, *viz.* Sir *Joſeph Ayloffe*, Sir *John Chapman*, Sir *William Leman*, Sir *Tho. Robinſon*, Barts. *William Adair*, *Joſhua Baker*, *Henry Bromley*, *Peter Godfrey*, *William Green*, *David Hechſtetter*, *Henry Johnſon*, *Leeſon Long*, *Samuel Shepherd*, Eſqrs. Mr. *Joſeph Smith*, *Daniel Wray*, Eſq; Mr. *Frederick Zink*.

THURSDAY, 27.

The Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Common-Council waited upon his Majeſty with their Addreſs upon the Taking of *Porto Bello*; which our Readers ſhall have in our next.

An Account of the Negro Inſurrection *in* South-Carolina.

Sometime ſince there was a Proclamation publiſhed at *Auguſtine*, in which the King of *Spain* (then at Peace with *Great Britain*) promiſed Protection and Freedom to all Negro Slaves, who would reſort thither. Certain Negroes belonging to Capt. *Davis* eſcaped to *Auguſtine*, and were received there; they were demanded by Gen. *Ogletborpe*, who ſent Lieut. *Demere* to *Auguſtine*, and the Governor aſſured the Gen. of his ſincere Friendſhip; but at the ſame time, ſhewed his Orders from *Spain*, by which he was to receive all Run-away Negroes. Of this other Negroes having Notice, as it is believed, from the *Spaniſh* Emiſſaries, four or five, who were Cattle Hunters, and knew the Woods, ſome of whom belonged to Capt.

* *Admiral* Vernon, *laſt Parliament, told the Houſe, when a Difficulty was made of taking* Porto Bello *with a ſmall Force, That he would engage to take it with* ſix Men of War only; *and he has been as good as his Word.*

Capt. *Mackpherſon*, run away with his Horſes, wounded his Son, and killed another Man. Theſe marched for *Georgia*, and were purſued; but the Rangers being then newly reduced, the Country People could not overtake them, tho' they were diſcover'd by the *Saltzburghers*, as they paſſed by *Ebenezer*. They reached *Auguſtine*, one only being killed, and another wounded by the *Indians* in their Flight. They were received there with great Honours; one of them had a Commiſſion given to him, and a Coat faced with Velvet. Amongſt the Negro Slaves, there are a People brought from the Kingdom of *Angola* in *Africa*; many of theſe ſpeak *Portugueze* (which Language is as near *Spaniſh* as *Scotch* is to *Engliſh*) by reaſon that the *Portugueze* have conſiderable Settlements, and the Jeſuits have a Miſſion and School in that Kingdom, and many thouſands of the Negroes there profeſs the *Roman* Catholick Religion. Several *Spaniards*, upon diverſe Pretences, have for ſome time paſt been ſtrolling about *Carolina*; two of them, who will give no Account of themſelves, have been taken up and committed to Goal in *Georgia*. The good Reception of the Negroes at *Auguſtine* being ſpread about, ſeveral attempted to eſcape to the *Spaniards*, and were taken, one of whom was hanged at *Charles-Town*. In the latter End of *July* laſt Don *Pedro*, Col. of the *Spaniſh* Horſe, went in a Launch to *Charles-Town*, under Pretence of a Meſſage to Gen. *Ogletborpe*, and the Lieut. Governor.

On the 9th of *Sept.* laſt, being Sunday, which is the Day the Planters allow them to Work for themſelves, ſome *Angola* Negroes aſſembled, to the Number of 20; and one, who was called *Jemmy*, was their Captain: They ſurprized a Warehouſe belonging to Mr. *Hutchenſon*, at a Place called *Stonebow*; they there killed Mr. *Robert Bathurſt* and Mr. *Gibbs*, plunder'd the Houſe, and took a pretty many ſmall Arms and Powder, which were there for Sale. Next they plundered and burnt Mr. *Godfrey*'s Houſe, and killed him, his Daughter, and Son. They then turned back, and marched Southward along *Pons-Pons*, which is the Road thro' *Georgia* to *Auguſtine*; they paſſed Mr. *Wallace*'s Tavern about Day-break, and ſaid, they would not hurt him, for he was a good Man and kind to his Slaves; but they broke open and plundered Mr. *Lemy*'s Houſe, and killed him, his Wife and Child. They march'd on towards Mr. *Roſe*'s, reſolving to kill him; but he was ſaved by a Negro, who, having hid him, went out and pacified the others. Several Negroes joined them; they calling out Liberty, marched on with Colours diſplayed, and two Drums beating, purſuing all the white People they met with, and killing Man, Woman, and Child, when they could come up to them. Col. *Bull*, Lieut. Gov. of *South-Carolina*, who was then riding along the Road, diſcovered them, was purſued, and with much Difficulty eſcaped, and raiſed the Country. They burnt Col. *Hext*'s Houſe, and killed his Overſeer and his Wife. They then burnt Mr. *Spry*e's Houſe, then Mr. *Sacheverell*'s, and then Mr. *Naſh*'s Houſe, all lying upon the *Pons-Pons* Road, and killed all the white People they found in them. Mr. *Bullock* got off, but they burnt his Houſe. By this Time many of them were drunk with the Rum they had taken in the Houſes. They increaſed every Minute by new Negroes coming to them; ſo that they were above 60, ſome ſay, 100; on which they halted in a Field, and ſat to dancing, ſinging, and beating Drums, to draw more Negroes to them, thinking they were now victorious over the whole Province, having marched ten Miles, and burnt all before them without Oppoſition: But, the Militia being raiſed, the Planters with great Briſkneſs purſued them; and when they came up, diſmounting, charged them on Foot. The Negroes were ſoon routed, tho' they behaved boldly; ſeveral being killed on the Spot. Many ran back to their Plantations, thinking they had not been miſſed; but they were there taken and ſhot; ſuch as were taken in the Field alſo, were, after being examined, ſhot on the Spot; and this is to be ſaid to the Honour of the *Carolina* Planters, that, notwithſtanding the Provocation they had received from ſo many Murders, they did not torture one Negroe, but only put them to an eaſy Death. All, who proved to be forced, and were not concerned in the Murders and Burnings, were pardoned; and this ſudden Courage in the Field, and the Humanity afterwards, hath had ſo good an Effect, that there hath been no farther Attempt, and the very Spirit of Revolt ſeems over. About 30 eſcaped from the Fight, of which ten marched about 30 Miles ſouthward, and being overtaken by the Planters on Horſeback, fought ſtoutly for ſome Time, and were all killed on the Spot; the reſt are yet untaken; and in the whole Action about 40 Negroes and 20 Whites were killed. The Lieut. Gov. ſent an Account of this to Gen. *Ogletborpe*, who met his Advices on his Return from the *Indian* Nation. He immediately ordered a Troop of Rangers to be ranged, to patrole thro' *Georgia*, placed ſome Men in the Gariſon at *Palichocolas*, which was before abandoned, and near which the Negroes formerly paſſed, being the only Place where Horſes can come to ſwim over the River *Savannah* for near 100 Miles, ordered out the *Indians* in Purſuit, and a Detachment of the Gariſon at *Port-Royal* to aſſiſt the Planters on any Occaſion, and publiſhed a Proclamation, ordering all the Conſtables, *&c.* of *Georgia* to purſue and ſeize all Negroes, with a Reward for any who ſhould be taken. It is hoped, theſe Meaſures will prevent any Negroes from getting down to the *Spaniards*.

Jamaica,

Jamaica, Octob. 31. His Majeſty's Ship the *Diamond*, Capt. *Knowles* Commander, has brought in hither two Prizes, which he took cruizing to Leeward; one on *Sept.* 16. being a Ship ſaid to have on board 74,000 Pieces of Eight, and Cloathing for the Gariſon of St. *Auguſtine* in *Florida*; the other a Brigantine, taken on the 3d of this Month, going to *Havana*, there to be fitted out for a Privateer.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

THE Worſhipful *William Winſmore*, Eſq; Mayor of *Worceſter*, to the only Daughter of the Rev. Dr. *Worth*, a 40,000*l.* Fortune.

Eliab Breton, of *Northamptonſhire*, Eſq; to Miſs *Elizabeth Wolſtenholme*.

Francis Haſkins Eyles Styles, Eſq; only Son of Sir *John Eyles*, Bart. to Miſs *Edgerton*.

John Morley Trevor, Eſq; Member of Parliament for *Lewes* in *Suſſex*, to Miſs *Elizabeth Frankland*, Daughter of Sir *Tho. Frankland*, one of the Lords of the Admiralty.

The Lady of the Lord *Harry Beauclerk*, deliver'd of a Son.

The Lady of *Philip Meadows*, Eſq; Siſter to the Duke of *Kingſton*, of a Daughter.

DEATHS.

THE Right Hon. *Alexander Hume* Earl of *Marchmont*, Viſc. *Blaſonberry*, Lord *Polwarth* of *Polwarth*, *Redbraes* and *Greenlaw*, and one of the Knights of the moſt antient Order of the Thiſtle. He was one of the Miniſters Plenipotentiaries of *Great Britain* at the Congreſs of *Cambray*, and one of the 16 Peers for *Scotland* in the laſt Parliament. He is ſucceeded in Dignity and Eſtate by his eldeſt Son the Lord *Polwarth*, Memb. of Parliament for *Berwick*, now Earl of *Marchmont*. (See p. 127.)—*Giles Eyre*, Eſq; his Majeſty's Serjeant at Law, one of the greateſt Lawyers that attended the Courts.—Mrs. *Sarah Gonſon*, in an advanced Age; ſhe has left a conſiderable Eſtate to her only Son, Sir *John Gonſon*. — Rev. Mr. Archdeacon *Kendall*, Archdeacon of *Totneſs*. — Rev. Dr. *Dixie*, Brother to Sir *Woolſton Dixie*, Bart. — In *Scotland*, Right Hon. *Jane* Lady Baroneſs of *Newark*.—Sir *Tho. Langley*, Bart. Grandſon of Sir *Roger Langley*, who was Foreman of the Jury on the Trial of the 7 Biſhops in *James* IId's Time.—Lady *Anne Frankland*, Siſter to the Earl of *Scarborough*. — Mrs. *Barbara Hyde*, aged 87, a ſingle Gentlewoman, Daughter of Dr. *Alexander Hyde*, Biſhop of *Saliſbury* in *Charles* IId's Time.—*Samuel Gibbs*, of *Horſley-Park* near *Colcheſter*, Eſq; a Gentleman of 1000*l. per Annum*. —Rt. Hon. *John* Lord *King*, Baron of *Ockham*, and Son to the late Lord Chancellor *King*. He died on the 10th paſt on board the *Ruby*, in his Voyage to *Liſbon*, whither he was going for the Recovery of his Health. He is ſucceeded in Dignity and Eſtate by his next Brother, *Peter*, now Lord *King*.—The Lady of *Joſiah Burchet*, Eſq; Secretary to the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty. —Mr. *Charles Bernard*, Clerk to the Worſhipful Company of Barbers and Surgeons.—*George Dennis*, Eſq; Member of Parliament for *Leſkard* in *Cornwall*.—Mrs. *Steers*, a Widow, aged 90, but more generally known by the Name of her former Huſband, Mr. *Salmon*; ſhe was famous for making ſeveral Figures in Wax, which have been long ſhewn in *Fleet-ſtreet*.—Mr. *Edmund Trench*, an eminent Sugar-Baker, and a Common-Council Man for *Vintry*-Ward.—Lady *Charlotte Hyde*, Daughter to the Earl of *Clarendon* and *Rocheſter*.—Miſs *Caſſandra Bridges*, Daughter of Dr. *Henry Bridges*, and Niece to the Duke of *Chandos*.—Sir *Conrade Springal*, Knight, Phyſician in Ordinary to his late Majeſty.—*Henry Worſley*, Eſq; only Brother to Sir *Rob. Worſley*, Bart. and Uncle to the Lady *Carteret*.—Dame *Brown Fiſher*, aged 87, Widow of Sir *Rich. Fiſher*, late of *Iſlington*, Bart. her third Huſband.—*John Rudge*, Eſq; who was Member of Parl. for *Eveſham* from 1696 to this preſent Parliament.—Mr. Juſtice *Denton*, one of the Judges of the Court of *Common Pleas*, and Chancellor to the Prince.—*Charles Wake Jones*, of *Waltham-Abbey*, Eſq; eldeſt Son of Sir *Baldwin Wake*, Bart. He changed his Name from *Wake* to *Jones*, in order to inherit a large Eſtate left him by his Uncle.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

DR. *Williams*, Preſident of St. *John's* Col. *Cambridge*, &c. to the Rectory of *Benow* in *Suffolk*.—Mr. *Davies*, to the Rectory of *North-Waltham* in *Hants*. The Day before, he was married to Miſs *Johnſon*, a near Relation of the Biſhop of *Winchеſter*. — Mr. *Freeman*, A. M. to the Living of *Rackheath* in *Norfolk*.—*Rob. Watts*, M. A. made Dean of St. *Edan* in *Ireland*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil and Military*.

FRANCIS Hutcheſon, Eſq; made *Cheſter* Herald at Arms. — Mr. *Abbot* of the Pay-Office, Pay-Maſter to the Troops on the intended Expedition.—*Benj. Whitaker*, Eſq; Chief Judge of *South Carolina*. — Hon. *William Herbert*, Eſq; Pay-Maſter to the Gariſon of *Gibraltar*. — *Henry Harris*, Eſq; a Commiſſioner for Wine Licences.—*John Tinker*, Eſq; Gov. of the *Bahama* Iſlands.—Mrs. *Amelia Sophia Walmoden*, created Counteſs of *Yarmouth*. — *Samuel Heathcote*, Eſq; choſen Memb. of Parl. for *Boraliſton*, *Devon* —*John Garth*, Eſq; for the *Devizes*.—Rt. Hon. the Lord Viſcount *Barrington*, for *Berwick*.

Perſons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

SAM. Luly, late of St. *Auſtell* in *Cornwall*, Pewterer.—*Chriſtopher Mayſon*, of St. *James Clerkenwell*, Diſtiller.—*Rob. Price*, late of *Llanrwſt* in *Denbighſhire*, Grocer.—*John*

and *Joſeph Kenrick*, of *Bread-ſtreet*, Grocers.—*Tho. Bentley*, of *Round-Court* in the *Strand*, Mercer.—*Drue Creſſener*, late of *Mark-lane*, Merchant.—*James Fiſher*, late of St. *Martin in the Fields*, Sadler.—*Will. Selby*, of *Newcaſtle upon Tyne*, Hoaſtman.—*Rich. Jackſon*, of St. *George the Martyr*, *Southwark*, Diſtiller. *James Drinkwater*, of or near *Chicheſter*, Mealman.—*Woodroſ Drinkwater*, of *Funtington* near *Chicheſter*, Merchant.—*Will. Orrok*, of St. *Martin in the Fields*, Taylor.—*Sam. Jeans*, of *Burr-ſtreet*, *Middleſex*, Plaiſterer.—*John Elliot*, of St. *Leonard Shoreditch*, Dyer.—*Anne Weatherly*, late of *Gatſhead* in *Durham*, Widow and Merchant.—*James Felce*, late of *Eaſt-Smithfield*, Mealman.——*John Woodifield*, of *Yarm* in the County of *York*, Merchant.—*Will. Hubbald* and *John Balcombe*, of the *Poultry*, *London*, Linen-Drapers.—*Rich. Aſhley*, of *Dowgate-Hill*, Tobacconiſt.—*Elias Arnaud*, of *Goſport*, Diſtiller.—*Will. Bodington*, late of *Bread-ſtreet-Hill*, Corn-Factor.—*John Davis*, of *Stocks-Market*, Vintner and Victualler.——*James Temple*, of the *Strand*, Banker.—*Bernard Warren*, of *Jermyn-ſtreet*, Broker.——*Peter Croce*, of *Dean-ſtreet*, *Sobo*, Wine-Merchant.—*Sam. Savage* and *Tho. Head*, late of the Pariſh of *Chriſt Church*, *Surry*, Callicoe Printers.—*William Launder*, of *Spittle-ſquare*, Warehouſeman.—*Tho. Lane*, of the Pariſh of *Chriſt Church*, *Middleſex*, Woolcomber.—*James Pilliner*, of *Gracechurch-ſtreet*, Vintner.—*John Anderton*, of *Weſtham*, *Eſſex*, Victualler.—*John Cooke*, of *Cheapſide*, Haberdaſher.—*Wm. Brown*, of *Eaſingwold*, *Yorkſhire*, Grocer.—*Rob. Williams*, of St. *Giles* without *Cripplegate*, Cheeſemonger.—*Rich. Waddington*, late of *Sandwich*, Merchant.—*John Bowra* the Elder, of *Wythyham*, *Suſſex*, Butcher.—*Fra. Graves*, of *New North-ſtreet*, Wine-Merchant.—*John Lewis*, of *Hertford*, Miller.—*Edm. Townſend*, of St. *Sepulchre's*, Vintner and Victualler.—*Moſes Prado*, of *Goodman's-fields*, Broker.—*Jeremy Hargreaves*, of *Rowley*, *Lancaſhire*, Clothier.—*Wm. Trewhitt*, late of *Newcaſtle upon Tyne*, Ship-Carpenter.—*Joſeph Palmer* the Elder, of the *Cliffe* near *Lewes*, *Suſſex*, Chapman and Maltſter.—*Geo. Luke Gifford*, of *Thames-ſtreet*, Horſe-Milliner and Salter.—*Verby Marrett*, of *Halſtead*, *Eſſex*, Saymaker.—*John Waſhington*, of St. *Luke*, *Middleſex*, Potter.—*Marcella Moverly* and *Mary Power*, of *King-ſtreet*, *Covent-Garden*, Linen-Drapers.—*Gawen Naſh*, of St. *John Zachary*, *London*, Silverſmith.—*John Powell*, of *Cheapſide*, Hoſier.—*John Adams*, of *Fleet-ſtreet*, Vintner.—*Wm. Cokayne*, of *Philpot-lane*, Merchant.—*Wm. Hall*, late of *Edgw* in *Middleſex*, Dealer.—*Wm. Stubbs*, of *Rotherhith*, Rope-maker.—*Chriſt. Severi*, of the *Strand*, Linen-Draper.—*Jeffery Munt*, late of *Jcleſhunt Darcey*, *Eſſex*, Grocer.—*John Taylor*, of St. *Paul*, *Shadwell*, Coal Lighterman.—*Abraham Taylor*, of *Deptford*, Dealer in Books.—*Wingfield Leete*, Citizen and Mercer of *London*.—*John Tolcher*, of *Totneſs*, Mercer and Shop-keeper.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 97 ¾ a 98	*Afric.* 13 ½
—*Bonds* Paying off.	*Royal Aſſ.* 86 ¼
—*Annu.* 109 ½	*Lon. ditto* 11 ¼
Bank 141 ¼	3 *per C. An.* 99 ⅞
—*Circ.* 4*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.*	*Salt Tallies* ¼ a ¾
Mil. Bank 115	*Emp. Loan* 108 ½
India 158	*Equiv.* 110 ⅛
—*Bonds* 4*l.* 2*s.* a 3*s.*	

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt. 35 6 2 ½ a 5 2	*Bilboa* 39 ¾
D. Sight 35 2 ½ a 2	*Leghorn* 49 ¾ a ⅝
Rotter. 35 8 2 ½ a 7 2	*Genoa* 52 3/16 a ¾
Hamb. 34 4 2 ½ a 3 2	*Venice* 50 ¼
P. Sight 32	*Lisb.* 5*s* 5*d* ⅛
Bourdx. 31 ⅞	*Oport.* 5*s* 4*d* ½
Cadiz 41	*Antw.* 36 3
Madrid 40 ¾	*Dublin* 8 ⅝

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	29 35	*Oats*	12 15
Rye	12 18	*Tares*	20 23
Barley	13 19	*Peaſe*	20 29
H. Beans	20 23	*H. Peaſe*	16 17
P. Malt	19 22	*B. Malt*	16 18

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Feb.* 19. to *March* 25.

Chriſtned	Males 833	Females 752	1585
Buried	Males 1733	Females 1770	3503
Died under 2 Years old			1139
Between 2 and 5			316
5	10		113
10	20		86
20	30		275
30	40		365
40	50		316
50	60		309
60	70		240
70	80		222
80	90		107
90 and upwards			15
			3503

Hay 37 to 43*s.* a Load.

FROM

FROM *Madrid* we have lately had the following Advices. That a very conſiderable Remittance has lately been made to that City; which, tho' not mentioned, we may judge to be from *Paris*; for as it is the Intereſt of *France* to make the War between *Great Britain* and *Spain* as laſting as poſſible, we muſt ſuppoſe, that the Court of *France* will, in a private Manner, ſupport and encourage the *Spaniards* by every Method they can think on.

That the Court of *Spain* has given Orders for augmenting the Number of their Privateers, and crowding as many Men as poſſible on board of each Ship; which, if we allow them to live in the Seas either of *Europe* or *America*, will not only infeſt our Trade, but increaſe the Number of expert Seamen both in *France* and *Spain*; for we may expect that every *Spaniſh* Privateer will have ſome *French* Seamen on board; ſo that during the War between *Spain* and us, *France* will not only have an Opportunity to increaſe her Trade, but alſo the Number of her Seamen, and both at the Coſt of this Nation.

That a new Edict has been publiſhed in *Spain*, (by the Influence of *French* Counſels, as may be reaſonably ſuppoſed) for the more ſtrict Prohibition of Commerce with *Great Britain*, the Subſtance of which is as follows: That none of the Goods, Products, or Manufactures of *Great Britain* ſhall be imported into *Spain*, either directly, or from any other Country or Nation whatſoever; not even tho' they ſhould have been dyed, altered, or meliorated in the neutral Country from whence they are brought: That no Subject of *Spain* ſhall ſend any Goods or Merchandize to *Great Britain*, or receive any from thence, either directly, or by Means of any Nation in Amity or Alliance with his Catholick Majeſty, under Pain of Death, and Forfeiture of Effects, not only to thoſe who ſhall be principally concerned, but to all thoſe who ſhall be aiding or aſſiſting in any ſuch Practice: That for the more effectual preventing any Commerce with *Great Britain*, no Products or Merchandizes ſhall be exported from *Spain*, without Security being firſt given to bring or ſend back Certificates, that the Goods were landed at the reſpective Places for which they were ſaid to be deſigned: That no Merchandize ſhall be permitted to be imported into the Kingdom of *Spain* from any neutral Country, without proper Certificates, ſigned by the *Spaniſh* Miniſters or Conſuls reſiding in thoſe Countries, or by the Magiſtrates of the Place, atteſted by their common Seal, if ſhipp'd in any Country where there is no ſuch Miniſter or Conſul, declaring the Merchandize not to be the Product or Manufacture of *Great Britain*. Which Edict is to begin to be in Force, three Months after the Publication.

And that by their laſt Accounts from *Majorca* they hear, that 15000 Men have already been tranſported from *Barcelona* to that Iſland, with the heavy Artillery, and a vaſt Quantity of all Sorts of Proviſions and warlike Stores; in order, as they give out, to attack the Iſland of *Minorca*; but as Admiral *Haddock* ſailed the 30th of *January* from *Gibraltar* towards *Minorca*, with 8 Men of War, leaving the reſt of his Squadron at *Gibraltar*, under the Command of Admiral *Ogle*, this may probably end, as moſt of their other Projects do, in a *Spaniſh* Rhodomontade.

We hear from *Liſbon* and *Oporto*, that Capt. *Will. Cleland*, Commander of the *Sea-Horſe* Man of War, a 20 Gun Ship, appointed to cruize off of *Oporto-Bar*, has retaken from the *Spaniſh* Privateers, no leſs than 4 *Britiſh* Merchant Ships; that he has taken a *Spaniſh* Brig, bound from *St. Sebaſtien* to *Cadiz* with Iron and other Stores, and that he has ſunk one Privateer, and forced another to run aſhoar; the laſt of which gave ſome of our Seamen an Opportunity to ſhew a remakable Inſtance of their Bravery; for Capt. *Cleland* being reſolved, the Privateer he had drove aſhoar ſhould do no more Miſchief to our Merchants, ſent 20 of his Men to deſtroy her, which they did, notwithſtanding a continual Fire upon them from the *Spaniſh* Crew, ſome of whom had made an Intrenchment in the Sand, and the reſt had taken Poſſeſſion of a Houſe within Muſket-Shot of their Ship; but durſt not go to defend her, tho' they were 100 in Number. But what was ſtill more ſurprizing, before our 20 brave Fellows had quite done their Buſineſs, they loſt their Boat, ſo that they could neither get back to their Ship, nor receive any Aſſiſtance from her. In this Dilemma they bravely reſolved te fight their Way through the *Spaniards*, notwithſtanding the Inequality of their Numbers; and accordingly marched up to attack the Enemy; with whom they had an Engagement at cloſe firing for two Hours, and at laſt the *Spaniſh* Captain being killed, the reſt took to their Heels, leaving our Men in Poſſeſſion of moſt of their Arms, and every Thing elſe they had carried out of their Ship.

We have an Account from *Peterſburgh*, that on the 27th of *January* laſt Capt. *Nepleyew* arrived there, with the *Grand Signior*'s Ratification of the late Peace concluded between the *Ruſſian* and *Ottoman* Empires; that next Day the *Czarina* declared the Pregnancy of the Princeſs *Anne*, Conſort to Prince *Anthony* of *Brunſwick-Wolffenbuttle*; and that Capt. *Spanberg*, lately ſent to make Diſcoveries upon the North Coaſt of *Muſcovy* and *Tartary*, has diſcovered *thirty four* Iſlands in thoſe Seas; from whence it is thought they may ſail to *Japan*, *China*, and ſo round to the *Eaſt Indies*, *Perſia*, &c. which will greatly increaſe the Trade and Commerce of *Muſcovy*.

HISTORICAL.

1. SCRIPTORUM Eccleſiaſticorum Hiſtoria Literaria. Auctore Gul. Cave, Canon. Windeſ. Vol. I. Now ready to be deliver'd to Subſcribers, by *J. Pote.*

2. The Hiſtory of *Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne*, Viſcount *de Turenne*, Marſhal-General of *France*. By the Chevalier *Ramſay*. In 2 Vols. 8vo. Sold by *C. Hitch*, and *G. Hawkins*, price 10*s.*

3. The Hiſtory of the Heavens conſidered. Printed for *J. Oſborn*, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

4. The Hiſtory of the Revolutions of *Portugal* to the Year 1668. Printed for *J. Oſborn*, 8vo, price 5*s.*

5. The third Volume of *Rollin*'s *Roman* Hiſtory. Printed for Meſſ. *Knapton*, 8vo, price 5*s.* 6*d.*

6. The remarkable Life of *Uriel Acoſta*. Printed for *J. Whiſton*. price 1*s.*

7. The Siege of *Calais* by *Edward* of *England*. Printed for *T. Woodward*, pr. 2*s.* 6*d.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

8. An Abridgment of *Pomey*'s *Pantheon*. By way of *Latin* Exerciſe. By *J. Stirling*, M. A. Printed for *T. Aſtley*, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

* 9. A New General *Engliſh* Dictionary; peculiarly calculated for the Uſe and Improvement of ſuch as are unacquainted with the Learned Languages. Originally begun by the late Rev. Mr. *T. Dyche*, and now finiſh'd by *W. Pardon*, Gent. The third Edition, with the Addition of the ſeveral Market-Towns in *England* and *Wales*; giving a general Deſcription of the Places, their Situations, Market-Days, Government, Manufactures, Number of Repreſentatives ſent to Parliament, Diſtance from *London*, both in computed and meaſured Miles, *&c.* Printed for *R. Ware*, price 6*s.*

10. A Liſt of the reduced Officers entitled to receive Half-Pay, *&c.* Printed for *T. Cox*, *C. Bathurſt*, and *J. Pemberton*, pr. 2*s.* 6*d.*

11. Explications and Defences of *P. Gibbs*'s Letter to the Congregation of Proteſtant Diſſenters meeting in *Mare-ſtreet*, *Hackney*. By *P. Gibbs*. To be publiſhed in ſeveral Numbers. Sold by *T. Cox*, price 1*s.*

12. An Eſſay on the Books commonly called *Apocrypha*. Printed for *J. Noon*, pr. 1*s.*

* 13. A Diſquiſition upon Worſhiping towards the Eaſt. By *W. Aſplin*, M. A. The 2d Edition. Printed for *J. Noon*, pr. 3*s.* 6*d.*

14. A Letter from a Gentleman to his Friend in Affliction. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d.*

15. *Britiſh* Liberality diſplay'd. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 6*d.*

16. Pariſh Corruption in Part diſplay'd, in Relation to St. *Luke*'s Pariſh in *Middleſex*. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d.*

17. *French* Rudiments. By *Solomon Lowe*. Sold by *J. Oſborn*, price 3*s.*

18. The World diſplay'd. Printed for *Ward* and *Chandler*, 12mo, price 2*s.*

19. A circular invitatory Letter to all Orders of learned Men. By *E. Milward*, M. D. Printed for *W. Innys*, price 1*s.*

20. Harmony without Uniformity. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1*s.*

21. Diplomata & Numiſmata Scotiæ. By the late *J. Anderſon*, Eſq; Sold by *G. Strahan* and *A. Millar*, price ſix Guineas in Sheets.

22. A Collection of Papers and other Tracts. By Sir *Wm. Keith*, Bart. Printed for *J. Mechell*, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

23. The Art of Muſick. By *J. F. Lampe*. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

* 24. An *Engliſh* Dictionary. By *J. K.* The 4th Edit. Printed for *J. Bonwick* and *C. Hitch*, pr. 2*s.* in Sheep, or 2*s.* 6*d.* in Calf.

25. Memorials and Characters of eminent and worthy Perſons. Numb. XV. Printed for *J. Wilford*, price 1*s.*

26. The complete Fiſher. Price 6*d.*

27. The experienced Fowler. Price 6*d.*

28. The young Sportſman's Inſtructor. Price 6*d.* Theſe 3 laſt ſold by *J. Herro.*

POETICAL.

29. *Roſalinda*. By Mr. *Lockman*. Sold by *C. Corbet*, price 1*s.*

30. *Elmerick*. A Tragedy. By the late Mr. *Lillo*. Printed for *J. Gray*, pr. 1*s.* 6*d.*

31. *Orpheus* and *Eurydice*. An Opera ſet to Muſick. Printed for *T. Wood*, price 1*s.*

32. *Orpheus* and *Eurydice*. By Mr. *Sommer*. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 1*s.*

33. The Ruins of *Rome*. Printed for *L. Gilliver*, price 1*s.*

34. The Dove-Cote. A Poem. Printed for *J. Davidſon*, price 6*d.*

35. The *Cheſhire* Huntreſs. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 1*s.*

POLITICKS *and* TRADE.

36. *Britain*'s Miſtakes in the Commencement of the preſent War. Price 1*s.* And

37. The preſent State of the *Britiſh* and *French* Colonies conſider'd. By *W. Perrin*, Eſq; Price 1*s.* Both printed for *T. Cooper.*

38. Eſſays and Obſervations on Trade. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 4*s.*

SERMONS.

39. A Sermon preach'd on the Faſt-Day. By *N. Collier*, M. A. Printed for *J. Pemberton*, price 6*d.*

40. A Sermon preach'd on *Jan.* 30. By *Ph. Speeke*, M. A. Sold by *J. Roberts*, pr. 6*d.*

* 41. A Sermon preach'd at *Spithead*, *Oct.* 28. By *Rob. Houlton*, A. M. The 2d Edition. Printed for *S. Auſten*, price 6*d.*

42. A Sermon preach'd in *Hare Court*, *Feb.* 13. By *P. Goodwin*. Printed for *J. Oſwald*, price 6*d.*

THEOLOGICAL.

43. An Enquiry into the Ground and Foundation of Religion. By *Thomas Chubb*. Printed for *T. Cox*, price 2*s.*

44. The Theological Works of the late Dr. *Pocock*, in 2 Vols. Folio, are ready to be deliver'd to Subſcribers, by *R. Goſling.*

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

APRIL, 1740.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 118.

In the Debate upon his Majeſty's Meſſage, which was begun in my laſt, the next Speech I ſhall give you was made by L. Æmilius Paullus, *the Purport of which was as follows,* viz.

My Lords,

IT is no new Thing to ſee the Demands and the Projects of Miniſters uſhered into this Houſe under the Name of our Sovereign: When any extraordinary Demand is to be made, or when any dangerous Powers are to be aſked for by our Miniſters, it has always been their Cuſtom, to ſcreen themſelves under the ſacred Name of Majeſty; and when ſuch Demands are oppoſed by thoſe who have a true Regard for their Sovereign, but no very great Regard, perhaps, for his Miniſters, the Advocates for thoſe Demands, are ſure to follow the Example that has been ſet them, by introducing his Majeſty's Name into every Part of the Debate. Our Miniſters aſk a Power to put the Nation to what Expence they pleaſe, and as an Argument for our complying with this Demand, we are told, his Majeſty never put the Nation to any unneceſſary Expence: Our Miniſters aſk ſuch Powers as will, of courſe, if they are frequently granted, render Parliaments of no Uſe to the People, whatever they may be to an Adminiſtration; and to induce us to render ourſelves uſeleſs, we are told, that this modeſt Demand proceeds from the great Regard his Majeſty has for the Authority of Parliament.

This, my Lords, is a Way of arguing, that muſt lay your Lordſhips under great Difficulties, and is, I am ſure, no Sign of any true Regard for the King, whoſe Name ought never to be introduced into any Debate; therefore I wiſh that all ſuch Meſſages were ſent hither in the Name of thoſe that adviſe them, whom I ſhall always look on as the Perſons that really ſend them. It is upon me particularly a great Hardſhip, to ſee any Thing ſent hither in his Majeſty's Name which

I do not approve of; for as the King is not only my Sovereign, but my Maſter, it is with the utmoſt Reluctance I can ſay any Thing againſt a Propoſition that appears in his Name. But, my Lords, I know his Majeſty ſo well, I am ſo well aſſured of the Regard he has for our Conſtitution, that I cannot look upon this anticonſtitutional Meſſage as coming from him. I muſt conſider it as a Meſſage from ſome of his Miniſters, and I ſhall treat it accordingly.

It is a Meſſage, my Lords, of a moſt dangerous Nature; for if ſuch Meſſages ſhould be frequently ſent, and frequently complied with, it will end in a total Overthrow of our Conſtitution. The Buſineſs of Parliament is to prevent its being poſſible to run the Nation into any needleſs Expence; for after a needleſs Expence is incurred, we may puniſh the Adviſers, but there is no recalling the Expence. The guilty Head of a wicked or weak Miniſter is but a poor Atonement to the Nation; and his Fortune, however immenſe, may prove but a very inſufficient Recompence for the Damage the Nation may ſuffer, and the Charge it may be put to, by one ridiculous or imprudent Meaſure. For this Reaſon the Parliament ought to examine and judge of the Services, before they think of granting Funds for ſupplying thoſe Services; and it is for this Reaſon that particular Eſtimates of the reſpective Services neceſſary for the enſuing Year, are always laid before Parliament. From thoſe Eſtimates we can judge, not only of the Services intended, but alſo of the Sums neceſſary for ſupplying thoſe Services; and if we diſapprove of the Services we may, and ought to refuſe granting any Funds for their Supply; or if we think the Sums demanded too large, we may, and ought to grant no more than what ſhall appear to be abſolutely neceſſary for the Supply of thoſe Services we approve of. But by granting ſuch a Vote of Credit and Confidence as is demanded by this Meſſage, we can neither judge of the Meaſures intended, nor of the Sums neceſſary for the Execution of thoſe Meaſures; whereby we render ourſelves quite uſeleſs, as to that of being able to prevent the Nation's being put to any unneceſſary Expence: Therefore, if ſuch a Vote as this now demanded, ſhould once come to be an uſual methodical Concluſion to each Seſſion of Parliament, I ſhall then begin to think Parliaments of no Uſe to, I ſhall think them a moſt unneceſſary Burden upon the People.

We are told, my Lords, that an Account ſhall be laid before next Seſſion of Parliament, of all the extraordinary Expences the Nation may be put to, by Virtue of the Credit and Confidence now demanded. What ſignifies this to the Nation? Will this make good the Expence that may be unneceſſarily incurred? Will this atone for the Damage the Nation may ſuſtain by a raſh or ridiculous Project? Such an After-account can, in my Opinion, never be of the leaſt Signification. I ſhall never think, that a Parliament that will grant ſuch a Credit and Confidence, will ever find Fault with any Expence the Nation may be put to in Purſuance of that Credit and Confidence, or that they will find Fault with any Article in the Account. In ſuch a Parliament, I ſhall always expect to ſee panegyrical Votes of Approbation paſſed in every following Seſſion, with regard to thoſe Meaſures that were undertaken, and thoſe Expences that were incurred, in Purſuance of a Vote of unlimited Credit and Confidence paſſed in the preceding. And if a new Parliament ſhould intervene, there is nothing

thing can be of more Service to a Miniſter, for enabling him to get a Houſe of Commons to his Mind, than his being appointed the ſole and whole Executor of the expiring Parliament. Therefore, if a Check be not put to the ſending of ſuch Meſſages as this now under our Conſideration, I ſhall ſoon expect to ſee every Seſſion of Parliament open with a general Approbation of all the Miniſter has done in Time paſt, and conclude with a general Power to do whatever he pleaſes in Time to come.

My Lords, let us but examine the Arguments made uſe of upon this Occaſion, and we ſhall find, that moſt of them may, with equal Weight, be made uſe of at the End of every Seſſion. We are told, that during the Receſs of Parliament, his Majeſty has a Sort of dictatorial Power, which would enable him to do all that is deſired by this Meſſage, and that therefore our Conſtitution can never be in any Danger, by our giving him an Authority to do what he might do without any ſuch previous Authority. Is not this, my Lords, an Argument that may be made uſe of with equal Weight at the End of every Seſſion? Can we ſuppoſe a Time when it may be poſitively affirmed, that no ſudden Emergency can ariſe during the Receſs? We can now, or at leaſt we may in a few Days, as certainly foreſee what will happen during the Receſs, as we can ever do at the End of any Seſſion of Parliament. Therefore, the Timing of this Meſſage deſerves our particular Notice. It ſeems calculated for eſtabliſhing it as a Cuſtom, that at the End of every Seſſion, our Parliament ought to inveſt our Miniſters with an abſolute Power, and an unlimited Credit. I ſhall grant, that in Caſe of a very ſudden and very imminent Danger, the Crown has a Sort of dictatorial Power; but I will ſay, that in ſuch a Caſe, the Parliament ought to be aſſembled as ſoon as poſſible. I will ſay, that no good Man, no wiſe Miniſter would adviſe the Crown to make uſe of that Power for one Week longer than Neceſſity required; ſo that the Exerciſe of it can never, by our Conſtitution, laſt for above five or ſix Weeks; whereas, by granting ſuch a parliamentary Authority as is now demanded, we give our Miniſters an Authority, or at leaſt a Pretence, for exerciſing that dictatorial Power for ſeven or eight Months. In the former Caſe, the Exerciſe of it can never be of any dangerous Conſequence, becauſe our People would not ſubmit to it, if exerciſed without an apparent Neceſſity, or without ſummoning the Parliament to aſſemble as ſoon as poſſible; and in ſo ſhort a Time no dangerous Uſe can be made of it. But when the Exerciſe of this Power is founded upon a previous Authority from Parliament, the People will ſubmit to it without Enquiry; and, in ſo long a Time, ſuch an Uſe may be made of it, as may render it perpetual; for our Miniſters, in ſuch a Caſe, would never allow the Parliament to aſſemble, unleſs they were ſure of having ſuch a Parliament as would begin the Seſſion by approving of the Uſe they had made of their Power, and conclude the Seſſion with giving them a Renewal of their Term.

If we are to have Peace, if there is the leaſt Probability that *Spain* will comply, even with that nominal Satisfaction we have ſubmitted to accept of, there can be no Reaſon for our complying with this Meſſage, there could be no Reaſon for ſending it, beſide that I have mentioned. But, my Lords, I am far from thinking that we ſhall have Peace. I believe we muſt at laſt go to War. The *Spaniards* will do nothing, as long as they have ſuch

a contemptible Opinion of us. We muſt beat them into a better, I hope a righter Opinion of us, before we can expect they will give us either Satisfaction or Security. If this be the Caſe, why do not our Miniſters tell us ſo? The King, I know, is for laying every Thing before us. The Miniſters ought: It is their Intereſt to do ſo. It is the Intereſt, at leaſt of the Majority of them, to lay every Thing fairly and openly before Parliament. We could then provide for War in a regular parliamentary Method. But this, we are told, would be divulging the Secrets of the Government: It would be declaring War againſt *Spain*, before we have provided for carrying it on. What! are we then to ſteal a War upon the *Spaniards?* Are we to ſteal a Satisfaction from that contemptible, tho' inſolent Nation?

My Lords, we have no Occaſion to do ſo; and I am ſure we ought not to make an Incroachment upon our Conſtitution for ſuch a needleſs, ſuch an inſignificant Purpoſe. If the War be proſecuted in a proper and vigorous Manner, we now have, or may have, before they can prepare for their Defence, a ſufficient Force both at Land and Sea; a Force that may fully enable us, not only to defend ourſelves, but to revenge, in the moſt ample Manner, the Inſults they have put upon the Nation, and the Depredations they have committed upon our Merchants. This, I ſay, we have a Power to do, but God knows what may be done, if our warlike Meaſures be conducted with the ſame Sort of Spirit, that our peaceable Meaſures have been for ſo many Years paſt. I have, my Lords, lived a long While in the World: I have lived ſo long as to wonder at nothing.——I beg Pardon, there is ſtill one Thing I ſhould wonder at: I ſhould wonder, if thoſe who have brought us into ſuch a deplorable and contemptible State, ſhould ever be able to bring us out of it, or to recover either our Character or their own.

For God Sake, my Lords, what are we afraid of? Are we afraid of *Spain?* That cannot be. Are we afraid leſt *Spain* ſhould be ſupported by *France?* What then? Muſt we do nothing but what *France* gives us Leave to do? Muſt we make a Sacrifice of our Trade, our Navigation, our Honour, becauſe *France* commands it, and threatens us with Correction if we do not obey. My Lords, we had better ſubmit to become a Province to *France*, becauſe they would then think themſelves obliged to defend us. But this I ſhall never ſubmit to, I ſhall chuſe to die with my Sword in my Hand, rather than meanly live to ſee my Country made a *French* Province; and if this ſhould ever come to be the Queſtion, I hope I ſhould ſtill find in this Kingdom many Companions; I am ſure every *true Briton* would ſhare the ſame Fate with me. With ſuch Men, to live or not to live, can never be the Queſtion of moſt Importance. To live freely, or die bravely, has been the Reſolution of our Anceſtors in all Ages paſt; I hope it is the Reſolution of the preſent Generation, I hope it will be the Reſolution of our Poſterity in all Ages to come.

With regard to *Spain*, my Lords, if they do not give us immediate Satisfaction, we are under an abſolute Neceſſity of declaring War, let who will take their Part. The principal Affair in Diſpute between them and us, is of ſuch a Nature, that even *France* will not, I believe, take their Part; and I believe it, becauſe it is neither her Intereſt to do ſo, nor is ſhe prepared for it. It is not the Intereſt of *France* to eſtabliſh thoſe Claims which the *Spaniards* have lately ſet up againſt us; becauſe they may one Day be made uſe of againſt *France* as well as againſt

gainſt us. And ſuppoſe the *French* ſhould miſtake their Intereſt, which they ſeldom do, what can they do againſt us? They can make uſe of nothing but a naval Force againſt us, which they are at preſent unprovided with; and in caſe of an open War, we may take Care they never ſhall. The *French* Court may encourage the Claims of *Spain*, whilſt they are made to operate only againſt this Nation; becauſe every Thing that is a Diſcouragement to our Trade, is an Encouragement to that of *France*. They may even bully and hector, in order to make us ſubmit as patiently to the Claims of *Spain* for *twenty* Years to come, as we have done for *twenty* Years paſt; becauſe, by ſuch a Submiſſion, the Trade of this Kingdom would be very much leſſened, and their Trade as much advanced; but if we once begin to reaſſume our antient Character, if we once reſolve to vindicate the Rights of our Country, notwithſtanding the unfortunate Situation the Affairs of *Europe* are by ſome late Meaſures reduced to, yet, I believe, *France* will be extremely cautious of engaging in a War, for ſupporting *Spain* in Claims which all the World muſt ſee to be unjuſt. Againſt this Nation, their numerous Land Armies ſignify nothing, without a ſuperior naval Force, and that, they know, they neither have, nor could provide themſelves with in Time of War. The certain Conſequence of a War with this Nation, would be a full Stop to their Trade, and if well conducted on our Part, it might be attended with the Ruin of moſt of their Settlements in the *Eaſt* and *Weſt Indies*; which is a Riſk we can hardly ſuppoſe the *French* will run, for the ſake of ſupporting *Spain*, in Claims that may hereafter be made to operate againſt themſelves. Beſides this Danger, whatever our own Miniſters may think, the *French* Miniſters know, that this Nation has many natural and powerful Allies upon the Continent, and they likewiſe know, that vigorous Reſolutions, vigorouſly and wiſely executed, would reconcile to us thoſe Allies whom our late Conduct has eſtranged from us. From all which, my Lords, I muſt be of Opinion, that the Danger of *France*'s engaging in the War, is not near ſo hideous as the daſtardly Imaginations of ſome People may repreſent. I am perſuaded, they will not venture to ingage, unleſs they foreſee, that the ſame Spirit, which has rendered our peaceable Meaſures ineffectual, may probably have ſuch an Influence, as to render moſt of our warlike Meaſures abortive.

But, my Lords, if we do go to War, I hope the natural Spirit of this Nation will revive, I hope it will begin to exert itſelf; and if it does, I am ſure it will get the better of every Thing that can, of every Man that dare oppoſe it. I muſt therefore think we have nothing to apprehend, for this Year at leaſt, from *France*; and againſt *Spain* alone, we have no Occaſion to make a Secret of our Deſigns. We have now a Fleet at Sea, ſuperior to any they can fit out againſt us: We have a Number of Troops to put on board, ſufficient for attacking them in that Part, where alone we ought to attack them. What then ſhould hinder us from declaring War, the Moment we find they deſpiſe us ſo much as to diſregard every Engagement they make with us? Why ſhould we make an Incroachment upon our Conſtitution for the ſake of concealing that Reſentment, which, the ſooner it is manifeſted, the more it will tend to our Honour? In leſs than a Fortnight the Chance of Peace or War will be determined. If the Court of *Spain* does not, in that Time, comply with what they have

have ſo ſolemnly promiſed, it will be proper for his Majeſty to come to his Parliament, and declare from the Throne, that we muſt provide for War. The ſending of ſuch a Meſſage as this, at ſuch a Time, ſeems therefore to have been calculated by our Miniſters, for nothing elſe but to render the ſending of ſuch Meſſages familiar to the People, and the complying with them habitual to the Parliament.

Our not complying with the laſt Part of this Meſſage, can be attended with no bad Conſequence: We may comply with, and approve of the firſt, without taking Notice of the laſt: We ought to comply with the firſt, becauſe it is reaſonable, and becauſe we may do ſo without any Breach of our Conſtitution. It is a certain limited Demand, and ſuch a Demand as ought to be provided for by Parliament. Therefore I ſhall readily agree to the Addreſs of Thanks propoſed, ſo far as it relates to the firſt Part of this Meſſage; but that Addreſs ought, I think, to be accompanied with another of a very different Nature. However, as this is not the Queſtion now before us, I ſhall wave ſaying any Thing upon it, till I ſee the Fate of the preſent Queſtion.

The laſt Speech I ſhall give you upon this Subject, was that made by L. Piſo, *who ſpoke to this Effect.*

My Lords,

AS the firſt Part of this Meſſage bears no Reſemblance nor Relation to the laſt, and as moſt Lords who have ſpoke upon the preſent Queſtion ſeem to approve of it, ſo far as it relates to the firſt Part of the Meſſage now before us, I ſhall give your Lordſhips no Trouble upon that Head. But as to what is demanded by the laſt Part of this Meſſage, your Lordſhips may call it a Vote of Credit, or a Vote of Confidence, or both, if you will: Let the Demand be what it will, our complying with it will, in my Opinion, be placing a much greater Confidence in, and giving a larger Credit to our preſent Miniſters, than any Miniſters ought, by our Conſtitution, to be truſted with. I ſhall never be for giving to any Miniſters an unlimited Power to raiſe what Number of Troops, and what Sums of Money, they may think neceſſary; and upon this Occaſion I am the more againſt it, becauſe of its being aſked at ſuch a critical Conjuncture. We may, perhaps, be under ſome Uncertainty at preſent: There may, perhaps, be at preſent a Probability, that we ſhall ſoon be obliged to declare War againſt *Spain*; but in a few Days that Uncertainty will be at an End, and that which ſome are now pleaſed to call a Probability only, will, in my Opinion, within a Fortnight, become a Certainty; for if the 95,000*l.* be paid on the 24th of this Month, we may look upon it as an Earneſt of Peace, we may from thence conclude, that the *Spaniards* are at laſt reſolved to do us Juſtice; in which Caſe we can have no Occaſion for raiſing more Troops, or larger Sums of Money, than have been already agreed to by Parliament, in a regular parliamentary Method. On the other hand, if this Sum of Money be not paid upon the Day appointed, I hope we ſhall at laſt have done with Negotiation: I hope no Man will imagine, we are to purchaſe another ineffectual and colluſive Convention, at a new Expence of 4 or 500,000*l.* This Seſſion is, 'tis true, drawing towards a Concluſion; but there is no Neceſſity for putting an End to it before the 24th of this Month; and if the Parliament be then ſitting, and the Money not paid by *Spain*, what ſhould hinder us from providing for War, in that Method

which

which is moſt agreeable to our Conſtitution?

This Meſſage therefore, my Lords, ſeems to me, to be deſigned for nothing but that of eſtabliſhing the Cuſtom of concluding each Seſſion of Parliament with a Vote of Credit and Confidence, without the leaſt Neceſſity or Occaſion; and this I cannot agree to, becauſe I think it will be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to our Conſtitution. During the Receſs of Parliament, the Crown may have, by our Conſtitution, a Sort of dictatorial Power; but that Power will become much more dangerous when founded upon the previous Authority of Parliament. Our People have a Sort of implicit Faith in their Parliaments, and will always be leſs jealous of the Exerciſe of any extraordinary Power, when it is founded upon the Authority of Parliament, than when it is founded upon an emergent Neceſſity only. The dictatorial Power was upon many Occaſions of great Service to the *Romans*, and whilſt it was kept within its antient Bounds, it was never attended with any Inconvenience or Danger. It was originally limited to the Term of *ſix Months* at fartheſt, and was generally reſigned before that Term expired; but the ſecond Man to whom it was granted for a longer Term, put an End to the Liberties of that Republick.

This ſhews, my Lords, how dangerous it is, in a free State, to depart in the leaſt from any of thoſe Regulations, that were eſtabliſhed by our Anceſtors, for limiting the Power of our Miniſters, which is always what is really meant, when we talk of the Power or Prerogative of the Crown. Under thoſe Regulations we have lived happy, we have lived free, for many Ages; but no one can tell what Conſequences the leaſt Departure may be attended with. It is allowed, that no Vote of Credit was ever granted before the Revolution, therefore every ſuch Vote muſt be a Departure from our antient Conſtitution, and conſequently muſt be dangerous; and every one will allow, that we ought not in Prudence to expoſe ourſelves to any Danger, without an apparent Neceſſity. If the Crown has, during the Receſs of Parliament, a Sort of dictatorial Power, may it not be now as freely exerciſed, as it was before the Revolution? May it not in Time to come be as ſufficient for protecting us againſt ſudden and unforeſeen Dangers, as it has been for ſo many Ages paſt? We are told, that the Method of Appropriation, introduced ſince the Revolution, makes this impoſſible. My Lords, let us but conſider the State our publick Revenues were in before the Revolution, and we ſhall find there is nothing in this Argument. Before the Reſtoration the Crown had no eſtabliſhed Revenue, but what was ſcarcely ſufficient for ſupporting what we now call the Civil Liſt; and they had ſeldom any Credit to borrow Money from private Hands, even upon the moſt preſſing Emergency. After the Reſtoration, indeed, we became a little more generous: A large publick Revenue was ſettled upon the Crown; but that Revenue was appropriated as much as it is now, tho' not in ſo expreſs Terms. A Part of it was allotted for ſupporting the Civil Liſt, another Part for paying the few Guards and Gariſons, that were then kept up, and a third Part for ſupporting the Navy. If any of theſe Services had been neglected, and the Money converted by our Miniſters to other Uſes, I believe the Parliament would have then been more ready to have inquired into, and puniſhed ſuch Miſapplication, than they have ever appeared to be ſince that Time; and the Crown had,

had, after the Reſtoration, as well as before, but very little Credit for borrowing Money from private Hands. During the Receſs of Parliament, the Crown had no Reſource againſt ſudden Emergences, but that of making uſe of the little Credit it had for borrowing Money from private Hands, or that of leaving the Penſions and Salaries of Courtiers unpaid, and converting that Money to the Service of the Nation. This made it always neceſſary for the Crown to call a Parliament as ſoon as poſſible, and the Parliament replaced what had been laid out for the publick Service, if they approved of it, or they put a Stop to the Expence, if they diſapproved of the Service.

Now, my Lords, let us conſider our publick Revenue, as it ſtands at preſent, by which I mean the whole Money raiſed yearly upon the People by the annual or perpetual Grants of Parliament. It is now above three Times as much as it ever was before the Revolution, and every Shilling of it paſſes now thro' the Fingers of our Miniſters, as well as it did then. One Part of it is allotted for the Support of the Civil Liſt, another Part of it for paying our Armies and Gariſons abroad and at home, a third Part of it for paying our Seamen, and ſupporting our Navy, a fourth for paying the Intereſt growing due yearly to our publick Creditors, and a fifth for paying off yearly ſo much of the Principal, when we can keep our Miniſters from laying hold of it for warlike Preparations in peaceable Times. Theſe, my Lords, are the Uſes it is deſigned for, and to theſe it is appropriated; but in caſe of a ſudden Emergency, during the Receſs of Parliament, what ſhould hinder our Miniſters from leaving the Penſions and Salaries of Courtiers unpaid for a few Months, and applying that Money to the Service of the Nation? I believe the Parliament would be as ready to ſupply the Deficiency thereby occaſioned in the Civil Liſt, as ever they were to ſupply any pretended Deficiency in that Revenue: I am ſure they would have more Reaſon; and no Man in the Kingdom could find fault with our Miniſters, for adviſing the Crown to apply to the Safety of the Nation, in a Caſe of Neceſſity, that which was particularly appropriated to the Support of the Crown. But if this ſhould not be ſufficient, what ſhould hinder our Miniſters from contracting a ſmall Debt for the immediate Safety of the Nation? For that they may and do contract Debts without any previous Authority from Parliament, the great Navy Debt lately paid off, the great Navy Debt ſtill remaining due, and the many Grants that have been made for making good Deficiencies in the Civil Liſt, are ſufficient Teſtimonies. Therefore, as the Penſions and Salaries paid out of the Civil Liſt now amount to a much larger Sum, than they ever amounted to before the Revolution, and as the Crown has now much more Credit, both for contracting and running in Debt, than it ever had before that Time, I muſt conclude, that a Vote of Credit is now leſs neceſſary than it ever was, or could be, at any Time before the Revolution.

Thus, my Lords, it muſt appear, that ſuch a Vote of Credit and Confidence, as is now deſired, is not only dangerous, but unneceſſary; and no Experience, no Precedent can warrant our running ourſelves into an unneceſſary Danger. We are not in this Houſe, nor any where elſe, to ſay, that his Majeſty has ever put the Nation to an unneceſſary Expence: It is, in my Opinion, a Failure in the Reſpect due to our Sovereign, to bring his Name into any ſuch Queſtion. But we may

may make a little more free with his Miniſters; and that they have, upon ſome Occaſions, put the Nation to an unneceſſary Expence, has been ſaid in this Houſe, and is now ſaid in every Corner of the Kingdom; nor will it be ſaid, I believe, by many Perſons in the Kingdom, that they have regularly and ſtrictly accounted for every Shilling of the *many Millions* that have paſſed thro' their Hands, for theſe *twenty* Years bypaſt. Therefore, if we judge from Experience, we can have no great Reaſon for giving them a Power to run the Nation as much in Debt as they pleaſe. Such a Power muſt always be of the moſt dangerous Nature; becauſe the more they run the Nation in Debt, the more they may depend upon having that Power renewed, the more ſecure will they be againſt being called to a ſtrict Account. Like the *Spaniſh* Governor, who, for his many Oppreſſions and Extortions, was recalled from his Command in *America*, their Security againſt Puniſhment will depend upon their having been guilty of every Crime, that is laid to their Charge.

But ſuppoſe, my Lords, there were no Danger in our complying with every Part of this Meſſage, and ſuppoſe there were a greater Neceſſity for it than there ſeems to be at preſent; yet, when I conſider to whom we are to give the extraordinary Powers aſked for, I cannot agree to it. I ſhall never agree to the Nation's giving an unlimited Credit to Miniſters, who, with me, never had any Credit; nor can I give my Conſent to the Nation's putting ſo much Confidence in a Miniſtry, in which I never could put any Confidence. My Lords, we have granted them ſuch Powers as this before now: We have never refuſed them any Thing; and yet they have never ſo much as once deviated into what, I think, may be called right. But on the contrary, they have, in my Opinion, proſtituted the Honour, ſunk the Reputation, ſquandered the Wealth, and almoſt ruined the Trade of this Nation. To me, my Lords, they ſeem to have been playing, for almoſt theſe *twenty* Years, at a Sort of Game of Hazard for Peace or War, and at laſt, by a lucky Nick, out ſtarted a Thing they call a Convention, which is neither one nor t'other; but is to be made either the one or the other, they cannot yet tell which, if we will but grant them ſome extraordinary and unuſual Powers, for enabling them to continue their Game. What their future Succeſs may be, I ſhall not now pretend to divine; but, I am ſure, I ſhall never be for giving unlimited Credit to ſuch aukward Gameſters.

As for that of impowering his Majeſty to augment his Forces: In caſe of a War, my Lords, he has no Occaſion for ſuch a Power: He may augment his Forces both by Sea and Land, without any ſuch Power; and if there is to be no War, I am ſure, he ought not to augment them, and much leſs ought we to give our Conſent. Nay, I do not think we can give our Conſent in the Method propoſed. The Conſent of Parliament ought always to be underſtood to be by a Law regularly paſſed, and agreed to by the three ſeveral Branches of our Legiſlature. It is upon this the Security of our Conſtitution depends, becauſe it prevents Surprize. Both Houſes of Parliament may be ſurprized into a Vote of the moſt dangerous Nature, by our Miniſters taking Advantage of an Opportunity when there are few Members in Town, but ſuch as they order to attend. Precedents, my Lords, are of an improving Nature: If it ſhould once be received as a Maxim, that the Parliament may, by a Vote, conſent to an Augmentation of our Army in

Time of Peace, that Maxim may at laſt be extended to the altering, repealing, or making any Law the Crown may, by a Meſſage, pleaſe to deſire; therefore, I cannot agree to what a noble Lord has been pleaſed to ſay in this Debate, That the Conſent of Parliament may be ſignified by a Vote or Reſolution, in Purſuance of a Meſſage from his Majeſty, as well as by the Preamble of a Bill. I am far from contending with that noble Lord in Law-Learning or Diſtinctions, but notwithſtanding what he has ſaid, I muſt look upon the preſent Motion, if it be agreed to, as a Repeal of the Mutiny Bill. I muſt ſuppoſe, that by the Word, *Whole*, in the Preamble of that Bill, we did not mean *a Half*, or any Number of *Parts:* I muſt ſuppoſe, we thereby meant to limit the Number of Troops to 17704 Men; and as every Clauſe in a Bill muſt relate to the Preamble, therefore, when there is a general Limitation in the Preamble of a Bill, that Limitation, without being repeated, muſt run through the Whole, and muſt be ſuppoſed to be a Limitation upon every Clauſe; for which Reaſon, I muſt be of Opinion, that no Clauſe in the Mutiny Bill we have already paſſed, can relate to, or comprehend any Number of Troops above that which is mentioned in the Preamble. Nay, I do not know, but that the raiſing and keeping up a greater Number of Men, may render the whole Bill ineffectual, by making it impoſſible to determine who are within, or who are without the enacting Clauſes of that Bill.

In my Opinion, my Lords, it is a moſt dangerous Doctrine, to pretend, that when a Law is paſſed for keeping a certain limited Number of Troops in Order, it muſt relate to, and comprehend all the Troops which our Miniſters may think fit to raiſe and keep up during the Continuance of that Law; becauſe, in ſuch a Caſe, it may be made to ſerve for obliging our Army to ſubdue, inſtead of defending their Country: And if it does not comprehend all the Troops which our Miniſters may think fit to raiſe and keep up, we muſt allow, that it cannot be made to do ſo by a Vote of either, or both Houſes of Parliament, unleſs we allow, that an Act of Parliament can be altered or amended by a Vote; and if it can be altered or amended, we muſt allow, that it may be repealed by the ſame Method. Thus, by agreeing to this Meſſage, we muſt eſtabliſh a moſt dangerous, and, I think, a falſe Doctrine, of the one Side or the other.

It ſignifies nothing, my Lords, to ſay, that by our complying with this Meſſage, no Man is to be compelled to enter into his Majeſty's Land-Service: We know how ready young Gentlemen are to accept of Commiſſions in the Army, and a great Number of new Officers will always get a great Number of Men to liſt voluntarily into the Service. When Commiſſions are granted, and Orders for new Levies iſſued, we are not to ſuppoſe, that the Officers, when they accept their Commiſſions, will be told, that they are to be employed in ſubduing the Liberties of their Country; nor are we to ſuppoſe, that the Men, when they are prevailed on to liſt, will be told, that they are to fight againſt their Country. Our warlike Preparations will always, in ſuch a Caſe, be ſaid to be intended againſt ſome neighbouring Nation that has inſulted and injured us, though our Miniſters be ſecretly reſolved to ſubmit to every Indignity that can be put upon the Nation by neighbouring Powers, rather than be interrupted, by a foreign War, in the Hoſtilities they are carrying on againſt the Conſtitution and Liberties of

of their Country. By ſuch a Pretence, my Lords, many Gentlemen may be induced to accept of Commiſſions, many private Men may be induced to liſt as Soldiers, with the honeſt and brave View of ſerving their Country againſt its foreign Enemies; but after they have once entered into the Service, they may, by our Mutiny Bill, thus interpreted, be compelled to ſerve againſt their Country, by aſſiſting its domeſtick and moſt dangerous Enemies; for they cannot then leave the Service, when they have a Mind, nor can they ſafely refuſe to obey any Order they receive from their commanding Officer; becauſe the Court Martial is to determine, whether the Order be lawful or not; and a Court Martial, choſen by a Miniſter, will probably determine every Command to be lawful, that proceeds from his Authority, ſecret or revealed.

Having now ſhewn, my Lords, that it is dangerous, unneceſſary, and inconſiſtent with the Bill already paſſed into a Law, to comply with this Meſſage, I need not, I think, expatiate upon the Conſequences of our not complying with the latter Part of it; for let thoſe Conſequences be as dangerous as they will, I hope I have made it appear, that it ought not to be complied with. But the Conſequences of our not complying with it, are ſo far from being dangerous, that, I think, it will be attended with great Advantages. *Spain*, I am convinced, has no Hopes from a War, if on our Side it be wiſely and vigorouſly proſecuted. Their only Hopes, I believe, are founded upon the Continuance of our preſent Adminiſtration. They have by Experience found, that our preſent Miniſters may be amuſed, and they hope to amuſe them with Negotiations for ſome Years longer; or if they cannot amuſe them with peaceable Negotiations, they hope, that our warlike Meaſures will be carried on in the ſame languid and ill-judged Manner, our peaceful Meaſures have been; in which Caſe they may, like the Terrier with the Fox, by mere Teazing, at laſt force us to accept of unequal and diſhonourable Terms. We can no Way put an End to theſe Hopes ſo effectually, as by ſhewing, that our Parliament is not under the abſolute Direction of our Adminiſtration. If the *Spaniards* ſee, as they muſt ſee by our refuſing to comply with this Meſſage, that the Parliament has ſeriouſly taken the State of the Nation into Conſideration, and that we have reſolved to be what we really are, his Majeſty's chief and ſupreme Council, their flattering Hopes will all evaniſh, and then they will of courſe comply with our juſt Demands. The 95,000 *l.* will be paid upon the Day appointed, and all other Diſputes will ſoon be ſettled to the Honour and Advantage of this Nation; ſo that if the 95,000 *l.* ſhould not be paid, or if a War ſhould enſue, I ſhall impute it to our complying with the Meſſage now before us.

I am ſurprized, my Lords, to hear it ſaid, that our refuſing to comply with this Meſſage, would give the Court of *Spain*, or any other Court in *Europe*, Cauſe to imagine, that there would be a Breach between his Majeſty and his Parliament. Can we ſuppoſe that Court, or any Court, ſo ignorant of our Conſtitution, as not to diſtinguiſh between his Majeſty and his Miniſters? Can we ſuppoſe them ſo ignorant of his Majeſty's Regard for our Conſtitution, as to imagine, that he would eſpouſe the Cauſe of his Miniſters againſt his Parliament? God forbid! that any of his illuſtrious Family ever ſhould, I am ſure he never will; therefore, all the Court of *Spain* could expect from

ſuch a parliamentary Contumacy as I am now pleading for, is, that it would produce a Change of Miniſters; and from ſuch a Change, I am convinced, they can expect no Advantage. If they ſaw but the leaſt Reaſon to ſuſpect it, I am perſuaded, they would be glad to comply, not only with what they have promiſed, but with every Thing we could in Juſtice demand. If an honourable Peace, therefore, be a deſirable Thing, as it ſurely is, I muſt think our refuſing to comply with this Meſſage, the moſt ready Way to obtain it; and for this Reaſon, among many others, I ſhall give my Negative to the Queſtion.

I ſhall now give you the Subſtance of two Speeches that were made in our Club, upon Occaſion of an Act paſſed laſt Seſſion of Parliament, intitled, An Act for granting a Liberty to carry Sugars of the Growth, Produce, or Manufacture of any of his Majeſty's Colonies in *America*, from the ſaid Colonies, directly to foreign Parts, in Ships built in *Great Britain*, and navigated according to Law. *As this Act made a conſiderable Alteration in our Sugar Trade, it occaſioned a Diſpute in our Club, between two Gentlemen who are both thoroughly acquainted with the Nature of Trade in general, as well as with every particular Branch of the* Britiſh *Trade, and who, for the moſt Part, are of the ſame Opinion, tho' they happened to differ upon this Occaſion.*

The firſt Speech was made againſt the Bill by L. Æmilius Mamercinus, *and was to this Effect,* viz.

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

I AM againſt the Bill now under our Conſideration, becauſe, I think, it will be a Prejudice to this Kingdom in general, by turning our Trade into a new Channel, and ſuch a Channel as will, in my Opinion, make it run chiefly into the Hands of Foreigners. We have, by long Experience, found the great Benefit of the ſeveral Laws which, by this Bill, are to be in Part repealed, and that Benefit we ſhould not, I think, in any Part give up, without a very evident Neceſſity for ſo doing. The great Number of Ships and Seamen that at preſent belong to this Iſland, and are daily reſorting to, or departing from ſome of our own Ports, is in a great Meaſure owing to the Acts of the 12th and 15th of K. *Charles* II. which by this Bill are to be in Part repealed. By that of the 12th, and another of the 22d and 23d of the ſame King, every Ship that ſhall load in any of our Plantations, Sugars, Tobacco, Cotton-Wool, Indicoes, Ginger, Fuſtick, or other dying Wood, (which are therefore called enumerated Goods, and to which ſeveral other Sorts of Goods have been ſince added) of the Growth of any of our Plantations in *America*, *Aſia*, or *Africa*, is obliged to give Bond with one Security, under a very high Penalty, to carry thoſe Goods to ſome Port of *Great Britain*, or to ſome Port in our Plantations; and by that of the 15th, it is enacted, that no Commodity of the Growth or Manufacture of *Europe*, ſhall be imported into any of our Plantations, but what ſhall have been ſhipped in *Great Britain*, and in *Britiſh* Shipping, whereof the Maſter and three fourths of the Mariners are *Britiſh* Subjects.

By theſe Regulations, Sir, our Plantations have been of much greater Service to the Trade and Navigation of this Iſland, than they could otherwiſe have been. With regard to our Trade, as moſt of theſe Commodities, eſpecially Sugars, require ſome Sort of Manufacture, before they are fit for Uſe, that Manufacture has hitherto been carried on entirely by our People here at home, which has, and does now ſupport many of the Inhabitants of this Iſland; and as the Ships muſt all be victualled and refitted in this Iſland, it not only conſumes, or procures a Vent for a great many of our native or imported Materials that are neceſſary for that Purpoſe, but alſo employs, and gives Bread to Multitudes of uſeful Subjects here at home: To which I muſt add, that as moſt of the Imports and Exports to and from our Plantations, muſt paſs through this Iſland, their Paſſage employs many Factors and Agents here at home, and the Commiſſions payable upon that Paſſage, brings large Sums of Money in to this Nation yearly. Then, with regard to our Navigation, as by theſe Regulations it is made neceſſary for almoſt every Ship employed in our Plantation Trade, to be often in ſome of the Ports of *Great Britain*, we are thereby furniſhed with a large and conſtant Supply of Seamen, which adds greatly to our Naval Power, and contributes not a little to that Tranquillity and Security, which this Nation has enjoyed ever ſince thoſe Regulations took Place.

In my Opinion therefore, Sir, it would be Madneſs in us to give up any of the Advantages we enjoy by Means of theſe Regulations, without an apparent Neceſſity; and that we are, by this Bill, to give up ſeveral of them without any apparent Neceſſity, is what I ſhall now endeavour to ſhew. As the Sugar Trade is the only Branch now in Queſtion, I ſhall confine myſelf to that Trade only, but I muſt, by the Way, obſerve, that we have already given Leave to export Rice from *Carolina* and *Georgia*, directly to foreign Parts; we are now deſired to give the ſame Liberty with reſpect to Sugars, and as the ſame Reaſons which are now made uſe of in favour of Sugar, may hereafter, I think, with equal Weight, be made uſe of in favour of every one of the enumerated Commodities of our Plantations, I make no queſtion but that upon the Precedent we are now to make, and the Precedent we have already made, a free Trade will in a few Years be opened between our Plantations and every Country in *Europe*; which will of courſe render them more beneficial to Foreigners than to their Mother Country. But that this Danger may appear in its proper Light, I ſhall juſt mention the ſeveral Advantages we muſt loſe by allowing Sugars to be exported to foreign Countries directly from our Plantations. As the Law now ſtands, their Sugars muſt be all landed in *Great Britain*, and as ſoon as they are landed, the Ship is generally put into ſome of our Docks to refit, the Seamen are paid their Wages and diſcharged, and the Freight is divided among the Owners, who are generally Subjects reſiding here in *Great Britain*. By this Means our People here at home have the Advantage of refitting the Ship, and of furniſhing the Seamen with every Thing they ſtand in need of upon their landing, ſo that not only the Freight, but alſo the Seamens Wages are wholly laid out in this Kingdom. Then, upon the Ship's clearing out for a new Voyage, a freſh Advantage accrues to our People here at home, from furniſhing the Ship and Seamen with every Thing they want upon their Out-ſet; and every Ship carries out large Quantities of our own Produce and Manufacture, and ſuch other Commodities as are proper for the Plantation Market.

Theſe are Advantages, Sir, that ariſe from the Sugar's being unloaded in *Great Britain*; and then, if it is to be re-loaded for Exportation, our People have an Advantage by having a double Commiſſion, and by the Rent for Warehouſe Room while it is here; and they have another Advantage, by furniſhing the Ship and Seamen employed in the Exportation, with every Thing they ſtand in need of upon their Out-ſet. But the great Advantage we reap by our Sugar's paſſing thro' this Iſland to foreign Parts is, that of its being manufactured and refined by our People here at home, and thereby made to ſell for a much higher Price at every foreign Market. It is chiefly owing to this, that the Sugar-baking Trade has been for ſo many Years a thriving Trade in this Nation, a Trade by which ſome Gentlemen have got large Fortunes, and many of our Poor a comfortable Subſiſtence.

But, Sir, if we allow Sugars to be exported from our Plantations to foreign Parts, we ſhall in a great Meaſure loſe every one of theſe Advantages. They are beginning already to ſet up Sugar-baking at *Hambargh*, and ſeveral other Parts of *Europe*, where the Neceſſaries of Life, and conſequently Labour, is much cheaper than it is here; ſo that if we allow our Sugars to go to them directly, we may in a ſhort Time be entirely cut out of the Sugar-baking Trade; and though the Ships that carry theſe Sugars be by this Bill obliged to come to *Great Britain* before they return to the *Weſt-Indies*, yet as refitting in moſt foreign Ports is cheaper than it is here, they will certainly refit at thoſe Ports, and the Seamen will lay out at leaſt the Moiety of their Wages, which by this Bill is allow'd to be paid them, at the foreign Port where the Ship is unloaded. By this Means, a great Part of the Freight will be laid out among Foreigners, and in a little Time, I believe, no Part, or a very ſmall Share of it, will ever come to *Great Britain*; becauſe, I make no Queſtion, but that in a few Years our Planters, and other Subjects in our Plantations, will have Ships of their own for carrying their Sugars to a foreign Market; and of theſe Ships Foreigners may perhaps be the chief Owners; for this may be done in a clandeſtine Manner, and by borrowed Names, without the Maſter's knowing any Thing of it; and if the Nature of the Trade make it neceſſary or profitable, I do not doubt, but it will be done, notwithſtanding all the Precautions that can be taken againſt it.

But the greateſt Diſadvantage and Danger attending this Bill is, That it will, in my Opinion, very much increaſe the Conſumption of foreign Manufactures in our Sugar Plantations. I could mention ſeveral Particulars, Sir, but to give you as little Trouble as poſſible, I ſhall confine myſelf to the Article of Linens only. Every one knows, that beſides foreign Linens, there are now great Quantities, both of *Scottiſh* and *Iriſh* Linens conſumed in our Plantations. But if by this Bill we render it more convenient or cheaper for them to have foreign Linens, than it was heretofore, it muſt neceſſarily diminiſh the Conſumption of *Scottiſh* and *Iriſh* Linens, and increaſe that of foreign. Now, that by this Bill, if it paſſes into a Law, our Plantations may have foreign Linens more conveniently and cheaper than heretofore, is, I think, manifeſt; for as the Law ſtands at preſent, no foreign Linens can be ſent to our Planta-

Plantations without paying at leaſt two Commiſſions, one to the foreign or *London* Factor upon Importation, and one to the *Weſt-India* Factor upon Exportation; and beſides, they muſt generally pay Warehouſe Rent here in *Britain* for ſeveral Months, before they can be ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*; all which Charges theſe Linens will be free from, if this Bill ſhould paſs into a Law; becauſe the Maſter of the Ship, by Order from the Planters, may, as ſoon as he has unloaded his Sugars at the foreign Port, take in a Cargo of Linens, and by landing them at any Port in *Britain*, and paying the Duties, he may reload them immediately, receive the Draw-back, and proceed with them directly to the *Weſt-Indies*; and theſe Charges they are now ſubject too, beſides the other Charges I have mentioned; ſo that foreign Linens muſt neceſſarily come cheaper to the Planter in the *Weſt-Indies*, after this Bill is paſſed into a Law, than they could do before, and conſequently, it will increaſe the Conſumption of foreign, and diminiſh that of our home Manufacture of Linen. To which I muſt add, that the Maſter and Mariners of every ſuch Ship, will certainly furniſh themſelves with Linen, and all other wearing Apparel, which, by reaſon of our high Duties, they may have at moſt foreign Ports, cheaper than they can have in *Great Britain*.

Another Danger is, Sir, That I'm afraid this Bill will turn the Courſe of our *African* Trade quite away from *Great Britain*; for as that Trade is chiefly ſupported by the Slaves we purchaſe for the *Weſt-Indies*, as the poor People in that Country have, for the moſt Part, nothing elſe to give us in Return for the Produce and Manufactures of this Kingdom, which we carry to them, I am afraid, that moſt of our *Weſt-India* Ships bound to *Holland* or *Hamburgh* with Sugars, will there take in a Loading for *Africa*, and after making a proper Entry at ſome of our Out Ports, and reloading directly, proceed to *Africa*, and there purchaſe a Cargo of Slaves for our Plantations; by which Means the People of this Iſland would loſe the whole Benefit of the outward Cargo to *Africa*, and would have little or no Benefit by the Sugars which purchaſed that Cargo, or by the Cargo of Slaves from *Africa* to the *Weſt-Indies*. And the laſt Diſadvantage I ſhall take Notice of is, that this Bill may probably make us loſe the Benefit of Inſurance upon moſt of the Ships bound from our Plantations with Sugars to foreign Ports; for as they muſt ſettle a Correſpondence at thoſe foreign Ports, and will ſtay but a very ſhort Time at any Port in *Great Britain*, they will probably inſure the Ship and Cargo at that Port where they have ſettled their chief Correſpondence; which muſt diminiſh the Buſineſs of our *Britiſh* Inſurers, and will be a Loſs to the Nation in general.

From what I have ſaid, Sir, I hope it will appear, that the Diſadvantages and Dangers of paſſing this Bill into a Law are manifeſt, and I cannot think there is the leaſt Neceſſity for our running ſuch a Riſk. I ſhall readily grant, that our Sugar Colonies deſerve all the Encouragement we can give them, conſiſtently with the Trade and Happineſs of their Mother Country; and I ſhall likewiſe grant, that they ſtand in Need of being relieved from ſome of thoſe Preſſures they at preſent labour under; but the Decay of our Sugar Trade, and the Difficulties our Sugar Planters labour under, do not proceed from the Neceſſity of landing all their Sugars in *Great Britain*, before they can be exported to a foreign Market. They proceed from the Oppreſſions of our Governors, the Taxes which Planters are obliged to pay upon Slaves, and many other Things neceſſary for their Sugar Plantations, and particularly, from that monſtrous Tax of $4\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* which is payable upon all Sugars exported from moſt of our Sugar Iſlands. This laſt is really a moſt monſtrous Grievance. After ſo viſible a Decay of our Sugar Trade, and ſo many Complaints upon that Head, the Continuance of this Tax is ſurprizing, and it is the more ſurprizing, conſidering the ſmall Revenue from thence ariſing to the Publick. The annual Amount of this Revenue does not exceed 7000 *l.* There is, I believe, a larger Sum accounted for, and a much larger raiſed upon the Planters; but even that raiſed upon the Planters, is not, I think, computed to amount to much above 27,000 *l.* yearly; and 20,000 *l.* of this, it ſeems, either ſticks to the Fingers of thoſe whoſe Hands it comes through, or is expended in Penſions and Salaries, which are either quite uſeleſs to the Colony, or ſuch as might be much better ſupplied in another Way.

We have been of late, Sir, extremely generous, we have this Year granted 5000 *l.* publick Money, for a Remedy we know nothing of; (ſee p. 150.) we have for ſeveral Years granted 10,000 *l.* a Year to our *African* Company, for ſupporting our Trade to *Africa*; we have for ſome Years granted 20,000 *l.* to *Georgia*, for ſupporting I do not know what Trade; nay, even this Year, we have given them 20,000 *l.* tho' by the late Convention, ratified by his Majeſty, and approved by both Houſes of Parliament, a full Stop has been put, not only to their Fortifications, but even to their extending their Plantations. To me it is amazing, that with all this Generoſity, we cannot think of giving up a Tax which brings in but 7000 *l.* a Year to the publick Revenue, for the Sake of recovering and preſerving the Sugar Trade, which has ſaved or brought in ſo many Millions to this Kingdom. This is a Profuſion and a Parſimony, which I cannot comprehend the Reaſon of: It looks as if we had a greater Regard to the Trade of Penſions and Perquiſites, than

to

to any other Trade in the Kingdom; but thoſe who deal in that Trade ſhould conſider, that if we loſe all other Trade, the Trade they deal in will ſoon come to Decay.

As all our Complaints in the Sugar Trade, Sir, are founded upon the heavy Charges our Sugars come loaded with to Market; and as this is the heavieſt and the moſt uſeleſs and unneceſſary Charge laid upon them, it ſhould in the firſt Place be removed. Then, if to this we ſhould add ſome new Regulations for laying our *Weſt-India* Governors under ſuch Reſtrictions as the *French* Governors are laid under: If we ſhould prevent its being in the Power of any of our Governors to aſk or accept of any Preſents from thoſe ſubjected to their Government, it would remove another moſt heavy Charge, which all our Sugars come loaded with to Market; becauſe it would prevent our Planters being under a Temptation to lay Taxes upon thoſe Materials that are neceſſary for producing and manufacturing their Sugars, in order to raiſe Money for ſatisfying the Avarice, or ſupplying the Luxury of their Governors, whoſe Favour they muſt, and always will contentiouſly endeavour to gain.

I could mention ſeveral other Expedients, Sir, for recovering and even improving our Sugar Trade, which might be accompliſhed with great Eaſe, and without any Danger; but the two I have mentioned would alone be ſufficient for giving our Sugars an Advantage at every Market in *Europe*, and therefore, there can be no Neceſſity for our trying ſuch a dangerous Experiment, as that intended by the Bill now before us; for which Reaſon, I muſt be againſt its being paſſed into a Law.

The next Speech was made in Favour of the Bill, by M. Valerius Corvus, *and was in Subſtance thus;*

Mr. Preſident,

SIR,

I AM ſorry to differ from my Hon. Friend, who has given you his Sentiments upon the Bill now before us, and the more ſo, becauſe it is what ſeldom happens. I have generally the good Fortune to find him of the ſame Opinion with me, in moſt Things that come to be diſputed in this Club; and even upon the preſent Occaſion, I ſhall moſt readily join with him in the latter Part of his Diſcourſe. I am as much ſurprized as he can be, that the $4\frac{1}{2}$ *per Cent.* Duty has not been long ago taken off: I am likewiſe ſurprized, that Care has not been long ſince taken, to reſtrain our Governors from oppreſſing and ſkinning the Plantations committed to their Care, or tempting our Planters to oppreſs and ruin themſelves, in order to gain their Favour. If thoſe whoſe Buſineſs it is, had our Trade as much at Heart, as they ought, both theſe Things would have been done long before now; and in that Caſe, I am perſuaded, we ſhould not now have been complaining of the Loſs of our Sugar Trade. But, as neither my Hon. Friend, nor I, can hope for being able to make either of theſe Propoſitions effectual, I cannot allow myſelf to be diverted by Hopes I at preſent think chimerical, from purſuing the Propoſition now before us; becauſe I think it will be of ſome Service, and can be attended with no Danger.

The Navigation Act, Sir, and the other Laws mentioned in the Preamble of this Bill, have certainly been of great Benefit to this Nation. They were certainly right, at the Time they were enacted; and if Circumſtances were now the ſame, I ſhould be againſt altering them in any Part; but that may be Prudence in one Age, which in another would be the Height of Madneſs. When thoſe Laws were paſſed, we had a Monopoly of the Sugar Trade: No Nation in *Europe* could then have any large Quantity of Sugars, but what they had from us; and if the Caſe were now the ſame, I ſhould be for loading them with as many Charges as Gentlemen could reaſonably contrive: I ſhould be for enabling our own People to make as great an Advantage of them, as they could wiſh for. But the Caſe is now very different: We have now a Rival, and a dangerous Rival in the Sugar Trade; and if we do not allow Foreigners to have our Sugars, at leaſt as cheap as they can have the ſame Sort of Commodity from our Rival, they will have none of ours: They will take every Shilling's Worth they have Occaſion for from our Rival in the Sugar Trade.

This, Sir, is the Caſe at preſent. Since the Treaty of *Utrecht* the *French* have with great Induſtry enlarged their Sugar Plantations in the *Weſt-Indies*; and by prudent and ſeaſonable Regulations they have greatly improved that Trade. If we had been as wiſe and vigilant, as we ought to have been, we might have prevented that Improvement: We might have ruined the *French* Sugar Trade in its Infancy, by taking off all thoſe unneceſſary Charges that enhanced the Price of our Sugars at the foreign Market; but either thro' Ignorance or Neglect, or perhaps from worſe Motives, we perſiſted in thoſe Regulations, which were well enough, as long as we had no Rival, tho' they became ruinous, as ſoon as we began to have one. By this we have eſtabliſhed the *French* Sugar Trade, and quite ruined our own, ſo far as relates to the foreign Market; for we now export but very little Sugar, either refined or unrefined, to any Market in *Europe*; and if the Trade remains in its preſent Circumſtances but a very few Years, we ſhall export none at all: Nay, I do not know, but that we may ſoon ſtand in need of as ſevere Laws for preventing the Running

Running of *French* Sugars, as we now have for preventing the Running of *French* Brandies.

The Diſpute therefore, Sir, is not, upon this Occaſion, between our Planters in the *Weſt-Indies* and our People here at home: The Queſtion is, Whether we ſhall encourage and entirely eſtabliſh the *French* Sugar Trade, by giving up to them all foreign Markets for Sugar? If we export no Sugars, neither the Nation, nor our Planters in the *Weſt-Indies*, nor our People here at home, can reap any Advantage by a foreign Exportation. Therefore, the Loſs our People here at home may ſuſtain by allowing a direct Exportation from our Plantations, is quite out of the preſent Queſtion; for if there can be no Exportation of Sugars from *Great Britain*, our People here at home can ſuffer no Loſs, by our encouraging an Exportation from another Part of our Dominions. The only Queſtion now in Diſpute is, Whether we ſhall encourage the Exportation of Sugars from *France*, or from our own Sugar Colonies? In this Light, I am ſure, no Gentleman that hears me will make it a Queſtion; becauſe, by encouraging an Exportation from *France*, we add to the Riches and Strength of our moſt dangerous Rival in Power as well as Trade; and by encouraging an Exportation from our own Colonies, we diminiſh the Riches and Strength of our Rival, and we add to the Riches and Strength of this Nation, without doing the leaſt Damage to our People here at home.

For this Reaſon, Sir, Gentlemen ſhould carefully conſider, upon this Occaſion, whether or no it be poſſible for us, in our preſent Circumſtances, to export any Sugars to a foreign Market; for if it be not, every Objection that has been made againſt this Bill, falls to the Ground. And then we ought to conſider, whether the Regulation now propoſed, may not ſome Way contribute towards rendering it poſſible for us to export Sugars to a foreign Market; for if it can in the leaſt contribute towards that End, we ought to agree to it. From theſe two Conſiderations, we ought to determine ourſelves in the Caſe now before us, and both are, I think, evidently in Favour of this Bill. The Accounts upon our Table, ſhew what large Quantities we uſed to export before the *French* began to rival us in that Trade, how gradually our Exportation has decreaſed as they have improved, and what an inconſiderable Trifle it is now reduced to. Nay, the very Nature of the Trade muſt ſhew, that unleſs we allow of a direct Exportation from our Sugar Colonies, the *French* will always be able to underſel us at, and conſequently exclude us from every foreign Market in *Europe*. While they allow of a direct Exportation, and we do not, the Caſe is plain, becauſe the Charge of a double Freight, double Commiſſion, Warehouſe Room, Reloading, and ſeveral petty Expences, will always be a Charge upon our Sugars at every foreign Market, which their Sugars are free from. But ſuppoſe they ſhould not allow of a direct Exportation no more than we, with regard to an Exportation to the *Baltick*, *Hamburgh* or *Holland*, their Ports in the Channel, eſpecially *Dunkirk*, which we have allowed them to make a Port of, contrary to expreſs Stipulation in the Treaty of *Utrecht*, lie more convenient than either the Ports of *London* or *Briſtol*, which are the two where our chief Importations are made; and with regard to an Exportation to *Flanders*, and to the Southward of Cape *Finiſterre*, their Ports lie more convenient than ours, which will always give them an Advantage over us at all foreign Markets, unleſs we allow of a direct Exportation from our Sugar Colonies.

From hence it is plain, Sir, that unleſs we allow of a direct Exportation, it will always be impoſſible for us to export any Sugars to a foreign Market; and that the Regulation now propoſed, will contribute towards rendering it poſſible for us to export our Sugars to a foreign Market, we may be convinced of from Experience; for tho' the *French* have for many Years allowed of a direct Exportation from their Colonies, and tho' we have, during that whole Time, moſt ridiculouſly perſiſted in our Reſolution not to allow of any ſuch Exportation from ours, which loaded our Sugars ſent to foreign Markets, with a Charge of 8 or 10 *per Cent.* at an Average, the *French* Sugars were free from, yet we continued till very lately to export large Quantities; which ſhews, that if we had been upon an equal Footing with the *French*, we ſhould have underſold them; and that if we were now put upon that Footing, notwithſtanding their great Improvement in the Sugar Trade, we ſhould at leaſt rival them, if not beat them out of every Market in *Europe*.

But, Sir, there is nothing more clearly ſhews the Advantage of the Regulation propoſed, than the Precedent my Hon. Friend was pleaſed to mention with regard to Rice. It is not many Years ſince we had not a Pound of Rice produced in any of our Dominions, and were therefore obliged to have all our Rice from Foreigners. By Chance our Planters in *Carolina* began to produce that uſeful Commodity, and ſoon ſupplied us here at home with all we wanted, and at a much cheaper Rate than we uſed to have it. As ſoon as they began to do us this Favour, by Way of a grateful Return, we reſtrained them in their Rice Trade, by making it an enumerated Commodity, in Purſuance of that wiſe Maxim, of confining the Trade of our Colonies to their Mother Country, whether the Nature of the Trade will admit of it or no. Whilſt Rice continued under this Reſtraint, we ſent but little to any foreign Market; but

at

at laſt we grew wiſe enough to allow them to export Rice from *Carolina*, directly to any Part of *Europe* ſouthward of Cape *Finiſterre*, and ſince that Time we have yearly ſent large Quantities of Rice to foreign Markets. This is a full Proof, that a direct Exportation from our Colonies, will always enable us to ſell any Commodity at a foreign Market much cheaper than it can be ſold, when it muſt be firſt landed in *Great Britain*; and as we now find by Experience, that we can ſell no Sugar at any foreign Market, as long as it muſt be firſt landed in *Great Britain*, we ought at leaſt to try that Expedient, which we have found to anſwer ſo well with regard to Rice. We have found no Inconvenience or Diſadvantage from allowing the direct Exportation of Rice, and if we can otherwiſe export no Sugars, which is really the Caſe, I am ſure we ſhall find as little Inconvenience or Diſadvantage from allowing a direct Exportation of Sugars; but to make this the more evident, I ſhall particularly conſider the Objections that have been made to it.

As for its being a dangerous Precedent with regard to our other enumerated Commodities, there can be no Weight in the Objection; for this can be no Precedent, unleſs our Trade in ſome of our other enumerated Commodities ſhould be in Danger of falling under the ſame Circumſtances that our Sugar Trade is in at preſent; and whenever this happens to be the Caſe, we ought to allow a direct Exportation of that Commodity, even tho' there were no Precedent in its Favour. If the *French*, Sir, ſhould become our Rivals in the Tobacco Trade, and if they continue their Improvements upon the River *Miſſiſippi*, they may, I ſhould be for allowing our Tobacco Planters a direct Exportation, rather than allow the *French* to ſupply all the foreign Markets in *Europe* with Tobacco; and I am ſure, every Man who ſedately conſidered the Intereſt of his Country, or even his own, would be of my Opinion; for if a Tobacco Factor ſaw the Value of his Commiſſions for Exportation dwindling away daily, by reaſon of the foreign Markets being ſupplied by the *French* with Tobacco, he muſt foreſee that he would ſoon entirely loſe the Benefit of the Commiſſion, and his Country the Benefit of the Production and Sale; therefore, he would willingly reſign a private Benefit, which he foreſaw would ſoon dwindle to nothing, in order to ſecure to his Country the Benefit of the Production and Sale. This Precedent, therefore, can never be of any dangerous Conſequence, but may be of Advantage, by putting us into a Method of preventing our Trade in any other enumerated Commodity, from falling under the Misfortune our Sugar Trade has now fallen into; for when a Branch of Trade is once loſt, it is not ſo eaſily regained.

I ſhall allow, Sir, that our People here at home have an Advantage by Commiſſion, and by ſeveral other Articles, when Sugars are exported; but when none are, they can have no ſuch Advantages. They have already loſt thoſe Advantages, and therefore cannot be ſaid to be in Danger of loſing them by this Bill: But their private Loſs is not the only one; the Nation, by endeavouring to preſerve the Advantage they had by Commiſſion, has loſt the Advantage of the Production and Sale. The Advantage they had by Commiſſion, is what we cannot recover; the national Advantage in the Production and Sale we may recover, and I have ſhewn, that the Regulation propoſed by this Bill, is the proper Way of doing it. With regard to Refining, the Caſe is the ſame, our People can have no Advantage by Refining for Exportation, unleſs we do export; and if Foreigners can underwork us in the Refining Trade, may not they do it in *French* Sugars, as well as thoſe of our own Growth? We had better, therefore, furniſh them with Sugars unrefined, than with none at all. Our Sugar-Bakers could no Way ſuffer by it, becauſe they now refine little or nothing for Exportation: Nay, if Foreigners ſhould refine all we ſent them, our Sugar-Bakers could no Way ſuffer; for as none of thoſe Sugars could be re-imported, our Sugar-Bakers would retain the Refining Trade for home Conſumption, which is the only Trade they now enjoy. But the great Decay in our Exportation of refined Sugars, is not ſo much owing to our People's being out-done or underwork'd in the Refining of Sugars by Foreigners, as to the high Duties paid upon Importation, which the Refiner muſt advance and lie out of, till he has made his Sugars fit for being exported. This is the Cauſe that none but rich Men can engage in the Trade; and when a Trade is confined to a few Hands, or to the Rich only, tho' the Labourers may have but ſmall Wages, the Maſters will not be ſatisfied with ſuch ſmall Profits, as they would be, if there were a great Number of Men of moderate Fortunes engaged in the Trade.

I am, indeed, ſurprized, Sir, to hear it ſo much as imagined, that our Ships employed in the direct Exportation of Sugars would refit at foreign Ports, or that Planters or Foreigners would become the chief Owners of ſuch Ships. As the Seamen muſt all be continued in Pay, till the Ship returns to *Britain*, the Maſter would certainly put off refitting, till he returned hither, becauſe he could here immediately diſcharge his Seamen, and thereby ſave all their Wages during the Time his Ship was refitting, whereby he would ſave more than the Difference, if there be any, between refitting at this Port, and refitting at any other Port in *Europe*; and as the major Part of his Owners muſt, by this Bill, be ſuch as are reſiding in *Great Britain*, they would generally chuſe to have a Concern in

refitting their Ship, and would therefore oblige him to return hither before he refitted. But ſuppoſe theſe Ships were all to be refitted in foreign Ports, ſuppoſe the Seamen ſhould ſpend all their Wages there, and ſuppoſe the Ships were all to belong to Planters and Foreigners, our People here at home could loſe none of the Advantages they now enjoy; becauſe we now export no Sugars, and conſequently can have no Ships or Seamen employed in that Trade. We can now have no Ships employed in the Sugar Trade, but ſuch as are employed in bringing hither our Sugars for home Conſumption; therefore, for Example's Sake, I ſhall ſuppoſe, we have now *twenty* Ships employed in the Sugar Trade, and that by regaining a Sale for our Sugars at foreign Markets, *ten* other Ships ſhould be employed in the direct Exportation: Our People here at home would ſtill have all the Advantages they now have by the *twenty* Ships, and, allowing every Thing that can be ſuppoſed, they would get ſome Advantages, which they do not now enjoy, by the other *ten* Ships being obliged to repair to ſome Port in *Britain* before their Return to the Plantations. Therefore, if by allowing a direct Exportation, we ſhould recover our foreign Sugar Trade, our People here at home would certainly reap ſome Benefit they do not now enjoy, and the Nation would reap a great deal.

With regard, Sir, to what has been ſaid about foreign Linens, I do not think, that our allowing a direct Exportation of Sugars would make the leaſt Alteration in the Price of that Commodity to the Planter; for if he employed the Maſter of a Ship, as his Supercargo, to purchaſe Linens for him, he muſt allow the Maſter Commiſſion for what he does as Supercargo, and the Maſter muſt go to a Factor at *Hamburgh* for purchaſing ſuch Linens, as well as a *Weſt-India* Factor muſt go to a *Hamburgh* Factor at *London*. In both Caſes the Planter muſt pay double Commiſſion, the Freight and Inſurance is the ſame, and as the Linens muſt be landed in *Great Britain*, and muſt be put into a Warehouſe, whilſt the Ship is refitting, I believe the Planter would find the Linens come dearer than if he had commiſſioned them from *London*, or any other Port in *Great Britain*. I ſhall, indeed, allow, that the Maſter and Seamen might, perhaps, furniſh themſelves with a few Shirts, or the like; but muſt we never allow any of our Ships to put into a foreign Port, for fear our Seamen ſhould lay out a little of their Money at that Port? Or ſhall we grudge their laying out a Moiety of their Wages among thoſe Foreigners, who pay them the Whole of their Wages? For thoſe that purchaſe the Cargo, are the Perſons that pay the Freight, and conſequently pay both the Maſter and Seamen their whole Wages.

Now, Sir, with regard to the *African* Trade, if a Cargo for *Africa* can be got better or cheaper in *Holland*, or at *Hamburgh*, than in *Great Britain*, I ſhall allow, that People will always purchaſe that Cargo, as well as every other Cargo, where they find they can have it beſt and cheapeſt; but, I am ſure, it is more probable, that a Ship deſigned from *London* for *Africa*, will ſail to *Holland* or *Hamburgh*, there take in her Cargo for *Africa*, and proceed with it directly to *Africa*, than that a Ship will take in a Cargo in *Holland* or at *Hamburgh*, which ſhe is obliged to land in *Great Britain*, and reload again, before ſhe can proceed to *Africa*. Therefore, if any Thing can ſerve to ſecure to us the whole Benefit of our *African* Trade, it will be this, of allowing a direct Exportation of our Sugars; for as many of thoſe Ships may return by the Way of *Africa* to our Plantations, and as it will be extremely inconvenient for them to take in any Part of their Cargo for *Africa*, at the Port where they unload their Sugars, they muſt all reſolve to purchaſe the Whole in *Great Britain*, even tho' they ſhould pay a little dearer for it, than they could have it at the Port where they unload.

The only other Objection I can think of, Sir, is that relating to the Inſurance, upon which I muſt obſerve, that Sugar is a very dangerous Commodity to inſure, and Cuſtom has, I think, ſettled the Price at a Rate not equal to the Riſk; ſo that, if we ſhould loſe the Inſurance upon our Sugars deſigned for a foreign Market, it would be no great Loſs with reſpect to our future Gains, and with reſpect to our preſent, it could be no Loſs at all, becauſe we export none, and conſequently can get nothing by inſuring Sugars for a foreign Market; for this is the Miſtake that runs thro' the Whole of the Argument againſt this Bill: It is ſuppoſed, that we now make great Advantages by the Exportation of Sugars, and that we are to loſe ſome of thoſe Advantages by admitting a direct Exportation; which is a Suppoſition that appears to be falſe, by the Accounts upon our Table. But even as to our future Gains, if we do recover an Exportation of Sugars by Means of this Bill, I believe they will be all inſured in *Great Britain*; for as every Planter muſt have a Correſpondent in *Britain*, and as our Planters will always put a greater Confidence in *Britiſh* Inſurers than in foreign, I think it highly probable, that every one of them will order all the Sugars he ſends to *Britain*, or even directly to foreign Parts, to be inſured at ſome of our own Offices; ſo that with reſpect to Inſurance, we ſhall, probably, rather increaſe than diminiſh that Trade by the Bill now before us.

Having now, I think, Sir, anſwered all the Objections that have been made to this Bill, I ſhall take Notice of one Advantage we

must reap, if we can, by Means of this Regulation, recover the Exportation of Sugars to *Holland*, *Hamburgh*, or the *Baltick*. As our Ships that carry Sugars directly to either of these Places, must return to *Great Britain*, and must return in Ballaſt, if they cannot find a Cargo where they are, they will accept of any Freight, rather than go without; which will of Courſe bring the Rate of Freight from theſe Places to *London* ſo low, that none but they, beſides the uſual regular Sloops, will ever be employed; ſo that we ſhall recover the Advantage of Freight from thoſe Countries, which is an Advantage we have in a great Meaſure loſt, becauſe moſt of the Goods we take from them, are now ſent to us in their own Bottoms.

Upon all which, Sir, I muſt conclude with ſaying, that I can ſee no Inconvenience we can be expoſed to, by having this Bill paſſed into a Law. The only Danger I apprehend is, that it will not anſwer the End propoſed, eſpecially, conſidering the many Reſtrictions this direct Exportation is to be loaded with. But if this does not do, we muſt, I hope we ſhall, have recourſe to what my Hon. Friend has propoſed, and to every Thing that can be propoſed, with the leaſt Appearance of Succeſs; for the Sugar Trade, is a Trade of vaſt Conſequence to this Nation, and it is of the more Conſequence, becauſe it is like to go to a Nation, of which we ought to be more jealous, than of any other in *Europe*. Let us not therefore, from little local Views, from Views of preferring one Part of our own People to another, refuſe any Thing that may contribute towards enabling our Planters, either to produce their Sugars, or to ſend them to a foreign Market, with a leſs Charge, than they can do at preſent. I ſhall always have a due Regard for our Mother Country; I ſhall always be for giving this Iſland the Preference in every Branch of Trade, as long as that Preference does not expoſe us to the Danger of being ſupplanted by Foreigners; but wherever I ſee an apparent Danger of this Kind, I ſhall be for preferring our own People to Foreigners; and therefore ſhall be for taking off every Reſtraint, that was contrived by the Wiſdom of our Anceſtors for giving an Advantage, or a Monopoly of that Trade, to the People of this Iſland. It is this that makes me for the Bill now under our Conſideration, and this ought to make every Gentleman for it, that has a greater Regard for the Trade of *Britain*, than he has for the Trade of *France*. Whether we ſhall endeavour to recover the former, or eſtabliſh the latter, is the only proper Queſtion now before us; but I am convinced my Hon. Friend did not view it in this Light: If he had, I am abſolutely certain, he would have ſaid nothing againſt it.

[*This Journal to be continued in our next.*]

Extract of a Letter from Mr. William Richardſon, *who was on board the* Burford *at the taking of* PORTO BELLO.

ON the auſpicious 5th of *November* laſt, we weighed Anchor, and ſailed from *Jamaica* for *Porto Bello*: The *Burford*, Admiral *Vernon*; the *Hampton-Court*, Commodore *Brown*; the *Louiſa*, Capt. *Waterhouſe*; the *Strafford*, Capt. *Trevor*; the *Worceſter*, Capt. *Main*; and the *Norwich*, Capt. *Herbert*; being 2 of 70, 3 of 60, and 1 of 50 Guns. On the 21ſt in the Afternoon, we came up with *Porto Bello* Harbour. The Town is ſituate in the Bottom of a Bay, above a Mile deep, and near half a Mile broad at the Mouth of the Harbour, where a ſtrong Caſtle and Fort ſtood on the Side of a ſteep Rock, with 300 Men, and 100 great Guns, called the *Iron Caſtle*: On the oppoſite Side, but about a Mile farther up, ſtood Caſtle *Gloria*, larger than the other, having 400 Men, and 120 Guns, moſt of them the largeſt ever ſeen: This was alſo ſituate on the Side of a high Rock, and under the Cannon of it, and of Fort St. *Hieronymo*, which was a ſtrong Battery nearly oppoſite, all the Ships belonging to the Harbour rode at Anchor. On the *Iron Caſtle* the *Spaniards* hoiſted up the Flag of Defiance; and, as we were told by themſelves afterwards, they wiſh'd earneſtly for our attempting to come in, as believing they could ſink us all immediately; but ſaid, they fear'd we were only making a ſecond *Baſtimento* Expedition, and would not give them the Pleaſure of engaging us.

But they were ſoon gratify'd in their Wiſhes; for the *Hampton-Court* made directly oppoſite to the Caſtle, being in the Van; and, as the Wind had died away, ſhe dropp'd her Anchor before it, receiving a very briſk Fire from the *Spaniards* at the Diſtance of little more than a Cable's Length. She ſoon convinced them that ſhe was both willing and able to return it, for in about 25 Minutes ſhe fir'd above 400 Shot againſt the Caſtle; ſo that nothing was to be ſeen but Fire and Smoke on both Sides. The *Norwich* then came up next, who met with the ſame Reception; and altho' ſhe did not fire quite ſo quick as the *Hampton-Court*, yet we could obſerve that her Shot was ſo well aim'd as to put the *Spaniards* a good deal off their Metal, hardly returning her one Gun for three. In 28 Minutes the *Worceſter* got up alſo, who anchoring cloſe by the other two, did no ſmall Execution againſt the Caſtle, in a little Time knocking down the higher Part of it, and driving many of the *Spaniards* from their Guns. We made all the Sail poſſible, and came before the Caſtle with the Blue Flag at our Fore-Top-Maſt Head, and the Bloody Flag at the Main-Top-Maſt Head, in 20

Minutes after the *Worceſter*. The Admiral, whoſe Conduct and Courage is hardly to be parallel'd, order'd our Anchor to be dropp'd within half a Cable's Length of the Caſtle, as being reſolv'd to convince them we were no Way afraid of all they could do. Notwithſtanding they had diſcharg'd very few Guns for ſome Minutes before we came up; yet, as if they had reſolv'd to ſummon up all their Courage againſt the Flag, they welcom'd us with a terrible Volley, which, being at ſo ſhort a Diſtance, took Place with almoſt every Shot. One ſtruck away the Stern of our Barge; another broke a large Gun upon our upper Deck; a third went thro' our Fore-Top-Maſt; and a fourth, paſſing thro' the Arning within two Inches of our Main-Maſt, broke down the Barricado of our Quarter Deck, very near the Admiral, and kill'd 3 Men in a Moment, wounding 5 others which ſtood by them. This look'd as if we ſhould have bloody Work, but was far from diſcouraging our brave Fellows, (who in every Ship were ſo zealous as hardly to be reſtrain'd from firing) for we return'd their Salute in ſuch a Manner, that altho' they fir'd a Shot now and then, yet they never did us the leaſt Damage afterwards. We drove them from all their lower Guns the firſt Broad Side, and by a Spring upon our Cable, bringing about our Starboard Guns, we gave them another in 3 Minutes, and ſo on for 6 or 7 Rounds, which made them quite ſick of the Affair, and we could obſerve them flying for Refuge into the Ambuſcades. The Admiral, taking the Advantage of this Remiſſion, order'd out the Boats with our third Lieutenant Mr. *Broderick*, and about 40 Sailors, as alſo a Company of Marines and their Officers, whom he commanded to land under the Fire of our Guns in the very Front of the lower Battery; and making a Signal for two other Ships to follow the Example, they all landed ſafe but 2 Soldiers, who were kill'd by the Small Arms from the Caſtle. One Man ſet himſelf cloſe under an Embraſſier, whilſt another climb'd upon his Shoulders and enter'd under the Mouth of a great Gun. This ſo diſmay'd the *Spaniards*, that they threw down their Arms and fled to the Top of the Caſtle; from whence ſcaling backwards, we could ſee them run into the Woods by hundreds, and fly for their Lives.

All the Boats Crews were on the Platform in three Minutes after landing, and ſtruck the *Spaniſh* Flag of Defiance, hoiſting the *Engliſh* Colours. The Capitano and Officers which were taken in the Caſtle, ſhut themſelves up in a ſtrong Lodgment; but upon our Lieutenant's firing a Gun or two thro' the Door, they quickly open'd it, and begg'd Quarter. Thus this *Iron Caſtle* was taken by four *Engliſh* Ships (for the *Louiſa* and *Strafford* were not come up) in two Hours, which, in the Hands of ſo many *Engliſhmen*, might have been defended againſt all the Naval Force of *Spain*. The *Gloria* and *Hieronymo* Forts kept firing towards us all the Time of Action, but moſt of their Shot fell ſhort, or flew over our Rigging. After we had got Poſſeſſion of the *Iron Caſtle*, we tried to reach them with our lower Deck Guns, and could obſerve, that in a few Minutes we were ſo fortunate, as to have ſtruck down their Flag-Staff at the *Gloria Caſtle*, and beat down ſeveral Houſes in the Town; we alſo ſunk a Sloop near Fort St. *Hieronymo* and the *Gloria*. The Conteſt laſting till Night, put an End to the Engagement, when it was reſolved in full Council, that as there was no Wind, every Ship ſhould warp up to the Fortifications, and come to Action as ſoon as poſſible in the Morning; but juſt as we began to move about Break of Day, we obſerved a Boat coming towards us with a Flag of Truce and Terms of Capitulation, *viz. That the Government would deliver up all the Fortifications, provided they might be allow'd to march out with the Honours of War; have an Indemnity for themſelves, the Town, and the Inhabitants; and be permitted to enjoy all the Ships in the Harbour*. This laſt alone was rejected; for the Admiral reſolved to have all the Ships, being *the very Ships* which had done our Merchants all the Injuries complain'd of in theſe Coaſts; as alſo the *Engliſh* Factors and Effects of the *South-Sea* Company, deliver'd up to us.

They readily complied, and we took Poſſeſſion of the Ships and Forts accordingly. In the *Gloria* we found 120 Guns, 200 Small Arms and Blunderbuſſes, as many Swords, 200 Barrels of Powder, four large Mortars, Thouſands of Iron and Copper Balls, with the Guns and Ammunition in the *Iron Caſtle*, of which about 87 (in all) are of Braſs, together with two Men of War of 24 Guns, one Snow of 14, four good Sloops, a Periaguay, and Half-Galley. We have alſo had the good Luck to find about 10,000 Dollars belonging to the King of *Spain*, which the Admiral diſtributed among his Majeſty's Forces for their Encouragement.

We have broke the Trunnions of all the Iron Guns, which will render them uſeleſs, and blaſted all the Foundations, and burnt the Superſtructures of the Caſtles, ſo that ſome Millions will hardly compenſate the Damage. It is abſolutely impoſſible ever to reſtore them to the Condition in which we found them, becauſe the Foundations are ſo much ſhatter'd and ſplit by Mining, as to render it impracticable to attempt rebuilding them on the ſame Spot.

Porto Bello is no large Town, conſiſting only of about 500 Houſes, two Churches, a Treaſury, a Cuſtom-houſe, and Exchange. The Inhabitants depend entirely upon the Fair,

Fair, which is held here about ſix Weeks every 2 or 3 Years in the Time of Peace, according as the Galleons happen to arrive from *Carthagena*, where they always firſt diſpoſe of Part of their Goods, and then come down here, where they are met by all the Merchants from the great Cities of *Lima* and *Panama*, with Millions of Money to purchaſe their Merchandize. (See Admiral *Vernon's* Account, and a farther Deſcription of the Place, *&c.* in our laſt, p. 147, 148, 149, 150.)

Craftſman, March 29. N° 717.

Remarks on the Succeſs of his MAJESTY'S *Arms, under the Command of Vice-Admiral* VERNON.

THE taking of *Porto Bello*, blowing up all the Fortifications, ſeizing their Ships, bringing away a great Quantity of *Braſs Cannon*, and deſtroying the reſt of leſs Value, ſo that the *Place* can never be fortify'd again without a prodigious Expence, are a very great Honour to *that brave Officer*, who did all this with SIX MEN OF WAR ONLY. But when we conſider his *Humanity to the Inhabitants*, which is always inſeparable from *true Courage*, we have Reaſon to expect farther Conſequences from it; for the *Place* being now laid open to *Trade*, and in our Hands, why may not we reap ſome Advantages from it? The Inhabitants of that Part of the World can neither eat nor drink *Silver*, *Gold*, or *Diamonds*: They muſt therefore be ſupply'd with *Food* and *Raiment* from ſome *foreign* Nation; and therefore, why may not *we* ſhare, at leaſt, in *this Trade*, as well as any *other Country*, when we have ſo conſiderable a Pledge in our Hands?

But having mention'd that this important Acquiſition was obtain'd by *ſix Men of War only*, it muſt be confeſs'd, that Admiral *Vernon* was very much obliged to his Excellency Mr. *Trelawney*, the preſent worthy Governor of *Jamaica*, who finding the *Admiral* ſent thither upon ſo national an Account, without any *Land-Forces*, or any diſcretionary Power to raiſe them in any of our *American Colonies*, generouſly furniſh'd him with about 200 *Men*, being half the *Land-Force* of the whole Iſland. He could not have done this, if he had not firſt render'd himſelf exceedingly beloved there by his diſintereſted Adminiſtration, and wiſe Conduct in making a Treaty with the *rebellious Negroes*.

This is a plain Proof of what we might have done, many Years ago, when we had a much ſuperior Force in the *Weſt-Indies*, under the Command of *another brave and experienced Admiral*.—Yet fewer Men were now loſt in taking the *Place* by Admiral *Vernon*, than died every Day, whilſt Admiral *Hoſier* lay in that unwholeſome Climate. For beſides the Admiral *himſelf*, 2 *other Admirals*, 13 *Captains*, above 40 *Lieutenants*, and near 4000 *common Seamen*, were loſt in that Expedition.

Admiral *Vernon* hath had the good Fortune to meet with much better Succeſs in his Enterprize, ſo prudently conducted, and ſo bravely executed, that it muſt give the utmoſt Joy to all his Majeſty's faithful Subjects, as *both Houſes* expreſs themſelves, ſince it affords the moſt reaſonable Hopes and Expectations that, by the Bleſſing of God upon his Majeſty's Arms, it may be attended with *other important Advantages*, and highly contribute to the obtaining real and effectual Security for thoſe juſt Rights of *Navigation* and *Commerce*, belonging to the *Britiſh* Subjects, for the Preſervation of which his Majeſty enter'd into *this neceſſary War*.

In Anſwer to which, his Majeſty was moſt graciouſly pleaſed to thank them for their dutiful Congratulations on this Succeſs of his Arms, which is ſo much for the Honour and Intereſt of his Crown and Kingdoms, that he declared it to be *very agreeable to him*. (See p. 150, 151.)

This will certainly redound to the immortal Honour of the *gallant Gentleman*, who hath done his King and Country ſuch eminent Service; and who can deſerve it better?—Does it not ſhew the higheſt Degree of Generoſity and publick Spirit in any Man, who had received not only hard Uſage by being deprived of his Right, without any juſt Cauſe, but likewiſe ſeveral Indignities, to leave his Retirement upon the firſt Summons, deſiring only four or five Days to ſettle his Family Affairs, and ſacrifice all his private Reſentments to the Good of the Publick, as ſoon as the Intereſt of his King and Country required his Service? What could the antient Patriots of *Greece* and *Rome* have done more, upon ſuch an Occaſion? What Pleaſure muſt it give the *Admiral*, and the *Officers* under his Command, when they hear what Honours have been paid them in *England*?

But let us ſuppoſe that a competent Number of *Land Forces* had been ſent with them, or after them; what farther Triumphs might we not have expected? Might not one bold and ſucceſsful Stroke have put a ſpeedy Period to *this War*, by reducing our Enemies to honourable Terms, ſaving very great Expence, and many Loſſes, which our *Trade* may yet ſuſtain by the Continuance of it? Would it not, in all Probability, have put us in Poſſeſſion of ſome *important Place*, which might for ever hereafter be a more effectual Security than any temporary Expedients, by the ſtale Method of *Negotiation*?

I cannot, in this Place, forbear mentioning a Story, I lately heard of a *Barber*, moſt of whom have always been great Politicians. A worthy Gentleman being under his Operation, the *Barber* aſk'd him whether he had

not

not heard the *rare News*; upon which the *Gentleman* aſk'd him *What News?*——What News, ſaid the *Barber!* Have you not heard, *Sir*, that we have taken the *Havannah?*—Taken the *Havannah!* reply'd the *Gentleman*, with ſome Earneſtneſs, by what Means?—Why, I'll tell you, *Sir*.—Do you think that the Regiments ſent for from *Ireland* were deſigned to prevent an Invaſion, or Deſcent upon *England?* No, no, *Sir*, that was only a Piece of Policy to amuſe the *Spaniards*; for I have certain Intelligence that they were ſtoln away in Tranſports for the *Havannah*, and are now in actual Poſſeſſion of it.—Egad, *Sir*, let the Malecontents ſay what they pleaſe, our *M——rs* are not ſuch *Blunderers* as they would have them thought!

As ludicrous as this Story may ſeem, it is not without a Foundation of good Senſe; and it were to be wiſh'd, that *ſome of our great Men* had been wiſe enough to hit upon this Scheme of the *politick Barber*.—But to be ſerious.

Admiral *Vernon* hath the Approbation of the *King*, of both *Houſes of Parliament*, and the general Voice of the *People* on his Side.—There may, perhaps, be *ſome Perſons*, who ſecretly wiſh, for *their own Views*, that he had not done ſo much Honour to his long-inſulted Country, and therefore may endeavour to depreciate and ridicule his Conduct in private, whilſt they publickly take the whole Merit of it to *themſelves*. This is the common Artifice of *wicked* and *bungling Stateſmen*; but all the honeſt, unbiaſs'd, and ſenſible Part of Mankind will eaſily ſee thro' ſuch mean Tricks, and deſpiſe them.

It is not to be doubted that the glorious Succeſs of his Majeſty's Arms hath highly provoked the Court of *Spain*, tho' I believe it hath humbled them too, and that they will endeavour to put the worſt Conſtruction upon *this Action*. Let them do it; and may our *Admiral* give them many more ſuch Provocations, till we have mortified their haughty Spirits, and obliged them to ſue for *Peace*, upon juſt and honourable Terms! Admiral *Vernon* hath prov'd himſelf a ſecond *Raleigh* in the *Weſt-Indies*, I hope we ſhall never ſee another *Gondomar* in this Kingdom, nor a *Spaniſh Faction* to ſupport him; but if that ſhould ever be our Curſe, we may firmly depend upon the Juſtice, Wiſdom and Magnanimity of his *preſent Majeſty*, that he will not lend the leaſt Ear to any ſuch Sollicitations, but treat them with the utmoſt Contempt and Indignation.

When I had gone thus far, I happened to caſt my Eye upon the *Gazetteer* of *Monday* laſt; where one of thoſe *modeſt Writers* is pleaſed to abuſe *thoſe Gentlemen*, who have long exerted their utmoſt Endeavours to raiſe a juſt Spirit of Reſentment againſt the *Spaniards*, and give the whole Credit of taking *Porto Bello* to thoſe, who have conſtantly oppos'd a *War*, after a long Series of the moſt provoking Indignities, till the general Voice of the Nation in a Manner forc'd them into it. Nay, it is well known, that *one Perſon* openly oppoſed it to the very laſt, and when it was carried againſt him with a very high Hand, he privately ſneer'd, and ridiculed it in ſuch decent Terms as theſe.——*Well, very well! 'Tis none of my War, but my Lord C——s.* — Common Senſe therefore ought to have inſtructed his *Mercenaries* to be ſilent at leaſt, upon this Head. Let them give their *Patron* all the Merit of our *late tedious Negotiations*, and *pacifick Meaſures*, which I confeſs is his juſt Due; but it is mere Banter to aſcribe to him the Succeſſes of a *War*, which he obſtructed as long as he cou'd. If the *War* had prov'd unfortunate, we know at *whoſe Door* it would have been laid; but ſince it hath hitherto been ſo glorioufly ſucceſsful, by the wiſe Conduct of our *Officers*, and the Bravery of our *Seamen*, the Merit of it immediately devolves to *him* and *his Creatures*.

Who can help ſmiling to ſee *this Writer* foretelling, "That the Greatneſs of *this Action* will be extenuated by the *Country Party*; Doubts may be made, whether more might not have been done; and, in ſhort, every Thing will be ſaid, or written, which can have a Tendency to leſſen the general Joy, and to abate that juſt and univerſal Satisfaction, which ought to be expreſs'd on this Occaſion."

To theſe judicious Predictions, which are not yet fulfill'd, I ſhall only reply, by aſking two or three ſhort Queſtions. — To *which Party* was the *War* itſelf principally owing? —*Which* was the moſt ſtrenuous for an Addreſs of Congratulation to his Majeſty, upon this Occaſion?—And laſtly, who endeavour'd to *extenuate the Greatneſs of the Action*, by ſtruggling to get the moſt material Words left out of the *Addreſs*, viz. *with* SIX SHIPS OF WAR ONLY?

When *theſe Writers* are pinch'd in an Argument, which is commonly their Caſe, they immediately turn their *Tails*, and endeavour to annoy us with *Stink-pots*.—This puts me in mind of a Paſſage in *Dampier*'s Voyages, which is exactly applicable to the *Gazetteers*.

The *Author* tells us, "that there is, in one Part of the *Weſt-Indies*, a *little Creature* with a *buſhy Tail*, called an *Huffer*, becauſe when he ſets Sight of you, he'll ſtand vapouring, and patting with his Fore-feet upon the Ground, tho' he hath no Manner of Defence for himſelf but with his *Breech*; for upon your approaching near him, he turns about his *Backſide*, and ſquirts at you, which is accompanied with the moſt abominable Stink in the World."

Com-

Common Senſe, March 29. N° 165.

THE Author here takes Notice of a Pamphlet, entitled, *Britain's Miſtakes in the Commencement and Conduct of the preſent War*. Where 'tis obſerved, that, before we began to make Repriſals, Advice ſhould have been ſent to all our Colonies, for no Ships to venture out without Convoy: For Want of which Advice, ſeveral of our Ships fell into the Hands of the *Spaniſh* Privateers upon their own Coaſts; and ſome went into their very Ports.

Next, our Ships of War in *America* ſhould not have ſhewn themſelves before the *Spaniſh* Ports, till they went to do ſome effectual Buſineſs; for by looking into their Ports, as was done by our Commodore, and picking up a few ſmall Craft, they alarmed all *America*, hindered the *Spaniards* from loading, and ſending out their Ships of Value, and ſerved their Purpoſe as well, as if they had received Orders from *Spain*, not to venture to Sea.

By the firſt we gave the *Spaniards* an Opportunity of making Advantage of the War againſt us, and by the laſt we diſappointed ourſelves of making the proper Advantage of it againſt them.

This Writer afterwards obſerves, that, by what has happened in relation to Admiral *Vernon*'s taking *Porto Bello*, one would be tempted to think that the *Spaniards* had truſted their whole Safety to our ill Conduct. ——To ſee a Place of that Importance with ſcarce any Gariſon to defend it, the Place where they uſually load their Treaſure, by the taking of which our People, if they had had any Soldiers, might have marched to *Panama* without any Thing to interrupt them; the Place before which an Admiral with 24 ſtout Men of War lay, till ſo many thouſand brave Seamen miſerably periſh'd by the Contagion of the Air, that ſcarce enough were left alive to bring away the Ships, and the gallant Admiral died of a broken Heart,—— to ſee it taken with the Loſs of three or four Men, and by *ſix Ships only*; tho' a great Man aſſerted, with his uſual Modeſty and Knowlege of Affairs, that it was impregnable; muſt not all the World turn their Eyes upon one Man, and aſk him, what we have been doing for 20 Years paſt, that we ſhould ſuffer ſo many Loſſes and Indignities from ſo weak an Enemy, whom we might have brought to Reaſon, without putting the Nation to any Charge worth mentioning?

The *Craftſman* of *April* 5. contains ſome Obſervations on a Book written by a *Frenchman*, entitled, *Political Reflexions upon the Finances and Commerce of* France. Mr. *D'Anvers*'s Deſign is to expoſe the ridiculous Pretenſions of this *French* Writer to the Honour of the Flag in the *Britiſh* Seas. But as his Quotations from this Piece are much the ſame with thoſe he made in a former Paper, (which ſee in our *Magazine*, Vol. VIII. p. 654, *&c.*) we ſhall not repeat them here.

Common Senſe, April 5. N° 166.

The admirable STATE ELIXIR.

SIR,

BEING ambitious of a Place in your Paper, I was long in Doubt with myſelf, whether I ſhould begin with Matter of Inſtruction, or Matter of Amuſement. There are ſome Objections to be made to both; grave Subjects, tho' of never ſo important a Nature, weary the Mind, and render the Blood melancholy, with a little more than ordinary Application. On the other Side, mere Amuſement is not an Employment worthy of a Man of Senſe: I therefore reſolved to mix one with the other, and ſo make up a Compoſition that might pleaſe all Palates.

In thoſe fine Climates which are bleſſed with a warmer Sun, and a more pure and thin Air, as well as among the happy few who are ſucceſsful, powerful, and proſperous in the World, the *Serious* ought to be applied; becauſe ſuch Perſons are very apt to be defective in Point of Reflection. It is for this Reaſon, I preſume, that a Miniſter in a certain Country, who is arrived almoſt to the Years, as well as to the Wiſdom of *Neſtor*, hath in no one Thing demonſtrated his ſuperior Genius more, than in correcting the volatile and gay Humour of his Countrymen, by preſenting to them ſerious Objects of the greateſt Importance to their Safety; ſuch as Schemes for the encouraging Trade and Commerce; Treaties to annex conſiderable Dominions to their former Poſſeſſions; and a conſtant Attention to the Errors and Blunders of their Neighbours, in order to make a proper Advantage of them.

On the other Side, in a thick and groſs Air, that nouriſhes black and melancholy Thoughts, which are apt to end in that Diſtemper called the Vapours; or in Countries where all publick Affairs are in an apparent State of Declenſion; all the Productions of the Preſs ſhould favour ſtrongly of the Ludicrous and the Gay; even Ridicule ſhould be heightened as bad Meaſures encreaſe, or as the People become more ſenſible of them: Conſummate Knowledge, and Calamities irretrievable, claim the ſtrongeſt and moſt engaging Amuſements. Hence it is, I preſume, that in ſome Nations, political Comedy hath not been thought of Force ſufficient; the loweſt Farces have therefore been exhibited to the Publick, and the moſt ridiculous *Zani's* employed to be the principal Actors in them.

While

While ſome Pretenders to Science write Preſcriptions, which only ſerve to agitate and inflame, there is a certain State *Hippocrates* in the World, who, putting into one Scale of that golden Balance, where with ſo nice and judicious Hand he has been uſed to weigh the Strength and Intereſt of Kingdoms and Empires, a certain Quantity of that Spleen and Knowledge, with which his enlightened, tho' foggy Climate, is apt to be oppreſſed, and placing in the other Scale a certain Quantity of Ingredients very proper for making a Kind of *Politico-Ridiculum*, has compoſed an Elixir ſo peculiarly adapted to the Genius of his own Country, as not to be endured by any other Nation under the Sun; ſo true is that old and homely Saying, *That what is one Man's Meat, is another Man's Poiſon.*

It is owing to the conſtant Uſe of this Elixir, that all the publick Tranſactions of that Nation are become the moſt comical Things in the World; ſo very comical, that even in the gloomy Month of *November*, when Foreigners have ſatyrically obſerved, that the *Engliſh* begin to hang and drown themſelves, the moſt penſive and melancholy Perſons in that Country don't only find a harmleſs Amuſement, but even Diverſion in ſome publick Affairs.

This great *Æſculapius* himſelf often clears up the cloudy Brow of Buſineſs with a Kind of boiſterous Mirth, and frightens away Care with a certain Noiſe, which, among merry Ruſticks, is known by the Name of the Horſe-laugh; his Temper giving Colour and Complexion to Things, juſt as his Counſels give them Strength and Activity.

Nor does his Regard for the Health and Conſtitution of his dear Country confine itſelf within narrow Limits, but extends to Inſtances of all Kinds and Natures. Travellers lately arrived from that Country tell us, that he hath prevented many ſcrophulous Diſorders, by adviſing an exceſſive Tax to be laid upon Salt; frequent Drunkenneſs, as well as Fevers, by aboliſhing a certain Law, which brought the People of every Province together, once in three Years, to agree amongſt themſelves, whom they thought the honeſteſt Man in the Province; broken Shins, and black Eyes, by adviſing an Edict to be publiſhed, that no more than five or ſix Men ſhould meet to be merry together at a Time.

As to Gout, Stone, Rheumatiſm, and all thoſe vicious Humours which are the Effect of an over florid Health, and too abundant Feeding, there is not a Doctor in the World to be compared to him; by ſtrong Evacuations, and by a conſtant Courſe of bleeding and purging the Body politick, he hath ſo intirely eradicated theſe Diſtempers, that, for ſeveral Years paſt, there hath not been a Complaint of any Diſorder proceeding from Repletion.

He had alſo an excellent Receipt to prevent the bad Effects which might be occaſion'd by Surfeits of Wine and Tobacco, and ſeveral other Things; but I don't hear what became of it.

It muſt be no ſmall Pleaſure for the People in the Country where this great Man hath ſet up his Stage, and practiſes with ſuch an extraordinary Reputation, to ſee all Ranks and Degrees of Men put into Motion by the Force and Efficacy of his Elixir:—To ſee Heroes cutting Figures at Reviews,—Miniſters cutting out new Places for their Friends at home,—Negotiators cutting out Provinces for their Enemies abroad,—the reſt of the People cut out of their Eſtates,—and fine Advantages cut out for all *Europe* beſides,—all by the Operation of his Medicine:—Who can ſee this without crying out, with the Poet,

——— *ridiculum acri*
Fortius & melius magnas plerumque ſecat res?

a Maxim as uſeful to Stateſmen as Satyriſts, tho' never known till brought over with innumerable other Rarities from *Terra incognita*, by this great *Columbus*, who hath diſcover'd a new World in Politicks, which is a direct *Antipodes* to the old.

Nor ſhall I ſtick to affirm, that the ſage Miniſter whom I have diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of *Neſtor*, took ſome Hints from the latter; that he never would have been ſo ſucceſsful in Affairs had he not been inſtructed by the pleaſant Schemes, Treaties, and Negotiations, *&c.* of this new *Columbus*;—*facile eſt inventis addere.*

Would he, for Example, ever have thought of the Acquiſition of *Lorrain*, if the *ſemper Auguſtus* had not been deſerted by his antient Allies? Would he ever have—But I ſhall break off, tho' I have a thouſand Things to add, to haſten to a Fable which, as it contains no abſtruſe Meaning either political or moral, is a proper Concluſion for this Diſcourſe.

The SPIDERS. *A* FABLE.

'TWAS in a lofty Gothick hall,
An old and venerable place;
Entrench'd ſecure within the wall,
Dwelt the laborious ſpider-race;
O'er whom with arrogance and pride
A bloated chieftain did preſide.

He with fair ſhew and ſubtle parts,
Unbounded empire had obtain'd;
And with the ſame ungracious arts,
In virtue's ſpite his pow'r maintain'd;
While ſome a private intereſt ſway'd,
And others were by theſe betray'd.

Strange tales are forg'd, prepoſt'rous lies,
Fit coinage for a faithleſs court,
Of armies of invading flies,
That from ſome foreign clime reſort;

And

And all are ſummon'd to oppoſe,
With real force, theſe fabl'd foes.

Or ſooth'd with hope, or urg'd by dread,
The people toil with ceaſeleſs pains;
To guard the realm thick webs are ſpread,
While ev'ry web their vitals drains;
Till weak, exhauſted, and beſet,
The fools are caught in their own net.

MORAL.

While jaundic'd faction miſapplies,
To *Spaniſh dons* our *Britiſh flies*;
Our bloated ſpider to ſir *B*—,
His arts to penſions, bribe, or job;
Or from our cobweb wou'd convey
Strange fears of armies kept in pay;
Let ev'ry loyal reader know,
This happen'd many years ago.

The *Craftſman* of the 12th gives us a Converſation between Mr. *John Tar*, Mariner, (ſuppos'd to have arrived with Capt. *Rentone* from the *Weſt-Indies*) and Mr. *Thomas Lobſter*, a Foot-Soldier, concerning the taking of *Porto Bello*. *Common Senſe* of the 12th has more Extracts from *Britain's Miſtakes*, &c. But as a great deal has been already ſaid on theſe Subjects, we ſhall omit them here, for the Sake of a greater Variety: Only we ſhall give our Readers one Paragraph from the laſt mentioned Paper.

AS to the preſent War, (ſays Mr. *Common Senſe*) I believe, our Author thinks it ſhould have been begun as ſoon as it was reſolv'd upon, which, no Doubt, might be done againſt ſo weak an Enemy; he ſuppoſes it was reſolv'd upon early in the Summer: His Words are to this Effect: "Soon after the Beginning of *June* ten Regiments were brought from *Ireland*, for what Purpoſe I cannot comprehend; a hot Preſs for Seamen was begun; an Embargo laid upon our Trade; Proclamations publiſh'd for encouraging Seamen to enter into his Majeſty's Service; Orders iſſued for making a very large Addition to our Land Forces; the Right Hon. *Horatio Walpole*, Eſq; his Lady, and Family ſent upon an extraordinary Embaſſy to *Holland*, and as great Noiſe made thro' the whole Nation, as if we had been upon the Brink of being invaded by a new *Spaniſh Armada*, or of entering upon one of the moſt dangerous, and deſperate Wars this Nation was ever ingaged in. Theſe alarming Preparations we ſhould have had no Occaſion for, if we had begun to prepare about the End of *March*; and conſidering what hath ſince happen'd, I can ſee no Effect they have had, but that of diſtreſſing our Trade, preventing the uſual Supply of Coals for the City of *London*, which hath this Winter been moſt ſeverely felt, amuſing our own People, and giving Warning to our Enemies to take Care of themſelves, which they did in the moſt effectual Manner they could, by ſending eight or ten Advice Boats one after another, which they were permitted to do without Interruption, to their *Aſſogue* Ships, then upon their Return from *America*, to ſteer the moſt proper Courſe for avoiding falling into the Hands of our Squadron."

A We inſert the following, as a uſeful and neceſſary Caution to great Numbers of People at this Time.

Univerſal Spectator, April 12. N° 601.

Mr. Stonecaſtle, *London, April* 1.

B AS from a long Peruſal of your Writings I am aſſur'd they are calculated for the *Inſtruction* of your Readers, as well as their *Amuſement*, I have thought proper to ſend you this ſhort Letter on *myſelf*, that you might make it uſeful to others.

I am a *Tradeſman* in this City, near fifty Years of Age, who have had very conſiderable Dealings, and, according to the common Expreſſion, *have ſeen a great deal of the World*. C From being ſo long concern'd in Trade without having met with any very conſiderable Loſſes, it might be imagin'd, that I was in very good Circumſtances; but, alas! it is the very Reverſe: About 3 Weeks ago I became a Bankrupt, nor ſhall I be able to pay my Creditors above 5*s.* in the Pound. Since my Affairs have been in this fatal Extremity, I D have made a ſtrict Scrutiny into my Conduct, and muſt impartially confeſs my preſent Misfortunes are in every Particular occaſioned by my own *Follies* and *Indiſcretion*; therefore, tho' I have term'd them *Misfortunes*, I look upon them only as the certain conſequential *Puniſhments* of *Miſmanagement* in *myſelf*.

It would be needleſs to give you the Hiſtory of all my *Miſ-conduct*; let it be ſufficient E to ſay, that the too *faſhionable Luxury* of the Age carried me imperceptibly into too expenſive a Way of living: *Gaiety* introduced a *Neglect* of *Buſineſs*; a *Decay* of *Buſineſs* brought on a *wilful Neglect* to balance my *Books*; and from *that*, in a mad Kind of Folly and Deſpair, I plung'd on in my old Way, knowing that I muſt ſoon become a F Bankrupt, yet by every Shift and Artifice driving the *evil Day* as far off as poſſible.

This Conduct muſt, to any thinking Man, ſeem to be the Proceeding of a *Madman*; it was ſo: But as mad as my Conduct was, I am too ſenſible there are very large Numbers of *Tradeſmen* in this *City*, who are ruin'd by the ſame *Frenzy*: Without Doubt there are unavoidable Misfortunes in *Trade*, and in private Family Affairs, which no human Care G or Foreſight can prevent, and the moſt *induſtrious Trader* and moſt *prudent Man* may become *Bankrupts*: But I am afraid the major Part of the Names, which we ſee in the *Ga-*

zettes, of Men who have *failed* in the World, are not inſerted there from the unavoidable *Misfortunes* of Life, but from their own *Imprudence* and *Miſ-conduct*.

What I would inculcate, Mr. *Stonecaſtle*, from this Repreſentation of my own Caſe is, that what is call'd *Fortune* is not in Reality ſo great an *Enemy* to Mankind as *they* are to themſelves; and the Generality of thoſe People, who, compaſſionating themſelves, cry, they have been *unfortunate*, ſhould with more Sincerity ſay, as I do, that they have been *Fools*.

TOM TRUECASE.

Craftſman, April 19. N° 720.

Mr. D'Anvers,

THE late Lord *Moleſworth* obſerves, that there are no *Seditions*, *Mutinies*, or *Libels* againſt the Government in *Denmark*.—The Reaſon is very plain; for there is no ſuch Thing as Liberty in *Denmark*; it having been long ago given up by the Corruption and Degeneracy of the *Nobility*, and the Reſentment of the *Commons*.

This, I ſuppoſe, is the ultimate Deſign of the *miniſterial Writers* and their *Patron*, who are perpetually crying out againſt *Sedition*, *Faction*, and *Libelling*; and therefore I have been long conſidering of a *Project*, which I think is now almoſt brought to Maturity, and I hope will anſwer their Intentions. I muſt confeſs I ſtole the whole Plan of it from *Machiavel's Prince*; which I ſhall apply to a *Miniſter*, and therefore deſign to purſue the ſame Method, of which the following is a Specimen.

The MINISTER.

CHAP. I. *Of the different Sorts of Miniſters.*

AS *Kings* are called *Gods* in Holy Writ, and every where acknowledged to be *God's* Vice-gerents; ſo a *Miniſter* is certainly the Vice-gerent of a *King*, and ſuperior to *all the reſt of the People*. But of theſe there are ſeveral Sorts.

The greateſt *Miniſter* of all is the *Grand Vizier* in *Turkey*, who is actually a *Vice-Roy*, or a *Prince* himſelf, tho' he often falls a Sacrifice to the *People*.

The next are thoſe, who are call'ed *Prime-Miniſters* in all the arbitrary Courts of *Europe*; ſuch as *France*, *Spain*, and others.

In *free Governments*, or *mixt Monarchies*, the Name of a *Prime Miniſter* was formerly unknown; for the *Adminiſtration* always uſed to be divided into different Branches, and every *Miniſter* was anſwerable only for the Buſineſs tranſacted in his own Department; but ſince ſome *free Countries* have lately admitted a *Prime-Miniſter* to be eſtabliſhed and prevail amongſt them, as a wholſome Reſtraint upon the *People*, I will give my beſt Advice by what Means it may be done.

CHAP. II. *How a Miniſter may make himſelf abſolute in a free Government.*

He, who deſigns to make ſuch an Attempt, ought to conſider, that it is not in the Power of the *Prince* to ſupport him in it, till the Spirits of the *People* are in a good Meaſure ſubdued, and their Purſes drain'd. He muſt therefore endeavour to form a *Party* ſtrong enough to oppoſe them, by a proper Diſtribution of *Titles*, *Honours*, *Places*, *Penſions*, and *other Gratuities*.

CHAP. III. *Of Armies.*

As *ſuch a Scheme* may probably meet with great Oppoſition at firſt, it will be neceſſary to keep up a large Body of *regular Forces*, under the Command, and at the Diſpoſal of the *Miniſter*, in order to quell *mutinous Spirits*. This may be eaſily done, under various and plauſible Pretexts; ſuch as the Apprehenſion of *foreign Invaſions*, *domeſtick Inſurrections*, *popular Diſcontents*, *ſecret Plots*, or *publick Expeditions*.

CHAP. IV. *Of Peace and War.*

But as it is the Intereſt of *ſuch a Miniſter* to keep up a *numerous ſtanding Army*, for his own Protection and Support, it follows of Conſequence, that he ought by all Means to avoid a *War*, either by *Sea* or *Land*, leſt it ſhould prove ſucceſsful, and turn the Eyes of the People from *him* to *thoſe*, whoſe Conduct and Bravery ſhould do their Country any eminent Service and Honour.—No, ſuch a *Miniſter*, when he hath ſecurely guarded himſelf at home with a ſufficient Number of *Creatures* and *Dependents*, both *civil* and *military*, his next Buſineſs is to amuſe the *People*, and lull them aſleep with *Negotiations* abroad, which he may diverſify by whatever Names he pleaſes; ſuch as *Preliminaries*, *Pacifications*, *Plans of a Pacification*, *Conventions*, or even the moſt *ſolemn Treaties of Peace*, juſt as it ſuits his own private Intereſt and the particular Circumſtances of the Times; and if any Malecontents ſhould have the Preſumption to complain of his Conduct, let him ſtop their Mouths with that excellent Maxim, *Pax Bello potior* amongſt the ancient *Heathens*, or that divine Beatitude, *Bleſſed are the Peace-makers!*

CHAP. V. *How Libellers ought to be uſed.*

But if all theſe Precautions and Regulations ſhould be found inſufficient to reſtrain *factious Tongues*, and *ſeditious Pens*, without openly employing a *military Force*, (which ought to be avoided as much as poſſible) let the *Miniſter* take a Band of *mercenary Writers* into his Pay, in order to combat his *Adverſaries*

at their own Weapons; and if they ſhould happen to be defeated, let him hire *another mercenary Band* to worry them in Form of *Law*. This is no hard Matter in any Country, which abounds with *Lawyers, penal Laws, ſtanch Witneſſes*, and *choſen Juries*; for I am ſpeaking only of *free Countries*, where *Juries*, of ſome Kind or other, are commonly allowed; but if *turbulent* and *ſeditious Tradeſmen* ſhould prove unruly and diſobedient, let the *Court*, or the *Court-Officers* nominate *ſuch Perſons*, as they think moſt fit for their Purpoſe.

CHAP. VI. *Of Plots, Rebellions, and Aſſaſſinations.*

As no Stone muſt be left unturn'd, to raiſe up and ſupport *ſuch a powerful Atlas of the State* as I have been recommending; I ſhall in the next Place obſerve that a *Plot*, a *Rebellion*, or an *Aſſaſſination*, hath often proved of great Uſe, whether *true* or *falſe*; for it is always in the Power of a *wicked* and *arbitrary Miniſter* to foment a *real Plot*, or *Rebellion*, by oppreſſing the *People*; or to trump up a *ſham one*, and prove it too, by *Subornation*, and *hired Witneſſes*, provided he was never guilty of the ſame Practices before; for it is an old Obſervation, that few *Miniſters* have Skill enough to forge above *one Plot*, or Credit enough to cram it down the Throats of the People.

CHAP. VII. *Of Senates, or Aſſemblies of the People.*

In *free Countries*, where the collective Body of the People have a Right to chuſe Repreſentatives, no Pains or Coſts ought to be ſpared to ſecure a Majority of them in the *Miniſter*'s Intereſt and Service, by *Places, Penſions*, and *Bounties*; for it is much eaſier to govern a People, who fancy themſelves *free*, by the Name and outward Appearance of a *Senate*, than by an open Exerciſe of *arbitrary Power*. This is demonſtrable from the *Roman* Hiſtory; for *Tiberius*, and his infamous Miniſter *Sejanus*, as well as the ſucceeding Emperors, kept up the Form of a *Senate*, and the Names of their *antient Magiſtrates*, in order to ſanctify their *own Meaſures*, and preſerve the Appearance of their *old Conſtitution*, which this *Mock-Senate*, and theſe *Mock-Magiſtrates* were continued only to deſtroy.

CHAP. VIII. *How Governments, which were formerly free, and afterwards enſlaved, may be kept in Subjection.*

Machiavel obſerves to his *Prince*, "that there are but three Ways of governing a *conquer'd People*, who have been accuſtom'd to *Liberty*, and liv'd under *their own Laws*. The *firſt* is, *utterly to ruin them*. The *ſecond* is, to *live perſonally among them*. The *third* is, contenting himſelf with a *Penſion from them*, to permit them to enjoy their *old Privileges* and *Laws*; erecting a Kind of *Council of State*, to conſiſt of a *Few*, which may have a Care of his *Intereſt*, and keep the *People* in Obedience; which *Council* being ſet up by *him*, and knowing that it ſubſiſts by *his Favour* and *Authority*, will not omit any Thing, that may propagate and enlarge them."—In another Place, ſpeaking of *mix'd Principalities*, he ſays, "that Men are either to be *flatter'd* and *indulg'd*, or *utterly deſtroy'd*; becauſe, for *ſmall Offences*, they do uſually *revenge themſelves*; but, for *great ones*, they cannot; ſo that *Injury* is to be done in ſuch a Manner, as not to fear *any Revenge*."—This is true *Machiavelian Policy*, and hath been pretty well imitated by ſome of our *northern Stateſmen*, to their great Advantage; for as the *Popiſh Inquiſitors* ſay, *Turn or burn*; ſo a *Proteſtant Inquiſitor* ought to ſay, *Follow me, or ſtarve and be d——n'd*.

CHAP. IX. *The dernier Reſort of an arbitrary Miniſter in a free Country.*

Tho' I am againſt all *ſanguinary Meaſures*, as long as *Lenitives* will prevail; yet, in Caſes of Neceſſity, a *Miniſter*, as well as a *King*, muſt have Recourſe to his *Ratio ultima*, and plant his Cannon againſt all Oppoſers, without giving Quarter to any.—But this is ſo nice a Point, that I have not Time to explain it at preſent.

I am, Sir, Yours, &c.

§. *To* CALEB D'ANVERS, *Eſq*;

Dear Caleb,

I Wonder that you have not yet taken Notice of a late Article in one or more of the Daily Papers; wherein it is ſaid that his *Pruſſian Majeſty* hath order'd *all his Officers*, both *civil* and *military*, to give in a true Account of their *Salaries* and *Perquiſites*, under Pain of being diſmiſs'd from his Service.

I thought this Paragraph would have given you an Opportunity of being a little arch; for you might have obſerv'd, that if *another Court* had iſſued the ſame Orders, and ſeen them punctually executed, very great Secrets might have been brought to Light, and that the *Perquiſites* of ſeveral Offices in this Kingdom, if the whole Truth were known, amount to 20 Times more than the *viſible Salaries*; or elſe how ſhould they raiſe ſuch *vaſt Eſtates*, and build *ſumptuous Palaces*?

Yours, BOB SHORT.

Daily Gazetteer. N° 1505.

MR. *Freeman* acknowledges, that the Malecontents very juſtly commend Cardinal *Fleuri*, but condemns them for doing this in Prejudice of another great Miniſter,

whom he would have to be equal to, if not to excel the former. In order to this, he mentions ſeveral Circumſtances in the Cardinal's Character, and among the reſt his *Love of Peace:* A Circumſtance (ſays *Freeman*) that hath done him much Honour, and his Country much Good. It is the national Defect of the *French*, that they are inconſtant in their Tempers, and have a natural Proneneſs to War. This was the Foible of *Lewis* XIV. who, tho' he was ſucceſsful in all his Wars, but the laſt, yet weaken'd and impoveriſh'd his People to ſuch a Degree, not only in reſpect to their Wealth, but Numbers, that within a ſmall Space after the Peace at *Utrecht*, a noble Duke aſſerted, that in paſſing thro' *France* he had rid many Miles without *meeting a Man capable of bearing Arms.* Upon his Death-bed that Monarch confeſſed this Error of his, looking, as he juſtly might, on ſuch a Waſte of People, not only as a Fault in Politicks, but as a grievous Sin againſt *God.* Of this he gave the King who now reigns a Caution, couch'd in the ſtrongeſt Terms; and inaſmuch as he was then a very Child, this Caution muſt be underſtood as given to his Miniſters. How well the Cardinal hath obſerv'd this Leſſon, how different his Conduct hath been from that of his Predeceſſors *Richlieu* and *Mazarin*, and how much more it hath contributed to the Good of *France*, is too well known for me to inſiſt on. We are every Day told, that his Love of Peace hath made *France* truly formidable; and, which is ſingular, we are told this by the very People who aſſert, that the Love of Peace made *Britain* contemptible.

Common Senſe, April 19. N° 168.

I LOOK upon the Pamphlet, entitled, *The State of the Riſe and Progreſs of our Diſputes with* Spain, as an Abridgment of the Hiſtory of our Negotiations with that Court for ſeveral Years paſt. It is a curious, tho' not a very pleaſing Piece of Hiſtory to an *Engliſh* Reader;—no true *Briton* can, without Mortification, behold the Figure his Country has made thro' the tedious Courſe of this diſagreeable Negotiation.——To ſee a Man who repreſented the moſt powerful maritime Nation in the Univerſe, ſolliciting the Miniſters of that which is the weakeſt, Year after Year, to give Orders that no barbarous Methods might be uſed by the Captors, of clandeſtinely putting *Spaniſh* Money, or *Spaniſh* Goods on board of *Britiſh* Ships, or to cajole the Crew to give falſe Evidence againſt their Captains, in order to condemn the Ships as Prizes, was, ſays my Author, to be ſo unhappily ignorant, as to inſiſt upon what ought never to have been demanded.——The ſeizing of the Ships is not complain'd of; it is only the Irregularity in the Method of doing it, and the falſe Evidence, that is objected to.

My Author obſerves farther, that the *Spaniards* did not deny but that the Cuſtom of putting *Spaniſh* Money or Goods on board *Engliſh* Veſſels, or cajoling the Crew to give falſe Evidence againſt their Captain, ought to be redreſſed, and our M—— demanded no more; this he inſiſted upon, and this is what my Author calls being ſo unhappily ignorant, as to inſiſt upon what ought never to have been demanded.

After ſome more Years Negotiation, Mr. *K-n* writes Word, that he talk'd in a *ſerious* Manner to M. *Patinho* (as if he had been but in Jeſt hitherto) and has procured more effectual Orders than he had been able to procure before. What were theſe Orders? A Cedula from the King of *Spain* to his Governors in *America*, by which they are commanded not to abuſe or moleſt the *Engliſh*, or any of their Ships ſailing in thoſe Seas, ſo long as *they keep in their proper Diſtances*, and are not concern'd in any illicit Trade; ſo that by his being *ſerious* he obtains an Order, by the Acceptance of which the Right of ſtopping and viſiting Ships was, in the Opinion of the *Spaniards*, acknowledged in its full Force.

One cannot think of the Negotiations of ſome M——s without being put in Mind of one of thoſe Horſes at the Academy called *Sauteures*, which is ſet to curvet and prance till it is tired, and when it has done, has not ſtirred one Inch from the Place, where it began.

There is not one Man in *Great Britain* that knows any Thing of the Condition of the *Spaniſh* Settlements in *America*, but has been of Opinion, that any one of thoſe unactive Squadrons, which have coſt the Nation ſo much Money, might have ſettled this Point intirely to our Satisfaction long ago; All (I ſay) that were acquainted with the Affairs of *Spain* knew this from the Beginning; but Admiral *Vernon* hath explained that Matter beyond Doubt even to the Vulgar; nay, to thoſe that are below the Vulgar, to the very Placemen. It is plain we might have been Maſters of the Iſland of *Cuba*, or of any other Place we thought fit; we might have hinder'd all *America* from receiving any Goods from *Old Spain*, and have ſupplied them with the Manufactures of *Great Britain* by Sloops from *Jamaica*, under the Protection of our Men of War. It is well known, the People would be glad to trade with us; they might do it upon Terms of much greater Advantage to themſelves, by buying cheaper, than they can in the ordinary Way by the Flota or the Galleons from *Cadiz*, and without paying any Indulto or Duty to the King; which muſt ſoon have brought the Court of *Spain* to our own Terms.

The reſt of the Eſſays in our next.

The

The MORNING-STAR. *A* RHAPSODY. *Occaſioned by the glorious Beginning of the WAR.*

'Tis well —— at length thy genius, O my country,
—— *perceives returning greatneſs,*
As nature feels the ſpring. Lightly ſhe bounds,
And ſhakes diſhonour like a burden from her,
Once more Imperial, *awful, and herſelf.*
ROWE.

HARK! o'er the flood what ſhouts triumphant roll!
'Tis *Vernon's* voice, and rapture to my ſoul!
Hence, idle themes, 'tis conqueſt claims the page,
The firſt-born conqueſt of a ſlothful age—
I ſee, I ſee, thro' twice a ten years night,
New rays of glory burſt like morning light!
Smit with the beam, imagination glows,
Paſt ſcenes and future in the *now* ſhe ſhows;
And while, enrapt, I graſp the ſounding ſhell,
The viſion riſes, and the numbers ſwell.
Vernon their chief, and heav'n their guardian guide,
Six *Britiſh* veſſels plough the diſtant tide;
Serene and conſtant, tho' the winds oppoſe,
The helm ſtill ſteers 'em, and the canvas flows.
Thus ſlowly dreadful, juſtice moves to deal
A partial *evil* for the publick *weal*;
And ſee! thoſe turrets glitter from the ſhore,
Henceforth for ever doom'd to ſhine no more.
The deſtin'd port * ſalutes the diſtant eye,
Now laſt ſalutes it, for deſtruction's nigh.
The foes, preſumptuous from our long delay, [ſurvey;
With doubt and ſcorn th' approach of fate
Proudly they ſmile, pre-eminent in might,
And rage and hatred prompt 'em to the fight,
For ſlaughter thirſty, burning to deſtroy,
In war (regardleſs of its end) they joy.
But unimpaſſion'd, and ſerenely brave,
To bleſs we puniſh, and deſtroy to ſave,
Approving war but as the means to know
The ſofter bleſſings of the life below;
As drugs are valu'd, tho' their taſte be ill,
For the kind ends their healing pow'rs fulfil.
True valour hence mature and perfect ſprings,
Here genuine glory waves her golden wings,
Encreas'd with danger, aiming ſtill to give
Thoſe joys that make it worth our while to live;
And failing here, not careful to retain
A life of ſlav'ry, the ſevereſt pain.
And ſee, the warm engagement ſcarce begun,
The vaunting coward quits the harmleſs gun—
His haughty guilt, by danger turn'd to fear,
Sees endleſs horrors, led by death, draw near;
Theſe haunt the wretch, unable to deny,
The villain's keeneſt curſe is villany.
Deſpair now ſeizes all the daſtard race,
For courage flies the cruel and the baſe.
But what are thoſe! are thoſe of human kind,
Whom neither man's, nor nature's laws can bind?
See from two guardian veſſels they deſcend,
The town to plunder, which they ſhould defend!
Hail! great *Iberia*—theſe thy children own,
For deeds like theſe, are theirs and theirs alone.
To *Vandals Vandals*, *Turks* to *Turks* are true,
Spight of thy tortures, ſo is *Jew* to *Jew*:
To their own kind, fierce tenants of the wild,
Bears, panthers, lions, are by nature mild:
Hell tho' to heav'n, and heav'n's juſt laws, a foe,
Yet fiend to fiend firm concord binds below.
'Tis thy prerogative for none to feel,
To prize nor father's, friend's, nor country's weal.
And (ſee the wiſdom of the ruling God)
'Tis hence the *Spaniard* is the *Spaniard's* rod.
Far other motives guide their gen'rous foes,
With ſocial love their very vengeance glows;
Conſcious of virtue, ardent in the fight,
See ev'ry eye with hope of conqueſt bright;
As more than mortal, careleſs of the blow,
Mild as an infant to the proſtrate foe.
See victʼry ſmiling crown the righteous cauſe,
And own her *Britons* with a hoarſe applauſe.
See thoſe proud tow'rs, which late our arms defy'd,
Now mount in air, and now in ſmoak ſubſide,
With *Spain's* own fires from their fixt baſis torn,
One ruin, all abandon'd and forlorn.
Abject and vile, behold the vanquiſh'd crew
Deſpair of mercy, which they never knew,
(Their malice impotent) with curſes wait
From injur'd men retaliating fate.
The gen'rous victor ſcorns th' ignoble thought,
And, all a *Briton*, triumphs as he fought;
Yet more his virtues, than his arms, diſgrace
The vile *Barbarians* of the Chriſtian race:
Stranger alike to cruelty and fear,
He frees his captives, nor detains one *ear:*
Ev'n the fell wretch, in peaceful blood imbru'd,
Who baſely maim'd the man he firſt ſubdu'd,
Ev'n he eſcapes, to bear our faith to fame,
And works our glory, as he wrought our ſhame;
Our promiſe ſure, where'er he lives, he ſhows
To the worſt zealots, and the baſeſt foes.
Smit with ſuperior virtue's dazzling blaze,
Their eyes grow dim, and fail 'em as they gaze;
Aſtoniſh'd only, not to virtue won,
They feel, yet curſe our bounty, as they run:
Thus warm'd, thus living on the genial ray,
The birds of night deteſt the beams of day.

* *Porto Bello.*

—With

—With diff'ring looks, behold a joyful train *
Spring to new freedom, and forget the chain.
With joy fraternal bounds my kindred ſoul,
That ſlaves no more ſhall *Britain*'s ſons controul:
Thy ſons, O freedom, to thy arms reſtor'd,
With all their treaſures, by thy *Vernon*'s ſword:
Where *Britons* conquer, all thy bleſſings ſhine,
And ſlav'ry's ſons are by adoption thine.
When goodneſs rules, there's muſick in alarms,
And war ſmiles conſcious of her utmoſt charms;
Then heav'n approves the hero in the fight,
And calls the merciful deſtruction right:
This, O my country, conſecrates thy name,
And wreaths thy legions with immortal fame;
Glorious they move, the injur'd to redreſs,
Stop at that bound, nor touch th' accurſt exceſs:
No wild ambition waves the ſword on high,
No vengeance ſtrikes the vanquiſh'd as they fly.
To give mankind what, ſure, for all was meant,
Untroubled ſafety, parent of content,
We curb, we puniſh, thoſe who vice employ
Heav'n's beſt good gifts to leſſen or deſtroy:
For this our fleets old ocean, pleas'd, receives;
For this good *Philip*'s royal miſtreſs grieves;
For this her ſubjects are foredoom'd to feel
The ſcourge of heav'n in *Britain*'s ſpurning heel.
Thus once I knew, in ſcenes of private life,
Of the ſame nature, an inferior ſtrife:
From courts remote, there liv'd a rural ſwain,
For kind good nature lov'd of all the plain;
Stranger to learning, policy, and wit,
Who never read but what dame Nature writ:
Hard by him too ('tis thought, eſcap'd from clog)
Of manners vile, there liv'd a mongrel dog.
This beaſt preſum'd (more impudent than bold)
In open day, to vex the peaceful fold;
'Twas judg'd from thence, if currs our language knew,
He'd have pretended title ſo to do:
But that apart; the ſwain we nam'd before,
Had catch'd him oft, and beat him o'er and o'er,
Not out of hatred to the curr, beſure,
But of his mere good will, in hopes to cure:
That ineffectual, for the end deſign'd,
Beſides the baſting, he was next confin'd;
And to this hour, I'm told, the careful ſwain
Keeps him alive, within two yards of chain,
And fears (all methods of amendment paſt)
The brute, unmended, muſt be hang'd at laſt.
Look out, the world in very deed unfolds,
What this plain ſimile in figure holds:—
Inthron'd a female fiery form † I ſee,
To guilt a ſlave, and raging at the free;
See, like her parent ‡, drunk with blood ſhe nods,
And ſunk to brute, aſſumes the pow'r of gods!
Madly ſhe raves, and claims the wat'ry world,
While round at random airy threats are hurl'd;
She ſwells—ſhe burſts—the bubble is no more,
All the falſe glitter at one glance is o'er;
She feels her fancy'd pow'r at once ſubſide,
And ſhame and anguiſh ſcourge defeated pride.
So fleets a viſion from the waking eye,
And anxious mem'ry prompts the uſeleſs ſigh;
The dear deluſion is purſu'd in vain,
The flying pleaſures bid the grief remain.
Methinks, through future time I mark, ſedate,
Her gloomy period, the dark point of fate;
To realms, I trace her, from the pompous bed,
Where ſilent darkneſs cloſe enfolds the dead—
But ah! what light, thus ſtreaming thro' the gloom,
Smites the pale marble of the mould'ring tomb?
'Tis he, good prince! who once the ſceptre bore
Of weſtern *India*'s violated ſhore;
Thy king, O *Mexico*, who tortur'd dy'd,
To ſatiate av'rice, cruelty and pride;
From realms of bliſs on miſſive clouds convey'd,
He thus accoſts the new deſcended ſhade:
And is it thou, imperial, haughty dame,
Without thy pomp, without thy titled name?
I greet the monarchs, from thy throne who fall,
Curſing alive, and dying curs'd of all;
Here fame is ſilent, here no muſick charms,
Nor love of gold, nor love of empire warms;
Here ſinks the wretch, whoſe ſcepter was a rod,
In wrath who govern'd, and on juſtice trod;
To bliſs ſuch riſe not, but in vain eſſay
To reinform the interdicted clay;
Affrighting others, of themſelves afraid,
They flit ſad vagrants thro' the dreary ſhade—
Much injur'd *Britain* was thy ſcourge on earth,
And dead, new pleaſures ripen into birth;
The world now reſts, the ſong ſpontaneous flows,
And laſting glory wreaths thy victor foes—
No more,—the viſion darkens on my ſight,
Returning glooms confirm the reign of night;
From the drear ſcene my genius ſprings away,
And pleas'd, returning, hails the beams of day;
Hails the lov'd nation, to whoſe fame ſhe ſings,
Succeſs ſhe cries, *ſucceſs* reſounded rings.
Uncheck'd, unfainting in the martial ſtriſe,
For glorious liberty, the life of life,
Still may my country's arms, as now, ſucceed,
In word no longer mighty, but in deed.
With the warm wiſh, I now conclude the ſong;
To future conqueſts, future ſtrains belong.

Upon Admiral VERNON, *who was found at the Plough, when he was ſent for to go upon the Expedition of* PORTO BELLO.

LET *Rome*, no more, with oſtentation, ſhow
Her ſo long fam'd dictator, from the plough;

Great

* *The* S. S. *Company's Factors.* † *The Queen of* Spain. ‡ Italy.

Great Britain, rival of the *Roman* name,
In arts, in elegance, in martial fame,
Can, from the plough, her *Cincinnatus* fellow,
And ſhow a *Vernon*, ſtorming *Porto Bello*.
O! would ſome god but ſet her lions free
From warlike peace, and martial pageantry;
Uncag'd, as once in *Anna*'s glorious reign,
They ſoon would break all *Europe*'s threatn'd chain,
Tame proud *Iberia*, ſhake the *Gallick* throne,
Give freedom to the world, and keep her own.

On the taking of PORTO BELLO. *Written by the Lord* G—— G——*me.*

Tune, The Sailors Song.

I.

COME, my lads, with ſouls befitting,
Let us never be diſmay'd;
Let's avenge the wrongs of *Britain*.
And ſupport her *injur'd trade*.
The *true ſpirit* of the nation
In our honeſt hearts we bring,
True, tho' in an humble ſtation,
To our *Country* and our *King*.

II.

Spain no longer ſhall aſſume, boys,
The *free ocean*, as her own;
For the time, *at laſt*, is come, boys,
We'll their topſails lower down.
Tho' in politicks conteſting,
Round and round they *were about*;
All their ſhips and *manifeſting*,
With our *broadſides* we will rout.

III.

Hark! the roaring cannon thunders!
See, my lads, fix ſhips appear!
Ev'ry *Briton* acting wonders,
Strikes the ſouthern world with fear.
Porto-Bello, fam'd in ſtory,
Now at laſt ſubmits to fate,
Vernon's *courage* gains us *glory!*
And his *mercy* proves us *great!*

IV.

On our naval ſtrength depending,
Let us *ſteer Old England's courſe*,
When affronted, vengeance ſending,
Shew the world *Old England's force*.
Then loud peals of *Britiſh* thunder,
Rattling on each hoſtile ſhore,
Shall make haughty *dons* knock under,
Nor ſhall dare inſult us more.

V.

May all *Engliſh* lads, like you, boys,
Prove on ſhore *true hearts of gold*,
To their *King* and *Country*, true, boys,
And be neither *bought* nor *ſold*.
Let the *landmen* without *party*,
Act like brethren of the *flood*;
To one cauſe alone be hearty,
And be *that*, for *Britain*'s *good*.

VI.

Then thro' all the mighty ocean
Th' *Engliſh* croſs ſhall honour find,
Far as wave can feel a motion,
Far as flag can move with wind.
Then *inſulting monarchs* ſhewing
More regard, ſhall humbler be,
This old truth of *Britons* knowing,
As they're *brave*, they will be *free*.

On FRIENDSHIP.

An Epiſtle to a FRIEND.

O Friendſhip, rightly underſtood,
Thou greateſt, chiefeſt, only good,
Which here to man is giv'n;
Such bleſſings always from thee flow,
That all whoever felt thee, know
Thy origin's from heaven.

To ev'ry one thou giveſt peace,
Thou makeſt ſtriſe and malice ceaſe,
Ev'n envy thou canſt tame;
Thou mak'ſt the proud before thee bow,
The miſer all his hoard beſtow,
The coward merit fame.

Thou giveſt life to all that live,
Thou giveſt eaſe to all that grieve,
All ſtates of thy ſweets ſhare;
Without thee life's an empty toy,
But thou mak'ſt double ev'ry joy,
Divideſt ev'ry care.

Captives thou mak'ſt forget their chain,
The ſlave his toil, the ſick their pain,
The wounded mind its grief;
Thou raiſeſt hope, diſpelleſt fear,
If there is ought to heal deſpair,
'Tis thou that giv'ſt relief.

Thou mak'ſt all humours to agree,
Parties united are by thee,
Religion don't diſjoin;
Didſt thou but two like ſouls inflame,
Whoſe temper, thoughts, and God's the ſame,
'Twere happineſs divine.

With ſuch alliance us unite,
Let us experience each delight
On mortals thou canſt ſhow'r;
Our bliſs wou'd then be ſo compleat,
Kings wou'd for ages quit their ſtate,
T'enjoy it for an hour.

Rather than have thy *David* ſlain
Thou, *Jonathan*, with brave diſdain
Deſpis'dſt thy father's crown:
And thou, *Alcides*, poets tell,
To free thy *Theſeus* went'ſt to hell,
Nor dreadedſt *Pluto*'s frown.

Who'd not, *Æneas*, wiſh thy fate,
Bear haughty *Juno*'s endleſs hate,
Achates ever by?
Who'd not, *Oreſtes*, rave like you,
To have a *Pylades* as true
To bleſs his miſery?

Friendſhip, ſuch wonders ſpring from thee,
None in thy praiſe can ſilent be,
Thou art of ill's the cure;

But

But ev'ry good ſhould fate ſupply,
Were we alone depriv'd of thee,
Who then could life endure?

To Mr. BEARD, *upon hearing him ſing, at* Hickford's *great Room, in* David's *Lamentation over* Saul *and* Jonathan, *an Oratorio, written by Mr.* Lockman, *and ſet to Muſic by Mr.* Smith.

TO hear thee in a ſweetly-ſolemn ſtrain,
Deſcribe fall'n *Iſrael* on the crimſon'd plain,
Such wond'rous force the mournful lines receive, [grieve:
Each ſees the bleeding king, and hears him
Sees him, faſt flying from the treacherous foe,
(His ſoul a prey to inexpreſſive woe;)
Sees *David* and his bands, with weeping eye,
Hang o'er his urn, and hears them ſadly ſigh.
Say whence this magic that inſpires thy tongue,
To ſpeak each word as tho' a ſeraph ſung!
Let thoſe who think verſe loſes all its fire,
When tun'd to muſic's animating lyre,
Suſpend their judgment, and their cenſure ſpare, [clare.
Till firſt they hear thee: — nor till then de-
Had the raſh YOUTH *, who gave the fatal wound,
Spoke with thy energy; the melting ſound,
Charming the monarch's mind, had brought relief;
Kept back his ſword, and ſooth'd his piercing grief.

To Mrs. ARNE, *upon hearing her perform in the Character of* Roſalinda, *a dramatick Piece written by Mr.* Lockman, *and ſet to Muſick by Mr.* Smith. *Performed at* Hickford's *great Room, in* Brewer-ſtreet.

OFT as we read the royal maid's diſtreſs,
And hear of pangs love only can ſuppreſs:
When, ſick of courts, from proffer'd crowns ſhe flies;
And laws reſtraining, for a ſubject ſighs;
Compaſſion gently warms each penſive breaſt,
And *Garcia*'s † wiſh'd for, to inſure her reſt.
But when with thy harmonious voice ſhe pines,
The ſoul to tenderneſs at once inclines;
In all her griefs muſt ſtrongly bear a part,
So ſwift the ſweet infection thrills the heart.
Th' obdurate breaſt may boaſt, in vain, its ſteel;
Pierc'd by thy ſtrains, ſoft anguiſh it muſt feel.
Proceed, ſweet warbler, to inchant the age;
Riſe the fam'd rival of th' *Italian* ſtage,
Till each fair boſom catch thy fond alarms,
And *Roſalind*, like *Roſamonda* charms.

From a Poem, juſt publiſh'd, entitled, The RUINS of ROME. *Being a ſeaſonable Caution for the preſent Age.*

DIſſolv'd in eaſe and ſoft delights they lie,
Till ev'ry ſun annoys, and ev'ry wind
Has chilling force, and ev'ry rain offends;
For now the frame no more is girt with ſtrength
Maſculine, nor in luſtineſs of heart,
Laughs at the winter ſtorm, and ſummer beam,
Superior to their rage: enfeebling vice
Withers each nerve, and opens ev'ry pore
To painful feeling: flow'ry bow'rs they ſeek,
(As æther prompts, as the ſick ſenſe approves)
Or cool nymphean grots, or tepid baths
(Taught by the ſoft *Ionians*) they, along
The lawny vale, of ev'ry beauteous ſtone,
Piſe in the roſeat air with fond expence:
Through ſilver channels glide the fragrant waves,
And fall on ſilver beds cryſtalline down,
Melodious murmuring; while luxury
Over their naked limbs, with wanton hand,
Sheds roſes, odors, ſheds unheeded bane.
Swift is the flight of wealth; unnumber'd wants,
Brood of voluptuouſneſs, cry out aloud
Neceſſity, and ſeek the ſplendid bribe;
The citron board; the bowl emboſs'd with gems,
And tender foliage, wildly wreath'd around,
Of ſeeming ivy, by that artful hand,
Corinthian Thericles; whate'er is known
Of rareſt acquiſition, *Tyrian* garbs,
Neptunian Albions high teſtaceous food,
And flavour'd *Chian* wines with incenſe fum'd
To ſlake patrician thirſt: For theſe their rights
In the vile ſtreets they proſtitute to ſale;
Their antient rights, their dignities, their laws,
Their native, glorious freedom———
But ſee along the north the tempeſt ſwell
O'er the rough *Alps*, and darken all their ſnows!
Sudden the *Goth* and *Vandal*, dreaded names,
Ruſh as the breach of waters, whelming all
Their domes, their villa's; down the feſtive piles,
Down fall their *Parian* porches, gilded baths,
And roll before the ſtorm in clouds of duſt.
Vain end of human ſtrength, of human ſkill,
Conqueſt, and triumph, and domain, and pomp,
And eaſe, and luxury. O luxury,
Bane of elated life, of affluent ſtates,
What dreary change, what ruin is not thine?
How doth thy bowl intoxicate the mind?
To the ſoft entrance of thy roſy cave
How do'ſt thou lure the fortunate and great,
Dreadful attraction! while behind thee gapes
Th' unfathomable gulph where *Aſſur* lies
O'erwhelm'd, forgotten; and high-boaſting *Cham*;
And *Elam*'s haughty pomp, and beauteous *Greece*;
And the great queen of earth, imperial *Rome*.

We aſk Pardon of our poetical Correſpondents, a great many of whoſe Pieces are come to hand; promiſing to inſert as many as we can in our next.

* *The* Amalekite. † *The Nobleman for whom* Roſalinda *was ſuppos'd to entertain a ſecret Paſſion.*

THE

THE Monthly Chronologer.

The Addreſs of the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of *London*, (as promis'd in our laſt) was as follows:

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of *London*, in Common-Council aſſembled, beg Leave to congratulate your Majeſty on the glorious Succeſs of your Majeſty's Fleet in the *Weſt-Indies*, under the Command of Vice-Admiral *Vernon*; who with *ſix Men of War only*, and the Aſſiſtance of about 200 Land Forces from *Jamaica*, entered the Port, and took the Town of *Porto Bello*, demoliſhing and levelling all the Forts and Caſtles thereto belonging, deſtroying or bringing away all the Guns and Ordnance with which they were defended; at the ſame Time treating the Inhabitants with the utmoſt Humanity, opening their Harbour, and reclaiming from Captivity your Majeſty's Subjects in the Service of the *South-Sea* Company, unjuſtly detained at *Panama*.

The Execution of this important Service, with ſo ſmall a Force, and with ſo much Intrepidity, muſt greatly redound to the Reputation of your Majeſty's Arms, and ſtrike a Terror into the Enemy, who will now by Experience be convinced (whatever miſtaken Notions they may have formed from this Nation's long Forbearance) that the maritime Power of *Great Britain*, being at length exerted, is able effectually to vindicate the Glory of your Majeſty's Crown, revenge the Injuries of your People, and retrieve the Honour of the *Britiſh* Flag.

This auſpicious Beginning of the War muſt give your Majeſty's faithful Subjects the moſt reaſonable Expectation of obtaining ſuch future Succeſſes, by your Majeſty's wiſe Application of your Forces in the further Proſecution of the ſame vigorous Meaſures, as may put your Majeſty in Poſſeſſion of a real and effectual Security for the Navigation and Trade of your People.

We think it in a particular Manner incumbent upon us, as Repreſentatives of the greateſt Trading Body in the Nation, to aſſure your Majeſty, that we will chearfully contribute to the utmoſt of our Abilities, in Support of a War ſo neceſſary for the Protection of our long injured Trade, and entered into at the unanimous Deſire of your Majeſty's Subjects.

The King's Anſwer.

I thank you for your Congratulation: You have no Reaſon to doubt, but that in all my Meaſures, as I have hitherto had, ſo I ſhall continue to have, a due Regard to the Honour and Intereſt of my Crown and Kingdoms, and to the Safety and Protection of all my Subjects.

His Majeſty's Anſwer to the Commons Addreſs, that he would be pleaſed to give Directions, that ſuch a Number of Ships may be appointed to cruize in proper Stations for the Security and Protection of Trade, as ſhall be conſiſtent with the Defence and Protection of his Majeſty's Dominions, was as follows:

"All poſſible Care has been taken in carrying on the War againſt *Spain* in the moſt proper and effectual Manner, and at the ſame Time for protecting the Trade of my Subjects; and you may be aſſured, that the ſame Care ſhall be continued."

March 31ſt, at Night, there was a magnificent Ball at Sir *Thomas Robinſon*'s Houſe, *Whiteball*; at which were preſent the Dukes of *Richmond*, *Grafton*, *Bedford*, *Marlborough*, *Montague*, and *Newcaſtle*; the Earls of *Pembroke*, *Cheſterfield*, *Eſſex*, *Carliſle*, *Burlington*, *Albemarle*, and *Malton*; the Lords *Carteret*, *Hervey*, and *Harrington*; Sir *Robert Walpole* and Mr. *Pulteney*; with about 200 of the Nobility and Gentry of both Sexes. There were 30 Couple of Dancers divided into two Sets, and 12 Card Tables. The Company came at 7; at 12 there was a cold Supper, with a fine Deſert; and they broke up at 6 the next Morning: During which Time, every Thing was conducted with the greateſt Order and Regularity; and the whole Company were highly pleaſed with the Entertainment.

WEDNESDAY, *April* 2.

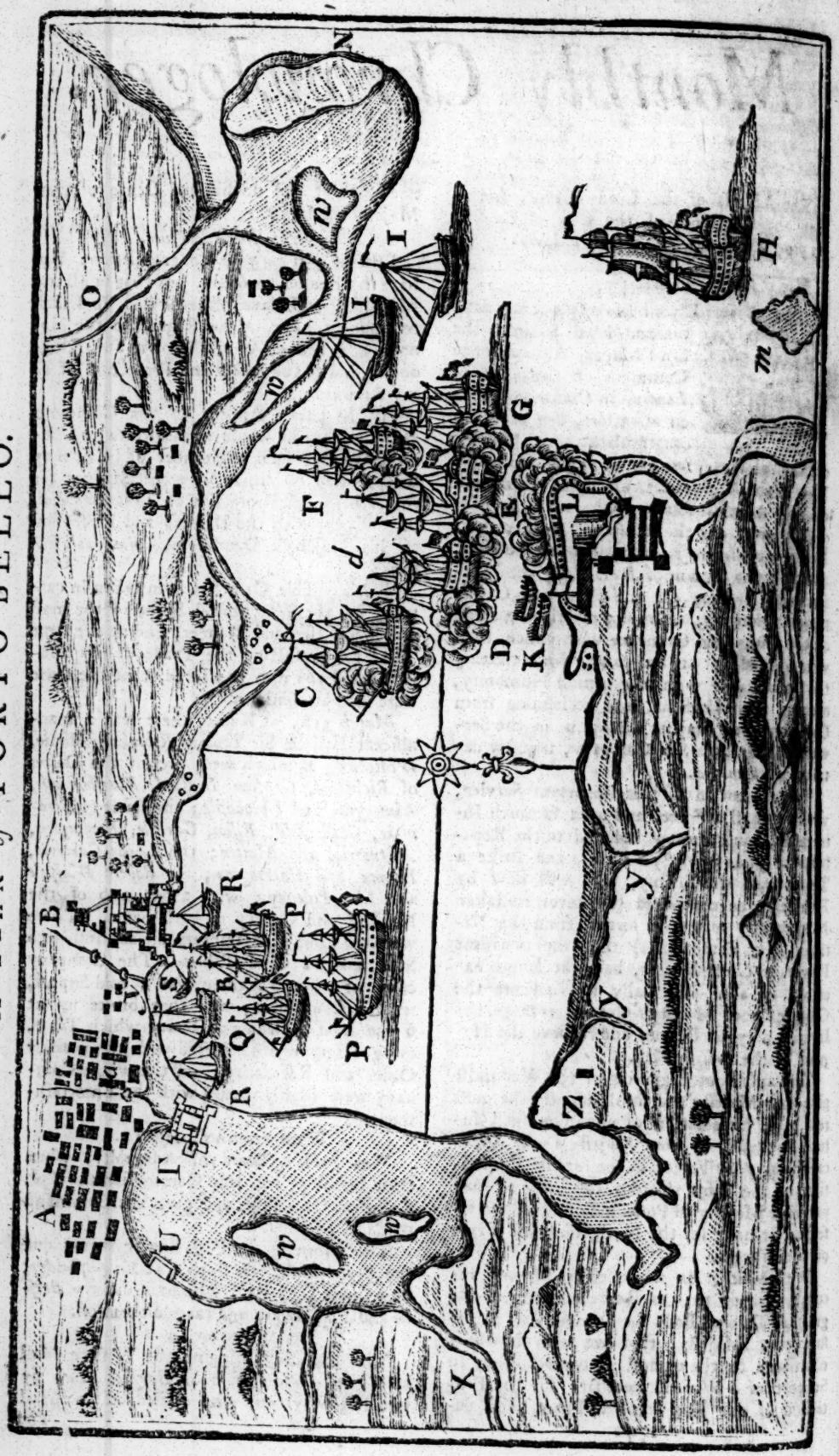
Was held a Board of Admiralty, when their Lordſhips put into Commiſſion the *Rye*, a new 20 Gun Ship, and gave the Command to Capt. *Luſhington*.

This Morning the Poſt-Boy, carrying out the *Briſtol* Mail, was ſtopp'd at *Knightſbridge*, by a ſingle Foot Pad, who took out the *Briſtol* and *Bath* Bags, and carry'd them off.

FRIDAY, 4.

The Poſt-Boy bringing the Weſtern Mail to Town, was ſtopp'd on *Bagſhot-Heath* by two Highwaymen, who carried off the Mail

A PLAN *of* PORTO BELLO.



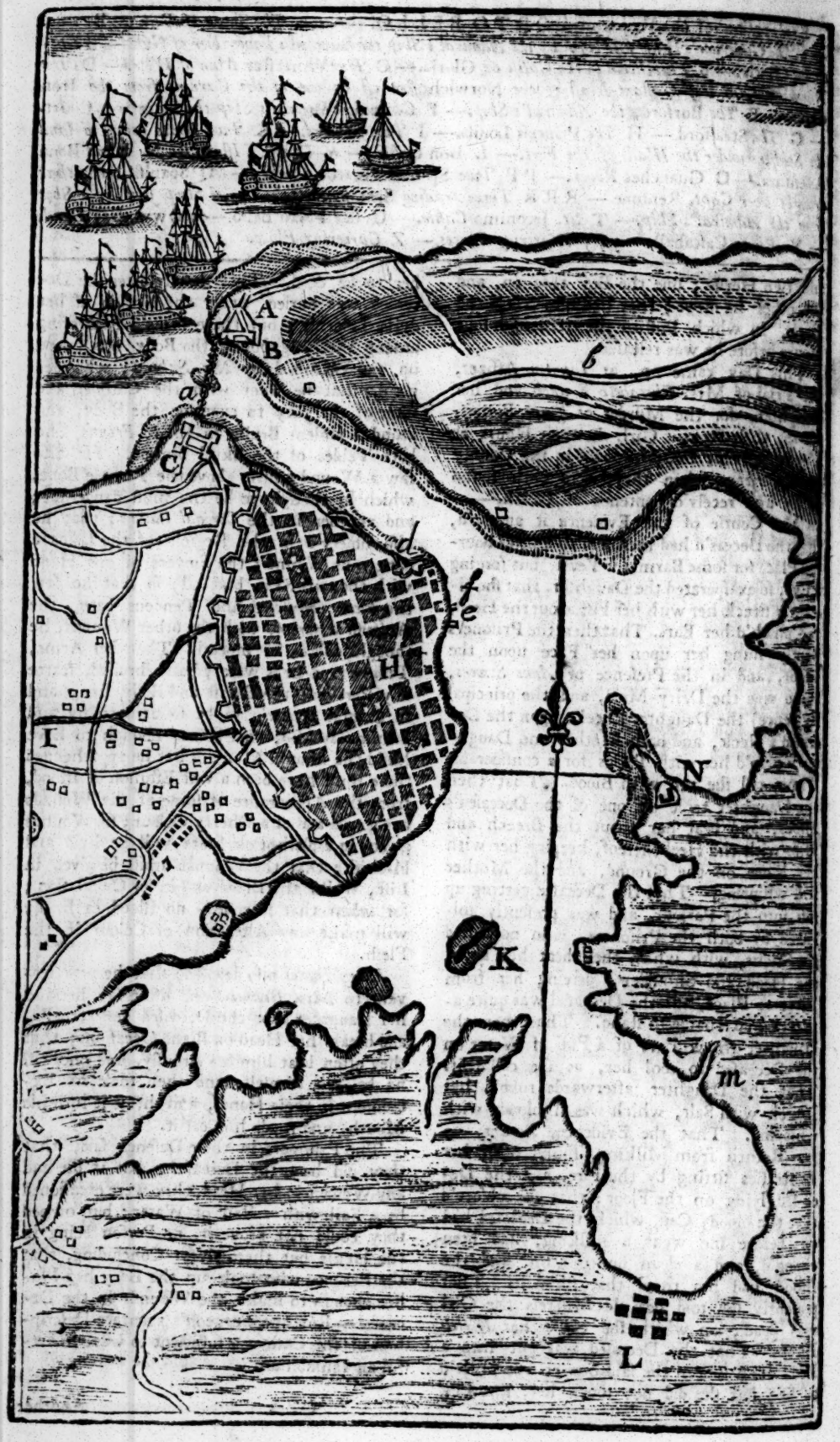
Explanation of the PLAN of PORTO BELLO. —— A *The Town of* PORTO BELLO. —a *The Governor's Houſe ſhot thro' by the Admiral's Ship the* Burford's *lower Tier of Guns.*—B *Caſtle* de Gloria.— b *Plantation in the Caſtle* de Gloria.— C *The* Worceſter *Man of War.*— D *The* Norwich.— d *Top-Gallant-Maſt of the* Norwich *ſhot off by one of the Cannon from the* Iron *Caſtle.*— E *The* Burford, *the Admiral's Ship.*— F *Commodore* Brown's *Ship the* Hampton-Court. — G *The* Strafford.— H *The* Princeſs Louiſa.— I *Two Tenders.*— K *Two Boats going to land the Soldiers under the Walls of the Fort.*— L Iron *Caſtle.*— m Drake's *Iſland.*— N *Iſland* Bona Aventura.— O Guanches *River.*— P P *Two* Spaniſh Guarda Coſta's.— Q Spaniſh *Snow that brought over Capt.* Rentone.— R R R *Three trading* Spaniſh *Sloops.*— S *A Sloop ſunk by a Shot from the Admiral's Ship.*— T *St.* Jeronimo *Caſtle.*— U *Old* Porto Bello.— wwww *Dry Land.* — X *River* Caſcahall.— y y y *Watering Places.*— Z *Careening Place.*

and two Horſes; one the Boy rode on, and the other he drove; they tied him Neck and Heels, in which Poſture he remain'd four Hours before he was releaſed.

This Day came on, at *Taunton* Aſſizes, the Trial of Mrs. *Elizabeth Branch* and her Daughter, for the Murder of *Jane Butterſworth*, their Servant Girl, in their Houſe at *Hemington*, near *Philips-Norton* in the County of *Somerſet*; when they were both found guilty and receiv'd Sentence of Death.—— In the Courſe of the Evidence it appear'd, that the Deceas'd had been ſent to a neighbouring Place for ſome Barm, (or Yeaſt,) but forging a Lye, ſo exaſperated the Daughter, that ſhe violently ſtruck her with her Fiſt about the Head, and pinch'd her Ears. That then the Priſoners jointly flung her upon her Face upon the Floor, and in the Preſence of *Anne Somers*, (who was the Dairy-Maid, and the principal Evidence) the Daughter kneel'd upon the Deceaſed's Neck, and both Mother and Daughter whipp'd her with Twigs for a conſiderable Time, till ſhe ran with Blood. That then the Daughter took off one of the Deceaſed's Shoes, and beat her about the Breech and Hips with the Heel thereof, keeping her with her Knee on the Ground, and the Mother ſtill whipping. That the Deceaſed getting up ran into the Parlour, and was preſently followed by both the Priſoners, who now had got Sticks, with which they beat her about the Head and Shoulders, driving her from Place to Place, till the Deceaſed was quite amazed and unable to ſtand. That then the Daughter threw Part of a Pail of Water on the Deceaſed to cool her, as ſhe call'd it. That the Daughter afterwards rubb'd her Breech with Salt, which was all bloody with whipping. That the Evidence, *Somers*, on her Return from Milking, found both her Miſtreſſes ſitting by the Fire, and the Deceaſed lying on the Floor; that ſhe obſerv'd that the bloody Cap, which the Deceaſed had on before ſhe went a milking, had been chang'd, and a clean one put on, and the Blood had ran thro' that likewiſe. That preſently ſhe told her old Miſtreſs the Girl was dead; on which ſhe call'd her *Welch* Bitch. That the Deceaſed was put into a Bed, with whom the ſaid *Somers* was order'd to lie; but ſhe did not touch her, knowing her to be dead. That ſhortly after the Deceaſed was buried, under the Notion of her dying ſuddenly; but there being a Muttering among the Neighbours, the Body was taken up and examin'd by Mr. *Salmon*; who depos'd, that he went with the Coroner and ſome of the Jury to examine the Body, and found a violent Bruiſe in the *Os Frontis*, and both Tables of the Skull broken. He alſo ſaw a Wound a little above the Temple Bone, which he thought to be the moſt dangerous; and another in the *Coronal Suture*; that he alſo obſerv'd in the Regions of the Loins a dangerous Wound; the Fingers of one Hand with the true Skin beat off, ſo that he ſaw the *Flexor* Muſcles and Tendons bare, the Anguiſh whereof, with the other Wounds, he thought might be mortal: That her Arms, Thighs and Legs were greatly bruiſed, ſcarce any Part but the Breaſt and Belly free; and in general appear'd to be ſo barbarouſly and inhumanly uſed, that it was enough to have kill'd the ſtouteſt Man: That he apprehended there muſt have been a vaſt Effuſion of Blood, from the Appearance of ſome of the Wounds being pale and of a Cherry Colour; for Wounds given in a plethorick State will be livid and blackiſh; that the Wounds muſt be given in Life, whilſt the Blood was in its Circulation; for when that is ended, no Blood or Bruiſe will make any Alteration of Colour in the Fleſh.

Henry Butler alſo depoſed, that he was Servant to Mrs. *Branch*, and often ſaw her and her Daughter beat the Deceaſed very cruelly, and break her Head on ſlight Occaſions; that they often beat him barbarouſly, and once till he be—— himſelf, and then took his Excrement in their Hands, and thruſt it into his Mouth, and made him eat it.

The Priſoners in their Defence ſaid, that they did beat the Deceaſed; but if ſhe had any Wounds in her Head, they were occaſioned by a Fall with a Pail of Water; but owned they could not prove it, no Perſon being in the Houſe but themſelves: Concluding, that the Perſons who took up the Body had Malice enough to make the Wounds in the Deceaſed.—But the Surgeon's accurate Deſcription of the Caſe was ſufficient to wave ſo artful an Inſinuation.


A
B
a
b
C
d
e
f
H
I
K
L
m
N
O

Explanation of the PLAN of the HAVANAH. —— A *The* Morro *Caſtle of* 52 *Guns.* —a *Boom and Chain croſs the Harbour.* — B *Battery called the* 12 Apoſtles. —b *Road from the Eaſtern Caſtle* 5 *Miles from the Town; by landing a few Miles to the Eaſt, and getting Poſſeſſion of this Hill, which commands the Town and Caſtles, the Place may be taken with no great Difficulty.* — C *Fort St.* Maria, *or* de la Punta, *of* 30 *Guns.* — d *Fort where the Governor reſides, with* 22 *Guns.* — e *The Mole.* — f *The Point Gate and Small Fort.* — g *The Land Gate.* — H *Market-Place.* — I *River* Lagida, *falls into the Sea near* 5 *Miles Diſtance towards the Weſtern Caſtle.* — K *Iſland* de Mugeres. — L *Village of* Guanabacoa. — M La Doctora. — N Noſtra Sgniora de la Regla. — O Venta, *or Inn* de Marimelena. —— *Note,* This City is reckoned the firſt for Strength in the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, the Port inacceſſible to an Enemy, the Harbour very ſafe, and able to contain 1000 Sail. The Air very healthy for the Climate, and Proviſions plentiful. Here the Galleons from *Carthagena* and *Porto Bello*, and the Flota from *La Vera Cruz*, meet in their Return to *Spain*, to take in Proviſions, and proceed together for better Security.

Another material Circumſtance of Guilt appeared from the Priſoners refuſing to admit any one to ſee the Deceaſed, who was buried in the moſt private Manner.

When Sentence of Death was paſſed, old Mrs. *Branch* appeared very little concerned; but the Daughter continued at the Bar ſuing for Mercy.

Mrs. *Branch* was poſſeſs'd of 200 *l.* a Year. There were eight Counſel to plead their Cauſe, and great Plenty of Money was expended to ſave their Lives.

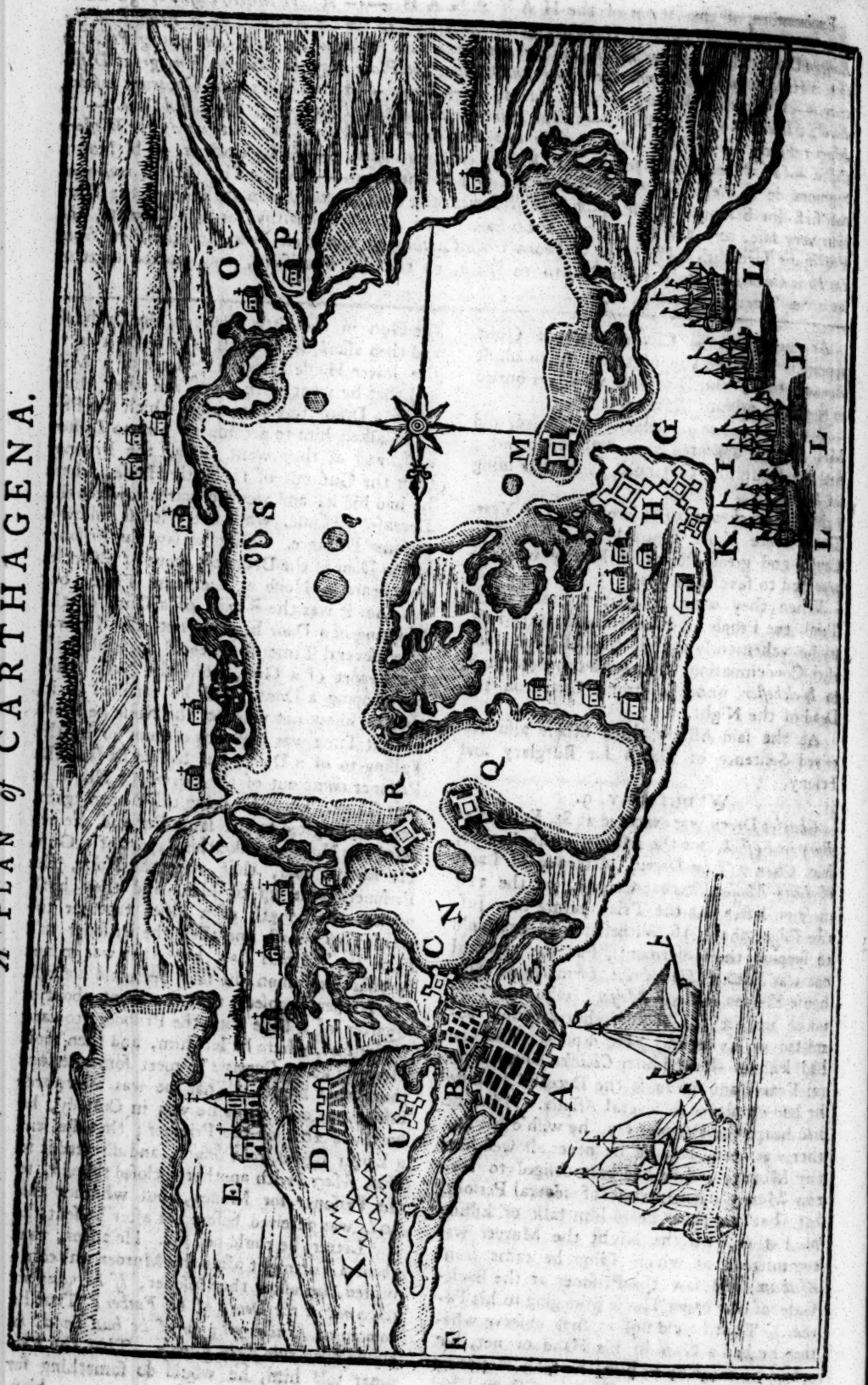
When they were brought to take their Trial, the People all around the Country roſe, crying vehemently againſt Mrs. *Branch*; and after Condemnation, they were conveyed back to *Ivelcheſter* under a ſtrong Guard in the Dead of the Night.

At the ſaid Aſſizes three others alſo received Sentence of Death for Burglary and Felony.

WEDNESDAY, 9.

Charles Drew was executed at St. *Edmund's-Bury* in *Suffolk*, for the Murder of his Father, Mr. *Charles John Drew*, Attorney at Law, of *Long-Melford* in that County, on the 31ſt of *Jan.* laſt. At the Trial, before Mr. Juſtice *Page*, about 16 Witneſſes were examin'd to ſupport the Indictment; but the principal one was *Edward Humphreys*, formerly an Alehouſe Keeper at *Long-Melford* (who had been taken up for the Murder, but was now admitted an Evidence.) He depoſed, That he had known the Priſoner *Charles Drew* ſeveral Years, and likewiſe the Deceaſed, whom he had employed in ſeveral Affairs. That he had heard the Priſoner ſay, he wiſh'd his Father was dead, becauſe he never allowed him any Money, and he had been obliged to borrow Money upon Intereſt of ſeveral Perſons, but that he never heard him talk of killing his Father, till the Night the Murder was committed; at which Time he came from *Witham*, and ſaw the Priſoner at the Back-Gate of the upper Houſe belonging to his Father. That he did not at firſt obſerve whether he had a Gun in his Hand or not, but when he came up to him, he took Notice he had a Gun with him. That he (*Drew*) hid the Gun in the little Houſe in the Orchard, and then aſked the Witneſs to go with him to the lower Houſe (about a Quarter of a Mile off) that he went with him, and they there drank a Dram together; after which the Priſoner aſked him to accompany him to *Lyſton-hall*, and as they went along, the Priſoner took the Gun out of the little Houſe, where he had hid it, and went forwards towards the Deceaſed's Houſe, while the Witneſs follow'd at ſome Diſtance. That he ſaw the Priſoner at the Door of the Deceaſed, about 11 o'Clock, and heard a Noiſe at the ſame Time, but whether it was the Report of a Gun, or the Clapping of a Door he could not tell. He was aſked ſeveral Times if he could not diſtinguiſh the Report of a Gun, from the Noiſe made by clapping a Door; and he perſiſted in it, that he knew not whether the Noiſe he heard at that Time was made by a Gun, or by the Falling-to of a Door; but he ſaid he ſaw the Priſoner come out of the Deceaſed's Houſe at that Time. Upon his being call'd upon again, and interrogated to the ſame Purpoſe, he depoſed the Noiſe was like the Report of a Gun. He farther ſaid, that after the Noiſe, the Priſoner came up to him, and they both walked the Length of 2 Fields together towards *Lyſton-hall*, and then the Priſoner told him, *the Job was done*, but what was meant by that Expreſſion, he ſaid, he could not tell. He farther depoſed, that he went about a Quarter of a Mile with the Priſoner, toward *Lyſton-hall*, where he left him, and then took Horſe to go to *Dunmore* to meet ſome Perſons there that Night. That he was afterwards taken up, and while he was in Cuſtody, he borrow'd 20 *l.* of the Priſoner; that he ſent a Letter ſigned *John Smith*, and directed it to *Wm. Mace*, with another encloſed therein, to the Priſoner for Money, but whether this 20 *l.* was received before, or after he ſent the ſaid Letter, he could not tell. He added, that about a Fortnight after the Murder was committed, he aſked the Priſoner, *If he was not concerned at the Death of his Father?* That he told him, *he was not; for if he had liv'd, he would have ruin'd the Family.* That the Priſoner told him, he would do ſomething for him,

A PLAN *of* CARTHAGENA.



Explanation of the PLAN of CARTHAGENA. —— A *The City of* CARTHAGENA, *in* America, *ſituated* 16 *Degrees* 26 *Minutes Lat. North, and* 75 *Degrees* 21 *Minutes Long. Weſt of* London, *was begun to be built* Anno 1532, *and being finiſh'd in about* 8 *Years, ſoon increas'd in Wealth, Inhabitants, and ſtately Edifices; and its Port was found to be extremely convenient for the* Spaniſh *Fleets: In the Year* 1585, *Sir* Francis Drake, *with a ſmall Force, plunder'd the City, and then ſet Fire to it, which conſumed but one Part of it, the reſt being ranſom'd by the Inhabitants for* 120,000 *Ducats; before it was perfectly repaired, a diſguſted* Spaniard, *with five Privateers, burnt the Town, and ſeized a great Treaſure: It quickly recovered itſelf, both in Riches and Magnificence; but in the Year* 1697, *Monſieur* de Pointie, *with a Squadron of* French *Ships, took the City after a formal Siege, carrying off a very conſiderable Maſs of Treaſure.* — B Xemani, *or the Suburbs.* — C *Fort* Paſtillillio. — D *S.* Philip de Barraxas. — E Notre Dame de la Poupe *commands all the Avenues to* Carthagena *on the Land Side: By this the Treaſure is brought down to* Carthagena, *and whilſt the* Spaniards *apprehend any Danger, they ſend away their Silver, and many of them retire this Way up the Continent.* — F *This Part of the Sea was formerly a Plain, on which the Inhabitants of* Carthagena *uſed to walk, but has been for ſome Time overflowed by the Sea:* Du Pointie *in his Expedition attempted a Deſcent there, that his Buccaneers might ſecure* Notre Dame de la Poupe, *but the boiſterous rolling of the Sea upon all this Coaſt, is an invincible Rampart to* Carthagena, *ſo that it is to be approached only by the Harbour.* — G Boca Checa, *or,* Little Mouth, *going into the Haven.* — H *Fort* Boca Checa; *in a Deſign upon* Carthagena, *this Fort muſt be firſt taken and ſecured.* — I *Fort St.* Philip. — K *Fort St.* Jago; *theſe two Forts were erected ſince the* French *Deſcent.* — L L L French *Ships anchoring before* Boca Checa. — M *Fort St.* Joſeph. — N *The anchoring Place, at about* 10 *Fathom depth, from whence the* French *bombarded the City.* — O P Paſſa Cavillas, *or the* Horſe Paſſage. — Q Caſtillio Grande, *or Fort St.* Cruz; *this Fort muſt be taken before an Enemy can bring up his Ships to cannonade the Town.* — R *Fort* Manzanilla. — S Ila de Bruga. — T *The Place where the* French *landed their Troops after they got into the Harbour.* — V *Fort St.* Lazarro. — X *The* French *Camp.*

him, on Account of the Acquaintance they formerly had had together, and that he heard nothing of old Mr. *Drew*'s Death, till after he had been in *London.* He acknowledged likewiſe, that the Priſoner had promiſed him 1000*l.* if he could keep a Secret, but what that Secret was, he knew not.

Other Witneſſes ſwore, that *Humphreys* was at *Melford* that Night, and that when he came thither again about a Fortnight after, the Priſoner went to his Houſe at Midnight; that when *Humphreys* was apprehended, the Priſoner ſhewed a very great Uneaſineſs, threatened the Conſtable, and when a Gentleman preſs'd him very ſtrongly to proſecute *Humphreys*, and told him plainly the Suſpicion he would lie under, if he did not do it, he was ſo far from taking his Advice, that he would have bribed that ſame Gentleman to endeavour at getting *Humphreys* diſcharged: That ſoon after this he went to *London*, where he took the Name of *Thomas Roberts*, left off his Mourning, and wore lac'd Cloaths, and took great Pains to conceal himſelf, but was taken by the indefatigable Endeavours of *Timothy Drew*, of the *Inner-Temple*, Eſq; to whoſe Hands a Letter from *Humphreys* to the Priſoner came by Miſtake, occaſioned by his being of the ſame Name: That he gave Orders for conveying away his Eſtate, and hired one *William Mace* to go from *London* to *Bury* Goal (where *Humphreys* was confined) to *hear what he would ſay:* That while the Priſoner *Drew* was in *Newgate*, he endeavoured to corrupt one of the Turnkeys to let him eſcape, and go with him to *France*, by giving him a Bond for 1000*l.* a Bill of Sale for ſeveral Things of Value, (Part of which he deliver'd) and a Note in which he promiſed him half his Eſtate, in caſe he ſhould come home by his Majeſty's Indemnity or otherwiſe; all which Papers, and three or four Rings that the Priſoner gave him, were produced in Court.

The Priſoner called only two Witneſſes to his Defence; one as to the Time of Night when he went from home, the other as to the Time when he got to *Lyſton-hall:* But they differed ſo little from *Humphreys*, that they ſeemed rather to confirm his Evidence than to contradict it. Upon the Whole, the Evidence was ſo ſtrong againſt him, that the Jury in a few Minutes, and without going out, found him guilty of the Indictment. The Council for the King were Mr. Serjeant *Prime*, Mr. *Lloyd*, Mr. *Clarke*, Mr. *Baldwin* and Mr. *Williams:* For the Priſoner, Serjeant *Urlin* (the Deputy-Recorder of this City) and Mr. *Pilſworth.*

This unhappy Parricide was about 25 Years old, a handſome Man, and his Perſon very much admired. But by reaſon of Family Diſcords, little Care had been taken of his Education; ſo that having never had any Taſte for rational Entertainments, or polite Amuſements (unleſs Courſing and Poaching may be reckon'd ſuch) he was naturally led to herd with mean People. By this Means he fell into bad Company, ſuch as Smugglers, Poachers, *&c.* and growing fond of Women, whoſe Characters were not extraordinary, Want of Means to ſupply his Extravagancies, occaſion'd it frequently

quently to be buzz'd in his Ears by his Companions, that 'twas Pity his Father ſhould poſſeſs ſo plentiful an Eſtate, and he (the Son) be in continual Want of Money. Theſe Inſinuations firſt put him on meditating the horrid Deed, which he ſoon after reſolved to perpetrate.

This Evening Vice-Admiral *Balchen* ſailed from *Plymouth Sound*, with the following Ships of War under his Command, *viz.* the *Ruſſel*, Capt. *Charles Denniſon*, of 80 Guns (the Flag Ship); *Norfolk*, Capt. *Thomas Graves*, of 80 Guns; *Graſton*, Capt. *Thomas Davers*, of 70 Guns; and the *Deptford*, Capt. *John Yeo*, of 60 Guns. The Admiral ſteer'd directly for Cape *Finiſterre*, where he was to be join'd by five of his Majeſty's Ships of War that had been cruizing off that Station, *viz.* three of 70 Guns each, one of 60, and another of 50.

MONDAY, 14.

Printed Copies of the ſtanding Order of the Houſe of Commons, made *Jan.* 31, 1718, *viz.* 'That all Protections and written Certificates of the Members of that Houſe be 'declared void in Law, *&c.*' were, purſuant to a Reſolution of the Houſe, of *March* 20 laſt, affixed at all the publick Places throughout the Cities of *London* and *Weſtminſter*, &c.

His Majeſty in Council order'd, that the Embargo ſhould be taken off from all Merchant Ships and Veſſels whatſoever, in the Ports of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, Outward-bound.

The Condition mention'd in granting Protections to the Merchant Ships, ſince the taking off the Embargo, is, that they ſhall be obliged to carry one Third of their Crew Land-men.

TUESDAY, 15.

The Anniverſary of the Birth of his Royal Highneſs the Duke was celebrated, when he enter'd into the 20th Year of his Age.

FRIDAY, 18.

The *Experiment*, a 20 Gun Ship, lately launched, was put in Commiſſion, and the Command thereof given to Capt. *Rentone*.

SATURDAY, 19.

The 7 following Malefactors were condemn'd at the *Old Bailey*, viz. *John Singleton*, for picking the Pocket of *Henry Lambton*, Eſq; of a Gold Watch and Seal.—*Margaret Newell*, for picking the Pocket of the Chevalier *Charles Raſca* of a Gold Watch.—*John Hide*, for robbing *William Auſtin* on the Highway.—*John Moor*, for robbing Mr. *Freeman* in his Coach on *Hounſlow-Heath*.—*John Hetherington*, for ſtealing upwards of 30 *l.* in the Dwelling-houſe of Mr. *Dudley*.—*Tho. Clements*, a Butcher of *Clare-Market*, for the Murder of *William Warren*, another Butcher.—*Joſeph Parker*, for returning from Tranſportation.—At this Seſſions was tried Mr. *Edward Barton*, an Attorney of *Hampſhire*, for the Forgery of a Bond for 83 *l.* who, after a Trial of nine Hours, was acquitted.

TUESDAY, 22.

His Grace the Duke of *Devonſhire*, Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, arrived at his Houſe in *Piccadilly*, from that Kingdom.

WEDNESDAY, 23.

Richard Hoare, Eſq; an eminent Banker in *Fleet-ſtreet*, was unanimouſly choſen Alderman of the Ward of *Farringdon Without*, (in the Room of Sir *Francis Child*, Knt. deceaſed,) without his ſpending one Shilling, or aſking one Man for his Vote (he being now at *Bath*.) A very rare and uncommon Example! tho' fit to be imitated at all Elections whatſoever.

This Evening the Upper Church at *Guildford* in *Surrey* fell down. There was Preaching in it on *Sunday* laſt, and Workmen were employ'd in taking down the Bells and Steeple, who had quitted the Spot about a Quarter of an Hour before the Accident happen'd, ſo that not one Perſon received any Hurt, tho' great Numbers were Spectators, it being their Fair Day. Three Bells had been taken down, and the other 3 fell with the Steeple, which broke the Body of the Church to Pieces.

FRIDAY, 25.

The Lords of the Admiralty appointed Capt. *Savage* Commander of the *Winchelſea*, a 40 Gun Ship; Capt. *Harcourt Maſters* Captain of the *Fox*, a 20 Gun Ship; and Capt. *Moſtyn* receiv'd his Commiſſion, as Captain of one of the new 20 Gun Ships.

At the Aſſizes at *Stafford* 3 Men received Sentence of Death, one for the Highway, one for Coining, and one for Horſe-ſtealing.—At *Shrewſbury*, one for Burglary, and one for ſtealing a Mare.—At *Hereford*, two for Houſe-breaking.—At *Monmouth*, one for ſtealing out of a Dwelling-houſe 3 *l.* 10*s.*—At *Briſtol*, one for Shop-lifting, one for Houſe-breaking, and a Woman for entering a Dwelling-houſe, and ſtealing thence divers Sorts of Goods.—At *Eaſt-Grinſtead* 6, *viz.* 2 Men for breaking and entering the Dwelling-houſe of *Philip Clark*, with Intent to murder him; 3 for Burglary, and a Woman for robbing on the Highway.—At *Glouceſter* 5, *viz.* 2 for the Highway, one for ſtealing to the Value of 10 *l.* one for Houſe-breaking, and one for ſtealing a Mare.—At *Poole* in *Montgomery-ſhire*, a Man for Horſe-ſtealing, a Woman for ſtealing a large Quantity of Money, and another Woman for the Murder of her Baſtard Child.—At *Kingſton*, the 4 following, *viz.* *Tho. Miller* for the Murder of *Edmund Drewitt*, by ſhooting him on the Highway; *John Jenkins*, alias *Forreſt*, for ſeveral Burglaries; *Patrick Murphy* for ſtealing out of the Ware-houſe of Mr. *Alexander Hay*, a Deal Box full of fine Thread of a conſiderable Value; and *Tho. Middleton* for robbing Mr. *Smith* and Mr. *Heathfield* on the Highway.

SATURDAY, 26.

An Expreſs arriv'd at the Lord *Harrington's* Office,

Office, with an Account that Part of Admiral *Haddock*'s Squadron had taken two *Spaniſh* Ships, having on board a great Number of Soldiers deſigned for *Majorca*.

The ſame Evening an Account came to the Admiralty Office of the taking of a *Spaniſh* Man of War of 70 Guns, which could have mounted 90 (near the Bay of *Cadiz*) commanded by Don *Parlo Auguſtino de Gerra*. She had on board 500 Sailors and 200 Marines. The firſt Attack begun by the *Lenox*, Captain *Mayne*, who had one of her Maſts ſhot away. Then the *Kent*, Captain *Durell*, engag'd her, and fought her 6 Hours, and 200 of the *Spaniards* were kill'd. The Capt. had 3 of his Fingers ſhot off, and loſt 40 Men. When the *Orford*, Lord *Auguſtus Fitzroy*, came up to aſſiſt the *Kent*, the *Spaniſh* Man of War immediately ſtruck.

MONDAY, 28.

An Anonymous Letter having been directed to Sir *John Gonſon* in *Gray*'s-Inn, and received by him, threatning to deſtroy him, and Juſtice *De Veil*, by Sword and Piſtol before the End of laſt Week, for having done their Country Juſtice, and joined in committing ſome Perſons to *Newgate*, on account of uſing falſe Dice at a late Maſquerade: His Majeſty has been pleaſed to promiſe his moſt gracious Pardon, and a Reward of 100 *l.* to any one of the Perſons concern'd in writing or ſending the ſaid Letter, who ſhall diſcover his Accomplice or Accomplices, ſo as he or they may be apprehended and convicted thereof.

They write from *Jamaica*, that his Majeſty's Ship the *Sheerneſs*, of 20 Guns, lying off a *Spaniſh* Port as a Merchant-Ship, with *French* Colours, and a *Spaniſh* Man of War of 80 Guns lying there at the ſame Time unrigg'd, the Admiral on board ſent the ſecond Captain with 21 Hands in a Barge, to bring the ſuppoſed trading Veſſel in; but coming near, they perceived their Miſtake, and endeavouring to get off, were ſmartly fired upon by the *Sheerneſs*, and obliged to ſurrender, and were all carried into *Jamaica*.

By Letters from *Charles-Town* in *South-Carolina*, dated *Feb.* 12. there is Advice from *Savannah* in *Georgia*, that General *Oglethorpe* has taken from the *Spaniards* two Forts, one called *Picola*, the other St. *Francis de la Padra*; the former he has burnt to Aſhes, and impriſoned 11 of the *Spaniards* and one *Indian*, whom he took in the Gariſon of the latter.

By Advice from *Jamaica*, we have the following Liſt of Men of War at that Place, under the Command of Admiral *Vernon*, viz.

Ships Names.	*Commanders.*	*Guns.*
Burford,	*Adm.* Vernon,	70
Hampton-Court,	*Com.* Brown,	70
Louiſa,	Waterhouſe,	60
Strafford,	Trevor,	60
Worceſter,	Main,	60
Windſor,	Berkeley,	50
Norwich,	Herbert,	50
Greenwich,	Windham,	50
Falmouth,	Douglaſs,	50
Torrington,	Knight,	40
Angleſea,	Reddiſh,	40
Diamond,	Knowles,	40
Sheerneſs,	Stapleton,	20
Blandford,	Burriſh,	20
Shoreham,	Boſcawen,	20

Two *Spaniſh* Prizes of 20 Guns each, two Fire-ſhips, and two Bomb-Veſſels; in all 750 Guns, and 4990 Men.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

CAPT. *Pottinger*, Purveyor of Timber for his Majeſty's Yards, to Mrs. *Anne Bradley*.—*Edw. Fleming*, of the *Inner-Temple*, Eſq; to Miſs *Cooper*.—*Geo. Pembroke*, Eſq; to Miſs *Adria Oſborn*.—*Tho. Foley*, Jun. Eſq; to Miſs *Granville*, Daughter of the late Lord *Lanſdown*.—Mr. *Richard Aſtell*, Son of *Rich. Aſtell*, Eſq; an eminent *Ruſſia* Merchant, to Miſs *Sally Bagnall* of *Hatton Garden*.—Rev. Mr. *Price*, Rector of *Farnborough* in *Berks*, to Miſs *Richardſon* of *Wantage* in the ſame County.—*Everad Sayer*, Eſq; of *Doctors-Commons*, to Mrs. *Eſther Marriot*, Relict of Mr. *Marriot* of the Exchequer-Office.—Counſellor *Greenville*, to Miſs *Anne Smith*, a 20,000 *l.* Fortune.—The Lady of Sir *Tho. Moſtyn*, Bart. deliver'd of a Daughter.—The Lady of the Hon. Mr. *Arundel*, Son and Heir of Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, of a Son.—Dutcheſs of *Marlborough*, of a Son.—The Lady of *John Norris*, Eſq; eldeſt Son of Admiral *Norris*, of a Son and Heir.—The Lady of the Hon. *Tho. King*, Eſq; Brother to Lord *King*, of a Son.—The Lady of Sir *Rob. Long*, Bart. of a Daughter.—The Lady of the Rt. Rev. Dr. *Butts*, Lord Biſhop of *Ely*, of a Daughter.—The Lady of the Marquiſs of *Beaumont*, Son to the Duke of *Roxburgh*, of a Son, ſtiled Lord *Kerr*.—The Lady of Sir *Brian Broughton*, Bart. of a Son and Heir.

DEATHS.

REV. Dr. *Felton*, Principal of *Edmund-Hall*, *Oxford*, and Rector of *Berwick* in *Elmet* in *Yorkſhire*. He was Author of the *Diſſertation on the Claſſicks*.—Sir *William Culpeper*, Bart. He loſt a good Eſtate by Gaming. The Title is now extinct.—Sir *Chs. Herbert*, Bart. deſcended from *Chriſtopher Herbert*, Lord Mayor of *York*, *Anno* 1573, whoſe Grandſon, Sir *Thomas Herbert*, Bart. was ſo created by King *Charles* II. *Anno* 1660. The Title is now extinct.—Sir *John Jacob*, Bart. who is ſucceeded in Dignity and Eſtate by his Nephew, now Sir *Hildebrand Jacob*, Bart.—*John Ogle*, Eſq; Judge of the Court of Admiralty for the Town and County of *Newcaſtle upon Tyne*.—Lady *Mary Foreſter*, Daughter of *James* late Earl of *Saliſbury*.—In *Scotland*, the Right Hon. the Earl of *Kincardine*; ſucceeded by his Son the Lord *Bruce*.—Alſo in *Scotland*, Mr. *James Græme*, Advocate, aged

about 90, Solicitor General to King *James* VII. *i. e.* II. of *England*.—Rev. Mr. *Morris*, Rector of *Tunstall* in *Kent*.—*John Tarver*, Esq; one of his Majesty's Remembrancers of the Exchequer in *Scotland*, and Justice of the Peace for the County of *Middlesex*.—Mr. *Alexander Cunningham*, Brother to the Earl of *Glencairn*: He was Lieut. to one of the Independent Companies at *Jamaica*, and died of a Fever at *Porto Bello*, after the Taking of that Place.—The Lady of Sir *William Gordon*, of *Invergordon*, Bart.—Mr. *John Spillet*, a Common-Council Man for *Cheap* Ward, and Brother-in-Law to the Lord Mayor.—*Henry Cooper*, Esq; one of the Gentlemen in Ordinary of his Majesty's Hon. Band of Gentlemen Pensioners.—Mr. *Claude Fonnereau*, an eminent *Hamburgh* Merchant, reputed worth upwards of 100,000*l.* He has left 5 Sons and 4 Daughters.—*Thomas Wylde*, Esq; one of the Commissioners of the Excise, and formerly Member for *Worcester* in several Parliaments.—Capt. *John Carmichael*, aged 96, formerly Capt. of an Independent Company, and Governor of *Pensylvania*.—*Reginald Morgan Bray*, of *Lanternam* in *Monmouthshire*, Esq; —Right Hon. the Countess of *Warrington*, Wife to the Right Hon. the Earl of *Warrington*, and Mother of the present Countess of *Stamford*.—Mr. *Davis*, who formerly kept *Harry*'s Coffee-House in *Fleet street*, aged 110. —Dr. *Robert Howard*, Lord Bishop of *Elphin* in *Ireland*.—*Charles Downing*, Esq; Comptroller of the Customs in the Port of *London*.—*James Church*, Esq; a Common-Council Man of *Bread street* Ward.—Lady *Catherine Jones*, Daughter of the late Earl of *Ranelagh*.—Sir *Francis Child*, Knight, Alderman of the Ward of *Farringdon Without*, Knight of the Shire for *Middlesex*, and President of *Christ*'s Hospital. He was Lord Mayor in the Year 1732.—Rev. Mr. *Sam. Carter*, Vicar of St. *Martin*'s in *Leicester*, and Prebendary of *Litchfield*.—*Roger Aleberly*, of the *Inner Temple*, Esq.—Rev. *Christopher Clarkson*, D. D.—Rev. Dr. *Francis Hutt*, Lord Bishop of *Chichester*, and Dean of St. *Paul*'s.—Countess of *Dysart*, Mother of the present Earl.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

ANDREW *Trebeck*, B. D. Rector of St. *George*'s *Hanover-Square*, had the Degree of Doctor in Divinity conferr'd on him by the University of *Oxford*.—*Christopher Bateman*, M. A. presented to the Rectory of *Tickton* in *Cambridgeshire*.—*John Marriot*, M. A. to the Rectory of *Gawdley* in *Lincolnshire*.—*John Smith*, B. A. to the Rectory of *Sorby*, alias *Saltby* in the said County.—Mr. *William Nowel*, Curate of St. *Katherine Creechurch*, chosen Lecturer of the said Church.

PROMOTIONS *Civil and Military*.

DR. *Reeves* elected one of the Physicians of St. *Thomas*'s Hospital, in the Room of Dr. *Wallmut*, who resign'd.—*Tho. Beetle*, Esq; made Chancellor to the Prince of *Wales*, in the Room of Judge *Denton*, deceas'd.—*Rob. Robinson*, Esq; Recorder of *Scarborough*, made Lord Chief Justice of *Gibraltar*.—Col. *Cosby* made Lieut. Gov. of *Annapolis Royal*, or *Nova-Scotia*.—Earl of *Hopton* chosen Governor to the Bank of *Scotland*.—*John Scott*, Esq; Major Gen. of his Majesty's Forces, made Governor of *Chelsea* Hospital.—*Tho. Coppleston*, Esq; made one of the Commissioners of the Victualling, in the Room of *Henry Parsons*, Esq; deceased.—A Grant pass'd the Great Seal to the Hon. *John Talbot*, Esq; second Justice of *Chester*, *Montgomery*, &c. of the Sum of 500*l. per Ann.* for his Salary, in Lieu of 80*l. per Ann.* formerly payable to the Person in that Office.—*George Speke*, Esq; made Comptroller of the Duties of Excise and new Imposts.—Mr. Baron *Parker*, made one of the Judges of the Common Pleas, in the Room of Mr. Justice *Denton*, deceas'd. And Mr. Baron *Reynolds*, of the Exchequer in *Ireland*, succeeds Mr. Baron *Parker*.—*Peter* Lord *King* made Out-Ranger of *Windsor* Forest, in the Room of his Brother, *John* Lord *King*, deceas'd.—*Ambrose Stanyford*, Esq; made Agent and Consul General at *Algier*.—Hon. *Wm. Herbert*, Esq; made a Groom of the Bed-Chamber to his Majesty.—His Grace the Duke of *Argyll* made Captain General of his Majesty's Forces.—Lord *Hervey* made Lord Privy Seal.—Lord *Sidney Beauclerk*, Vice-Chamberlain of his Majesty's Houshold, in the Room of Lord *Hervey*.—Earl of *Godolphin* made Constable of the *Tower* of *London*.—His Royal Highness the Duke made Col. of the *Coldstream*, or 2d Reg. of Foot Guards, in the Room of the late Earl of *Scarborough*.—— *Trelawney*, Esq; chose Member of Parl. for *Lestard*, in the Room of *George Dennis*, Esq; deceased.—Col. *Paulet*, for *Christ-church*, in the Room of *Joseph Hinxman*, Esq; deceased.—Hon. *John Talbot*, Esq; re-elected for *Bricon*.

The Bankrupts *in our next.*

Abstract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *March* 25. to *Apr.* 22.

Christned	Males 698	Females 626	1324
Buried	Males 1493	Females 1621	3114
Died under 2 Years old			1155
Between 2 and 5			313
5	10		115
10	20		99
20	30		189
30	40		264
40	50		260
50	60		262
60	70		201
70	80		164
80	90		81
90 and upwards			11

ON the 12th of last Month, the (late) Duke of *Ormond* arrived at *Madrid*, and on the 15th went to the *Pardo*, where he was graciously received by their Catholick Majesties, and had the Honour to kiss their Hands; after which he dined with the Marquis *de Villarias*, the Secretary of State; and has since had particular Conferences with the Duke *de Montemar*, General in Chief of the *Spanish* Land Forces; but since the *Spaniards* have no sufficient Number of Transport Vessels for conveying a Body of Land Forces to this Island, nor any sufficient Squadron for convoying their Transports, these Conferences can give no Alarm to any Man in this Kingdom.

The King of *Spain*, we are told, has sent Orders to prosecute the Commandants and other Officers that were in the several Forts at *Porto Bello*, for their cowardly Surrender of those Forts to Admiral *Vernon*; but by our Accounts of that Affair, his Catholick Majesty ought rather to send Orders to prosecute the Men; for Officers cannot defend their Posts when their Soldiers run away from them. It is an Advantage enjoyed by Officers in the *British* Service, more than by those in any other, that they have Men to command, who will not forsake them in Time of Danger, and who have Resolution enough, when put in Disorder by Accident, to rally again, and return with fresh Vigour to the Charge.

We have an Account from *Madrid* of the 26th of *March*, O. S. that the Court had received an Express from *Cadiz* with Advice, that the Squadron which was in that Bay, sailed the 18th at Night, as it was said, for the *West-Indies*; and, at the same Time, it was confidently reported there, that the Squadron in the Port of *Ferrol* had sailed, and steered the same Course. The former consists of 8 Men of War from 60 to 70 Guns, two Frigates of 40 and 50 Guns, and two Packet Boats of 16 Guns each; and the latter consists of 7 Line of Battle Ships and two Frigates. 'Tis said they had 2 or 3000 Land Forces on board, but whither bound, or what their Design may be, cannot as yet be unfolded. It is to be hoped our Admiral in those Parts was furnished with Instructions to follow them directly with a sufficient Number of Ships; in which Case we may probably have a very good Account of them; for otherwise, we may happen to have but a very bad Account of some of our Sugar Islands.

On the 11th of last Month, N. S. a *Spanish* Register Ship, in Company with a Man of War, from the *Havanah*, arrived at *Lagos* in *Portugal*, and brought home, 'tis said, in Treasure and Merchandize, to the Value of *three Millions of Pieces of Eight*. And we hear, by the Way of *Bayonne* in *France*, that on the 4th Instant the two Men of War from *Buenos Ayres*, called the *Hermione* and the *St. Estienne*, the one of 60 Guns, the other of 50, arrived at *St. Andero*, having on board 846,000 *Pieces of Eight* registered, besides great Quantities of *Vigonia* Wool, Leather, *&c.*

By Letters from *Genoa* we have an Account, that the *Vigilance*, Capt. *Will. Hill*, was taken by two *Spanish* Privateers above *Legborn*; and that as they were carrying the said Vessel into *Civita Vecchia*, a Sea-Port belonging to the *Pope*, they met with another *English* Ship loaded with Pilchards, within the Reach of the Guns of that Port, and though they were fired at from the Port several Times, they persisted in taking the Ship, which they did after a long Engagement, in which the Captain and several of his Men were killed, and of six that were left alive, when she was obliged to strike, we are told, that the *Spaniards* most barbarously murdered five, after they had surrendred. They carried both Ships into that Port, but the Governor ordered some Musketeers on board the Privateers, and having sold the Cargo of the last-mentioned Ship, kept the Produce in his Hands, till she should either be condemned as a Prize, or cleared, as being taken under the Guns of a neutral Port. This Affair gives the Holy See some Disturbance, being willing to preserve a Neutrality in the present War, and as it does not, it seems, pretend to Infallibility in Disputes of a maritime Nature, the Congregation appointed to examine and decide this Matter, have wrote to *Legborn* for Advice. Probably, they are willing to learn what Opinion the *Germans*, who by good Luck are still in their Neighbourhood, may have of it.

The Cardinals are still busy in the Conclave, about the Election of a new Pope; and we are told, that Cardinal *Alberoni* has once had 22 Votes in his Favour. If he should get the Triple Crown upon his intriguing Head, he may probably make the Holy See intermeddle a little more in the Affairs of *Europe*, than it has done for some Years past.

We are told by some of our *Dutch* Politicians, that the Court of *France* insists upon his *Swedish* Majesty's sending 20,000 Men into *Pomerania*, to be there in Readiness for making a Diversion in those Parts, in Case the King of *Prussia*, upon the Death of the Elector *Palatine*, should oppose the Measures which his most Christian Majesty has taken, in Concert with the Emperor, to secure the Succession of the Dutchies of *Bergues* and *Juliers* to the Prince of *Sultzbach*. We hope his most Christian Majesty has not another View in this: We hope he has no Design to employ these Forces against the Dominions of *Hanover*, in Case he should think fit to declare against us in our present War with *Spain*.

The

HISTORICAL.

1. NEW Memoirs of the Life, &c. of *Milton*, 4to, price 18s. ſtitch'd.

2. Memoirs of the Life and Actions of *Oliver Cromwell*, 4to, price 12 s. ſtitch'd. Both printed for the Editor, *Fr. Peck*, M. A. and ſold by the Bookſellers.

3. The antient Hiſtory of the *Egyptians*, &c. By Mr. *Rollin*. Ten Vols, 12mo. Printed for Meſs. *Knapton*, price 1*l*. 10*s*.

4. A full View of the Tranſactions in the Reign of Q. *Elizabeth*. By Dr. *Forbes*. Vol. I. ready to be delivered to Subſcribers by *G. Hawkins*.

5. Stone-Henge: A Temple reſtor'd to the *Britiſh Druids*. By Dr. *Stukeley*, with 37 Folio Copper-Plates. Printed for *W. Innys*, price 16*s*. (See an Abſtract of it, p. 20.)

6. An Apology for the Life of Mr. *C. Cibber*. Sold by *W. Lewis*, 4to, price 1*l*. 1*s*.

7. A genuine Account of the taking *Carthagena* in 1697. By the Sieur *Pontis*. Printed for *O. Payne*, price 2*s*.

8. The Chronicle of the Kings of *England*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

9. Memoirs of the Houſe and Dominions of *Heſſe Caſſel*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, pr. 1*s*.

10. A genuine Narration of the Victory obtain'd over the *Spaniſh* Armada, *A. D.* 1588. Printed for *R. Montagu*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

MISCELLANEOUS.

11. Experimental Philoſophy aſſerted and defended. Sold by *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

12. Farriery Improved. By Dr. *Bracken*. Vol. II. Printed for *J. Hodges*, price 3*s*.

13. A Defence of a congratulatory Letter to Dr. *Trapp*. Printed for *E. Comins*, pr. 2*s*.

14. Health reſtor'd. Printed for *J. Torbuck*, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

15. A Letter to a Friend in the Country. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

16. The fortunate Country-Maid. Vol. I. Sold by *A. Dodd*, price 1*s*.

17. Three Lectures on the Organs of Reſpiration. By *B. Bloadly*, M. D. Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 3*s*.

18. An Examination of the *Newtonian* Arguments for the Emptineſs of Space, &c. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*.

19. Calviniſm and Nonconformity defended. Sold by *T. Fiſher*, price 1*s*.

20. A Supplement to the *London* and *Country* Brewer. Sold by *T. Aſtley*, price 1*s*.

21. The univerſal Pocket-Book. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

22. Military Memoirs and Maxims of Marſhal *Turenne*. By *A. Williamſon*. Printed for Meſſ. *Knapton*, 8vo, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

23. A Diſſertation on the Civil Government of the *Hebrews*. By *M. Lowman*. Printed for *J. Noon*, price 4*s*.

24. A Letter to the Rev. Mr. *J. Weſtly*. Printed for *D. Midwinter* and *A. Ward*, pr. 6*d*.

25. An authentick Account of the Life of Mr. *Charles Drew*. Printed for *J. Applebee*, pr. 6*d*.

26. Memorials and Characters of eminent and worthy Perſons. Numb. XVI. Printed for *J. Wilford*, price 1*s*.

POETICAL.

27. The Muff. A Court Tale, price 1*s*.

28. *Alrick* and *Iſabel*. By *S. Duck*. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1*s*.

29. The Prude metamorphos'd. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 1*s*.

* 30. Hobbinol; or, the Rural Games. By *W. Somerville*, Eſq; The third Edition. Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

31. The 6th Epiſtle of the 1ſt Book of *Horace*, imitated. By *J. Chaſe*. Printed for *D. Browne*, price 6*d*.

32. *Antiochus*. A Tragedy. Printed for *J. Shuckburgh*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

33. An Imitation of the firſt Satire of *Perſius*. By Mr. *Loveling*. Printed for *J. Bren*, price 1*s*.

34. A ſatirical Epiſtle to Mr. *Pope*, pr. 6*d*.

35. A new Ballad on the taking of *Porto Bello*. Printed for *R. Dodſley*, price 6*d*.

36. A new Tranſlation of the Æneid of *Virgil*. By Mr. *Pitt*. Printed for *R. Dodſley*. In 2 vols. 4to, price 1*l*. 1*s*.

37. Scamnum, Ecloga. Apud T. Cooper, price 1*s*.

38. Selecta Poemata Italorum qui Latine ſcripſerunt, cura cujuſdam Anonimi Anno 1684 congeſta, iterum in Lucem data, una cum aliorum Italorum Operibus, accurante A. Pope. Impenſis Meſſ. Knapton. In 2 vols, pr. 6*s*.

39. The Works of *Shakeſpear*. By Mr. *Theobald*. The 2d Edition. In 8 vols. 12mo, price 1*l*. 4*s*.

40. The *Canterbury* Tales of *Chaucer*. Printed for *J. Oſborn*, price 5*s*. ſew'd.

41. Laugh upon Laugh. Printed for *L. Gilliver*, price 1*s*.

42. The Proteſtant Knock. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 6*d*.

* 43. *Roſalinda*. The 2d Edition, price 1*s*.

* 44. *David*'s Lamentation over *Saul* and *Jonathan*. The 6th Edit. price 6*d*. Both by Mr. *Lockman*. Sold by *C. Corbet*.

POLITICAL.

45. Some Animadverſions upon the Neceſſity of continuing the preſent Parliament. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*.

46. An impartial Enquiry into the Properties of Places and Penſions. Printed for *H. Goreham*, price 1*s*.

SERMONS.

47. Sixteen Diſcourſes on the Redemption of Man. By Count *Zinzendorf*. Printed for *J. Hutton*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

48. A Sermon preach'd at *Birſtal*. By *W. Hoggart*. *York*, Printed for *J. Hildeyard*, pr. 6*d*.

49. A Sermon preach'd before the Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in foreign Parts. By the Biſhop of *Glouceſter*. Printed for *J. Perberton*, price 6*d*.

50. A Sermon preach'd at *Chelmsford*. By *J. Pitts*. Printed for *J. Oſwald*, price 6*d*.

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

MAY, 1740.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 175.

As the chief Deſign of our Club is, to render ourſelves acquainted with the Proceedings and Manner of Debating in the two Houſes of Parliament, we ſeldom miſs having a Debate upon every important Queſtion that happens to be ſtarted in either A House; and upon ſuch Occaſions, we aſſume the Character of one or t'other Houſe, according to the Place where the Queſtion happened to be firſt ſtarted. An Account of theſe Debates, as it is the moſt intereſting, ſo, I find, it is the moſt entertaining B to the Generality of your Readers; and, therefore, I ſhall give you a regular Account of thoſe Debates, which relate to any Queſtion that aroſe in Parliament during laſt Seſſion, beginning with that which was occaſioned by his Majeſty's moſt gracious C Speech from the Throne, at the Opening of the Seſſion. (V. VIII. p. 626.)

Upon this Occaſion, L. Caſſius Longinus *ſtood up, and ſpoke in Subſtance as follows*, viz.

My Lords,

AS you have heard his Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech from the Throne, and as it is our Duty to return ſome Sort of Anſwer by Way of an Addreſs, I ſhould not think myſelf under a Neceſſity to ſay any Thing in Favour of the Motion which I am to make, in Purſuance of a Cuſtom ſo reaſonable and ſo long eſtabliſhed, if it were not that, upon ſo extraordinary and ſo important an Occaſion, I think we ought to expreſs our Duty and Affection to our Sovereign, in Terms more explicit than uſual. For this Reaſon, I muſt beg Leave to ſay ſomething with Regard to the Meaſures his Majeſty has purſued, and with Regard to the Situation in which we are at preſent.

As to the Meaſures purſued by his Majeſty, my Lords, it is well known, that he has in every Thing followed the Advice given him by his Parliament. According to that Advice, he endeavoured as much as poſſible to obtain Juſtice and Satisfaction from *Spain* by peaceable Means. He even avoided putting the Nation to the Expence of warlike Preparations, till he was adviſed by his Parliament to inſiſt peremptorily upon immediate Satisfaction for paſt Injuries, and abſolute Security againſt future; and when the *Spaniards* ſaw that his Majeſty,

by the Advice of his Parliament, not only threatned, but was preparing to make the juſt Reſentment of this Nation fall heavy upon them, they then thought fit to procraſtinate at leaſt the Effects of that Reſentment, by agreeing to reaſonable Terms.

To a trading Nation, my Lords, eſpecially a Nation like this, whoſe Intereſt it is to remain ſatisfied with its own Poſſeſſions, without attempting to make Conqueſts upon its Neighbours, a State of War muſt always be dangerous and inconvenient, and can never be attended with any great Advantage. This his Majeſty was fully ſenſible of, and therefore he ratified the Convention agreed to by *Spain:* This the Parliament was fully ſenſible of, and therefore that Convention was laſt Seſſion approved of by a Majority in each Houſe of Parliament, tho' both his Majeſty and his Parliament ſaw that it was not ſo ſatisfactory as might have been expected, and that as to moſt of the Articles in Diſpute, it was rather a Preliminary than a definitive Treaty; but by a Fatality, happy, I hope, for this Nation, the *Spaniards* refuſed to comply with the Terms they ſo ſolemnly agreed to by that Convention, tho' thoſe Terms were the moſt moderate this Nation could accept of, and more moderate by far than the *Spaniards* had Reaſon to believe we would accept of. Theſe Terms, I ſay, without the leaſt Failure on our Part, the *Spaniards* thought fit not to comply with, and thereby they render'd it neceſſary for his Majeſty to begin Hoſtilities againſt them, in Purſuance of that Advice which had been given him by his Parliament. This he accordingly did as ſoon as he could find an Opportunity, and when he found, that the gentle Method of Repriſals would not be ſufficient for bringing them to Reaſon, he declared War againſt them in Form.

Thus, my Lords, his Majeſty has, in every Step of his paſt Conduct, purſued that Advice which was given him by his Parliament. From hence we may preſume, he will follow the ſame Advice in every Step of his future Conduct; and from hence we may promiſe ourſelves Succeſs in all our publick Undertakings; for this Nation has always been happy and ſucceſsful, when our Sovereign followed the Advice of his Parliament. In all ſuch Caſes, the Parliament unanimouſly agreed to ſupport their Sovereign, in the Purſuit of thoſe Meaſures which they themſelves had adviſed: It was their Duty to do ſo; and the People heartily concurred in rendering every Step ſucceſsful. This has been the happy State of this Nation in ſome former Reigns, and as none of our Kings ever ſhewed a greater Regard for the Advice of Parliament, than his preſent Majeſty has always done, I hope that, in Duty and Affection to their Sovereign, the preſent Generation will take Care not to fall ſhort of their Anceſtors in any former Reign.

His Majeſty, my Lords, by your Advice, is now engaged in an open and declared War. It is one of the moſt juſt and neceſſary Wars this Nation was ever engaged in; for the *Spaniards* have not only heaped many Injuries upon us, but have broke thro' the moſt ſolemn Engagements that were ever made by any Nation. What their Reaſon was for treating us in this contemptuous Manner, his Majeſty has told us in his Speech from the Throne, and I am convinced it was the only true Reaſon. They ſaw there were great Animoſities and Diviſions amongſt us, and from theſe they hoped to reap ſome Advantage, in Caſe of a War, or perhaps they imagined, our Govern-

ment

ment would not, on Account of theſe Animoſities and Diviſions, dare to vindicate the Honour, or aſſert the Rights of the Nation. If their Hopes of Impunity were founded upon the latter of theſe Expectations, they have already found themſelves diſappointed; and if upon the former, I hope, they will at laſt find themſelves equally miſtaken. I hope the Unanimity that ſhall this Day be ſhewn, in agreeing to what I am to propoſe, will convince them, that if there were any Diviſions amongſt us, they are now at an End; and that therefore they can from thence expect no Advantage in the Proſecution of the War.

This, my Lords, may probably put a ſpeedy, as well as honourable End to the War, which is, I am ſure, what every one of your Lordſhips moſt heartily wiſhes to ſee. His Majeſty has already taken all poſſible Care, by providing for our Defence at home, to prevent its being in the Power of our Enemies to hurt us; and as ſoon as the Seaſon will permit, we may attack them with ſuch a Force, as they cannot, in all human Probability, reſiſt. They can, therefore, have no Hopes in proſecuting, no more than they had in provoking the War, but ſuch as are founded upon Diviſions amongſt ourſelves. If it had not been for ſuch Hopes, I am fully convinced they would never have provoked us to War; and if, by a cordial Union amongſt ourſelves, we ſhould put an End to theſe Hopes, I am as fully convinced, they will ſoon begin to think of preventing a farther Proſecution by a ſpeedy Submiſſion.

For this Reaſon, my Lords, we ought this Day, I think, to be more full and explicit in our Expreſſions of Duty and Affection to his Majeſty, than is uſual upon ſuch Occaſions; and, for the ſame Reaſon, we ought to be unanimous in thoſe Expreſſions of Duty and Affection that are neceſſary upon this Occaſion. This is what I moſt heartily wiſh for, and therefore I have taken all poſſible Care to avoid inſerting any Thing in my Propoſition, that may occaſion the leaſt Objection or Difficulty. If there is any Thing in it that, to ſome Lords, may appear a little extraordinary, I hope I have given ſufficient Reaſons for it, therefore ſhall add no more, but conclude with moving your Lordſhips, That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, to return Thanks for his moſt gracious Speech from the Throne. — To declare, that the great Regard, which his Majeſty hath expreſſed for the Senſe of both Houſes of Parliament, in his Proceedings with the Court of *Spain*, is a Continuance of that Goodneſs and Concern for the true Intereſt of his People, which we have ſo often experienced; and that his Majeſty's Deſire to have the Advice and Aſſiſtance of his Parliament, as early as poſſible, in this important Conjuncture, is a freſh Proof of his Confidence in his faithful Subjects. —That the Juſtice and Neceſſity of the War, which his Majeſty has been pleaſed to declare againſt *Spain*, muſt be as demonſtrable to all the World, as the violent and intolerable Methods practiſed by that Nation, to interrupt and diſtreſs the Commerce and Navigation of theſe Kingdoms, are notorious; and, that it is the higheſt Aggravation of this offenſive and inexcuſable Conduct, that it has been obſtinately purſued, in Breach of the moſt ſolemn Engagements, and in Defiance of the higheſt Obligations of Friendſhip and good Offices: But, that ſince *Great Britain* has been thus unavoidably called forth to Arms, we eſteem it our peculiar Felicity, that we have a Prince upon the Throne, who, with

paternal Tenderneſs, joins in the juſt Reſentment of an injured Nation; and whoſe Magnanimity and Steadineſs are equal to the glorious Cauſe in which he is engaged.—That on this Occaſion, the unfeigned Tender of our Lives and Fortunes is no more than is due to his Majeſty, and our Country; and that we do, from the Bottom of our Hearts, give his Majeſty the ſtrongeſt Aſſurances that we will zealouſly concur in all ſuch Meaſures, as may forward his Preparations, and enable him to carry on the War with that Spirit and Vigour, which truly become the *Britiſh* Name.—That his Majeſty's Goodneſs in acquainting us from the Throne, that he has augmented his Forces by Sea and Land, purſuant to the Power given him by Parliament, with all the Moderation that was conſiſtent with thoſe deſirable Ends, which he, in his royal Wiſdom, has pointed out to us, is an Inſtance of his Majeſty's gracious Diſpoſition to avoid bringing any unneceſſary Burdens upon his People: And, that tho' we cannot flatter ourſelves, that a State of War will not be attended with great Expences, and ſome Inconveniencies; yet, when it is undertaken, not to gratify the Views of reſtleſs Ambition, but to aſſert and maintain the Honour and juſt Rights of his Majeſty's Crown and Kingdoms, we doubt not, but thoſe powerful Motives will induce all his Subjects to undergo with Chearfulneſs, whatever is neceſſary in the Proſecution of it.—That it gives us inexpreſſible Concern, that there ſhould be any Occaſion for his Majeſty to repeat his gracious Admonitions againſt thoſe Heats and Animoſities, which have been fomented throughout the Kingdom: That as we cannot but moſt ſeriouſly lament the unhappy Diviſions thereby occaſioned, ſo nothing ſhall be wanting on our Part to heal them, by promoting that good Harmony and Unanimity, which are ſo neceſſary at this Juncture: And that we truſt in God, that any Hopes or Views formed by our Enemies upon ſuch Circumſtances, will be found utterly vain and groundleſs; ſince all his Majeſty's Subjects muſt be convinced, that the Security of our Religion and Liberties, and the Safety and Proſperity of theſe Kingdoms, do entirely depend on the Preſervation of his ſacred Perſon and Government, and of the Proteſtant Succeſſion in his royal Houſe.—That in this common Cauſe, Intereſt, as well as Duty, will make us unite; and that we do with the greateſt Zeal and Firmneſs aſſure his Majeſty, that we are determined, at the Hazard of all that is dear to us, to ſupport it againſt all his Enemies, both at home and abroad; imploring the divine Providence to give Succeſs to his Arms, and make them the happy Means of procuring a ſafe and honourable Peace.

This Motion being ſeconded by C. Fabricius, M. Agrippa *ſtood up and ſpoke to the following Effect*, viz.

My Lords,

AS the Motion the noble Lord has been pleaſed to make is pretty long, I cannot pretend to remember exactly the Words, and as upon hearing it read, I obſerved ſome Words which, to me, ſeemed not quite ſo right, I muſt deſire the Favour to have the Motion in my Hand. (The Motion being delivered to him, after peruſing it, he went on thus) My Lords, as this is one of the greateſt, one of the moſt important Conjunctures that ever happened to this Nation, I deſire and wiſh as heartily as the noble Lord who made you this Motion, or any Lord can do, that we may be unanimous in the Reſolution we come

come to upon this Occaſion. The greateſt Part of the noble Lord's Motion, I highly approve of. There are only a few Words towards the latter End, which I think might have been left out; and as they are, in my Opinion, quite unneceſſary, I hope the noble Lord will, for the Sake of that Unanimity he ſo much deſires, agree to have them left out of his Motion. The Words I mean are, *That it gives us inexpreſſible Concern*, with the following, which make the laſt Paragraph but one, of the noble Lord's Motion. Theſe Words, I humbly think, my Lords, are quite unneceſſary; and, as they may give Offence to ſome Lords, and may occaſion an Oppoſition to a Reſolution, which would otherwiſe be unanimouſly agreed to, I hope the noble Lord will not inſiſt upon their ſtanding a Part of his Motion. But I offer this as my Opinion only, I do not make it my Motion, becauſe I am reſolved to wait till I hear what may be ſaid by other Lords upon this Head.

My Lords, we have now weathered the Point of Negotiation, and are fairly launched out in the open Sea of a declared War. God grant we may meet with a proſperous Gale. We have human Probability of our Side, and as we have Juſtice likewiſe of our Side, we have Reaſon to expect the Favour of Providence; therefore, I have no doubt of a ſucceſsful Voyage, if we take care to put ourſelves under the Direction of good Pilots. Miniſters and Negotiators will not, I hope, I am ſure they ought not now, to be our Adviſers. We have good Generals, we have brave and experienced Admirals: We muſt now chuſe them for our Pilots: We muſt take their Advice; and, if their Advice be taken, and vigorouſly purſued, I ſhall not hereafter find fault with Events, on account of any croſs Accidents we may meet with in the Proſecution of the War. Providence only can direct Events, but Men can plan; and if the Plan be good, if the Scheme be well laid, no Man ought to find fault with the Event. But, if the Forming of our Schemes for the Proſecution of the War be left to ignorant and puſillanimous Counſellors, we cannot expect they ſhould be right; and a wrong Scheme may be found fault with, even tho' the Event ſhould, by an extraordinary Interpoſition of Providence, prove ſucceſsful.

In the Proſecution of the preſent War, I hope every Man will, in his proper Sphere, contribute as much as he can towards the Succeſs of his Country. My Lords, I am perſuaded every Man will; becauſe no War was ever entered into with greater Unanimity amongſt all Ranks and Degrees of Men. We cannot, therefore, juſtly ſay any Thing, upon this Occaſion, of Animoſities and Diviſions. If there were ever any domeſtick Animoſities or Diviſions amongſt us, they were occaſioned by our tamely ſubmitting to ſo many foreign Inſults. Theſe his Majeſty's Declaration of War has put an End to, and nothing can revive them but a Slackneſs in the Proſecution. For this Reaſon I wiſh they had not been mentioned upon this Occaſion. I'm afraid it is ominous: It looks as if ſome People were ſuſpicious that the War will not be puſhed in ſuch a vigorous Manner as a People greatly injured, and juſtly enraged, may have Reaſon to expect. If this be the Caſe, they have good Reaſon to warn us againſt Animoſities and Diviſions; but their Warnings will be in vain. Our former Diviſions will revive, and our Animoſities may increaſe to ſuch a Degree, as to endanger the domeſtick Tranquillity of the Nation, unleſs they be appeaſed by a Sacrifice of thoſe who were the Cauſe of their being revived.

For

For this Reaſon, I ſay, my Lords, I wiſh I had heard nothing of Animoſities or Diviſions upon this Occaſion; and I am ſurprized how any ſuch Thing could creep into his Majeſty's Speech. In a free Country, ſuch as this, Lords or Gentlemen may differ in their Opinions about publick Meaſures; and as the Intereſt of their Country is concerned, they may, they ought to ſupport their Opinions with Fervency and Zeal: But that Difference in Opinion is not to be called a Diviſion, nor is that Fervency to be called Animoſity. Something of our Diviſions and Animoſities was, I remember, mentioned in a Piece that was handed about as the Manifeſto of *Spain*. This I was no Way ſurprized at; becauſe in *Spain* they can have no Difference in Opinion about publick Meaſures, at leaſt, if they have, they dare as little declare it, as they dare declare their Difference of Opinion about Matters of Faith or Religion; therefore, they might probably miſtake the one for the other, by ſuppoſing that to be a Diviſion amongſt us, which was really nothing but a Difference in Opinion. But, I hope, his Majeſty's Miniſters are better acquainted with the Conſtitution of their Country, than to fall into any ſuch Miſtake; and they ſhould particularly, upon this Occaſion, have avoided ſaying any Thing about Diviſions or Animoſities, becauſe it will confirm the *Spaniards* in the Miſtake they are in, and may, as the noble Lord apprehends, encourage them to continue the War, in Hopes that they may be able to reap ſome Advantage from our Diviſions.

From hence your Lordſhips muſt ſee, that no ſuch Thing ought to have been mentioned in his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne; and much leſs, I am ſure, ought it to be mentioned in our Addreſs. If his Majeſty's Miniſters have fallen into a Miſtake, and a Miſtake too that may be attended with ſuch a bad Conſequence, as that of prolonging the War, ſhall we in our Addreſs, out of pure Complaiſance, eccho that Miſtake back to the Throne, and thereby render infallible the bad Conſequence which we might otherwiſe have prevented? Shall we, my Lords, be ſo uncharitable as to think, and much leſs to ſay, that all thoſe who differ from us in Opinion about publick Meaſures, are Promoters of Diviſions, and Fomenters of Heats and Animoſities? It is impoſſible that any Lord ſhould expect an unanimous Concurrence in ſuch Expreſſions. They are Expreſſions that can properly be made Uſe of by none but the arbitrary Miniſters of an abſolute Monarch; and therefore, I was not a little ſurprized at ſeeing any Thing like them in his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne; but I was much more ſurprized, to find the Obſtinacy of the *Spaniards* imputed to the Heats and Animoſities that have been fomented amongſt us. It is a Maxim in this Houſe, to look upon his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne, as the Speech of his Miniſters; and nothing can contribute more to ſhew the Juſtneſs of this Maxim, than that of imputing the Obſtinacy of the *Spaniards* to any Heats or Animoſities that have been fomented amongſt us.

Almoſt every Man in the Nation, I believe, is now convinced, at leaſt every Man that thinks at all about publick Affairs, muſt be convinced, that the ſtrange Obſtinacy of the *Spaniards* has all along proceeded from the known Paſſivity of our Miniſters. We ſubmitted tamely to the firſt Inſult they put upon us, that encouraged them to put a ſecond: We bore the ſecond with Patience, that encouraged them to put

a third: Upon the third we modeſtly complained, and humbly prayed to negotiate, that encouraged them to put a fourth; and thus we continued ſubmitting and negotiating, and they continued plundering and inſulting, till at laſt, I really believe, they began to think that no Sort of Treatment could provoke us to commence Hoſtilities, or declare War againſt them. Thus, by the tame and ſubmiſſive Temper of our Miniſters, the *Spaniards* have been encouraged to hold ſuch a Conduct towards us, as to make it neceſſary even for our Miniſters to have recourſe to Arms; and now thoſe very Miniſters, in order to remove the Load off of their own Shoulders, come and tell us, that thoſe who complained of their ſubmiſſive Conduct, and often told them what it would end in, were Fomenters of Heats and Animoſities; and that thoſe Heats and Animoſities were the chief Cauſe of that Obſtinacy which *Spain* has ſhewn in her Conduct towards us.

I ſhall readily grant, my Lords, that the juſt Complaints of our plundered Merchants, and the Regard ſhewn to thoſe Complaints by the whole Nation, excepting a very few Perſons, were the immediate Cauſe of the War, becauſe they forced our Miniſters to alter their Conduct; but, I hope, neither the Complaints of the Merchants, nor the Regard ſhewn to them by the People, are to be called Heats and Animoſities; and call them by what Names you will, they were not the Cauſe, but the Effect of that Obſtinacy in *Spain*, of which the Tameneſs of our Miniſters was the Cauſe; conſequently, it is in this Tameneſs alone we are to ſeek for the original Cauſe of the preſent War; for if our Miniſters had reſented, as they ought, the firſt Injury that was done to our Merchants by the *Spaniards*, it would have prevented a ſecond, and for the firſt we might by Repriſals, if not by fair Means, have obtained Redreſs, without coming to an open Rupture; or if we had then come to an open Rupture, we ſhould have prevented a very great Prejudice the Nation has ſuffered by an Interruption of its Trade, and many conſiderable Loſſes our Merchants have ſuſtain'd by the plundering and ſeizing their Ships; and I believe no Man will ſay, we had not then as favourable an Opportunity for engaging in a War againſt *Spain*, as we have at preſent.

Having thus, my Lords, ſhewn what it really was, that encouraged the *Spaniards* to provoke us to War, I muſt obſerve, that if they ſtill continue obſtinate, it will, I believe, be owing to the ſame Cauſe. They are ſenſible of the Superiority of our naval Force, which, at the ſame Time that it enables us to hurt them in the moſt ſenſible Part, may prevent their being able to hurt us in any; and they can have no Hopes to reap any Advantage from thoſe Diviſions and Animoſities, which, if there were any amongſt us, his Majeſty has put a final End to by declaring War againſt them. Their Hopes, therefore, can depend upon nothing but upon our not proſecuting the War with Wiſdom and Vigour. They may, perhaps, hope, that the ſame perplex'd and timorous Spirits will hereafter prevail in our warlike Meaſures, that formerly prevailed in our peaceful Negotiations; and if they continue obſtinate in proſecuting the War, I ſhall conclude that they entertain ſome ſuch Hopes; but I truſt in God they'll find themſelves diſappointed. Our Generals and our Admirals are Men of a different Caſt from what they have experienced in our Miniſters and Negotiators; and if the Conduct of the War be committed to the Care of our Generals and

Ad-

Admirals, as I hope it will, the *Spaniards* will ſoon find they have nothing to truſt to, but our Mercy and Forgiveneſs.

I ſhall join with the noble Lord in ſuppoſing, that every one of your Lordſhips wiſhes to ſee a ſpeedy, as well as honourable End to the War. It is very much the Buſineſs of this Nation to make the War as ſhort as poſſible; and the moſt effectual Method for rendering it ſhort, is to make it violent. War is a Sort of Storm, and like other Storms, the more violent it is, the ſooner it will be over. If we puſh it vigorouſly, and in the right Place, it cannot be of long Continuance. For this Purpoſe the *Weſt-Indies* is the only proper Place. We may plague and harraſs the Enemy by making Incurſions upon the Continent of *Old Spain*, and by burning the Ships in their Harbours, as often as we can get an Opportunity; but *America* is the Place where we ought to direct our chief Force. There the *Spaniards* cannot reſiſt us, and there we may do more than make Incurſions. We may there take and hold ſuch Places, as we think may be either convenient or uſeful. It is what *Spain* cannot hinder: It is what *Europe* cannot prevent; and by holding the Places we take, we add to our own Strength, at the ſame Time that we diminiſh the Strength of our Enemy.

The late King *William* I ſhall always, my Lords, have a great Regard for. His Actions were right: Even his Thoughts were right. He knew the moſt proper Way for this Nation to puſh a War againſt *Spain*. He knew that the *Weſt-Indies* was the Place where we could moſt injure the Enemy, and benefit ourſelves. For this Reaſon, in the Treaty of Grand Alliance concluded between the *Emperor*, *England*, and *Holland*, in the Year 1701, he took care, by the 6th Article of that Treaty, to ſtipulate, that it ſhould be lawful for him, and the Lords the *States General*, *by common Advice*, and for the Benefit and Enlargement of the Navigation and Commerce of their Subjects, to ſeize, by their Forces, what Lands and Cities they could, belonging to the *Spaniſh* Dominions in the *Indies*; *and that whatſoever they ſhould ſo take, ſhould be their own.* That great and wiſe Prince did not live to proſecute his Deſign; but this Article ſhews what were his Thoughts, and even the Thoughts of ſuch a Man may be of great Uſe to his Country. After his Death, we had not ſuch an Influence upon the Councils of the *States General*, as we had before. They began to think it was more for the Intereſt of the Confederacy to make Conqueſts in *Europe*, than to make Conqueſts in the *Indies*, therefore they refuſed to join with us in any Undertaking againſt the *Spaniſh* Dominions in the *Indies*, and we could not engage in any ſuch without their Concurrence. The War, 'tis true, could hardly be more glorious and ſucceſsful than it was; but it would probably have been of ſhorter Duration, and would certainly have been more advantageous for this Nation, if the Scheme formed by King *William* had been followed in every Part.

If we have now, my Lords, the Misfortune of having no Allies, we have, at leaſt, this Advantage reſulting from it, That in our preſent War againſt *Spain*, we may follow the Plan laid down by that glorious Prince without any Reſtraint, and without aſking the Advice of any Power in *Europe*; therefore, I hope this is the Plan now reſolved on, for our future Operations. I hope they will be chiefly directed towards ſeizing ſuch Lands and Cities, belonging to the *Spaniſh* Dominions in the *Indies*, as may contribute towards the Benefit and Enlargement of

of our Navigation and Commerce; or at leaſt, ſuch as are neceſſary for ſecuring the Freedom of that Navigation and Commerce, which we have now a Right to in thoſe Parts of the World *. We have met with ſuch Provocations from *Spain*, as must render this War juſt on our Part, in the Eyes of every impartial Judge; and, in the Proſecution of a juſt War, no Power in *Europe* has a Right, few of them can have an Inclination to direct us, or to reſtrain us from making ſuch Conqueſts as may be ſufficient for anſwering the Charge of the War, as well as ſuch as may be neceſſary for preventing our meeting with any Injuſtice for the future.

The *Spaniards*, my Lords, have for many Years behaved towards us, not only in the moſt unjuſt, but in the moſt cruel and barbarous Manner. They have not only in the moſt contemptuous Manner inſulted the Crown, but they have in the moſt barbarous Manner injured the Subjects of theſe Kingdoms; and that, at a Time when they were profeſſing the greateſt Friendſhip towards us, and receiving many Acts of Friendſhip from us. They have for ſeveral Years been dealing with us in the moſt treacherous Manner. But I ſhall avoid giving hard Names. I would not give hard Words even to the *Spaniards*; but I would, and I hope we ſhall, give them very hard Blows; and that, upon the moſt ſenſible Part. Every one knows, my Lords, where that is. It is in *America*, where we can make them feel moſt ſenſibly the Weight of our Reſentment: It is by Conqueſts in that Part of the World, where we can moſt effectually ſecure or enlarge our Commerce and Navigation; and it is there, where they can leaſt reſiſt us. If they have none to aſſiſt them, we muſt, by attacking them vigorouſly in that Part of the World, bring the War to a ſpeedy Iſſue, and to an Iſſue that will be advantageous as well as glorious to this Nation.

What then have we to fear, my Lords? From a War with the *Spaniards* we have nothing to fear; but from a Peace with them, unleſs it be ſuch a one as we ſhall preſcribe, we have a great deal to fear. Former Experience has ſhewn, that we have nothing to fear from the Force of their Arms in Time of War; but late Experience has ſhewn, that we have ſomething to fear from their Treachery in Time of Peace. But ſome Perſons amongſt us may, perhaps, be frightned, leſt the *Spaniards* ſhould be aſſiſted by ſome of the other Powers of *Europe*. My Lords, they can be aſſiſted by none but the *French*; and *France*, in its preſent Circumſtance, and according to that which ſeems to be its preſent Scheme of Politicks, will, I believe, be very loth to engage in a War with this Nation. The great Age of him who now ſo worthily preſides over the Councils of that Kingdom, muſt make him deſire to end his Days in Peace; and therefore it is not probable that he will engage in a dangerous War, for ſupporting the romantick and unjuſt Pretenſions of the Court of *Spain*; Pretenſions which may one Day prove as troubleſome and prejudicial to *France*, as they have lately proved to *England*. Beſides, the *French* ſeem now to be more intent upon extending their Trade, than upon extending their Dominions; and, in a War with this Nation, their Trade muſt ſuffer in every Branch: Nay, if we exert ourſelves as we ought, it muſt be entirely ſuſpended.

But the Difference, my Lords, between this Nation and *France* is, that

* *See the Map of the* Weſt-Indies *in our* Magazine *for* April *laſt, and Plans of* Porto Bello, *the* Havanah, *and* Carthagena, *p.* 190, 192, 194.

that our Trade is our chief Support, and therefore we muſt ſacrifice every other View to the Preſervation of our Trade: Whereas the chief Support of *France* does not depend upon its Trade, and for this Reaſon the *French* may, on account of other Views, make a Sacrifice of their Trade for a Time. But ſuppoſe they ſhould reſolve to make a Sacrifice of their own Trade, in order to diſtreſs the Trade of this Nation, by joining openly with *Spain* againſt us, what can they do? They muſt fight us by Sea, or not at all: They can attack us no other Way; and there we are greatly ſuperior. The Navies of *France* and *Spain* joined together, are no Match for the Navy of *Great Britain*; and, if we ſhould deſtroy the firſt Squadron they fit out, we might ruin the Dominions of both in the *Weſt-Indies*, before they could be able to fit out another. To talk of their invading us here at home, as long as we are united amongſt ourſelves, is a mere Bug-bear. We have already properly provided againſt it, by augmenting our Land Forces, and by covering the Sea with our Ships of War. The Sea, my Lords, when ſo covered, is our Defence and our Safe-guard; when not ſo covered, it is our Priſon. His Majeſty's Declaration of War againſt *Spain*, has healed all our Diviſions. There is now no Animoſity in the Kingdom, but a moſt general one againſt the *Spaniards*; and an Invaſion from *France*, upon the preſent Occaſion, would unite us more firmly than ever. They cannot therefore attempt to invade us, without ſending at once ſuch an Army as would be ſufficient for conquering the Kingdom. For this Purpoſe, they muſt ſend a very great Army of Horſe as well as Foot; and the providing of Ships for tranſporting ſuch an Army, would take up ſo much Time, and make ſuch a Noiſe abroad, that we muſt hear of it; in which Caſe, we could eaſily ſend a Squadron ſuperior to any they can fit out, to burn their Ships in the Harbour, or to intercept them, if they dared put to Sea.

In ſhort, my Lords, *France*, by joining in the War, muſt ruin her own Trade, and may diſtreſs ours a little, but ſhe cannot otherwiſe hurt us; and if we are not obliged to maintain great Armies upon the Continent of *Europe*, as we were in the laſt War, we may ſend ſuch a naval Force to the *Weſt-Indies*, as both *France* and *Spain* joined together cannot reſiſt; the Conſequence of which would be, the Loſs of all the Dominions belonging to both theſe Nations in that Part of the World. Therefore, if the *French* ſhould reſolve to join with *Spain* in the preſent War, they can do it no Way with any Effect againſt us, but by endeavouring to overturn the Balance of Power in *Europe*, and for that Purpoſe raiſing a new War upon the Continent, which would of courſe make our former Allies ſue to us, for renewing the antient Confederacy againſt *France* and *Spain*.

Our former Allies, nay, all the Powers of *Europe*, my Lords, are already ſurprized at our Declaration of War. If we purſue it with Wiſdom and Vigour, it muſt, in all human Probability, be ſucceſsful; and this will make the Powers of *Europe* begin to reſpect us, as much as they have lately deſpiſed us. His preſent Majeſty may be made the greateſt and moſt glorious Prince that ever ſate upon the *Britiſh* Throne; but if our warlike Meaſures ſhould ſtill be interrupted, or rendered languid, by that Spirit of Negotiation which has ſo long prevailed, the Opportunity will ſoon be loſt; and if it ſhould, God forgive them that ſhall be the Cauſe of ſo much Reproach to their Sove-

reign, and of ſuch irretrievable Hurt and Ignominy to their Country.

In the preſent War, my Lords, we have as yet no Occaſion for any Allies: I do not know that we ſhall; but if we ſhould, we may ſtill find great and powerful Allies in *Europe*. The Power of the Houſe of *Auſtria* is not yet become ſo deſpicable, as our Advocates for Peace have endeavoured to repreſent; and I hope no Man in *Britain* is now afraid of the overgrown Power of that Houſe. It was never in this Kingdom a national Jealouſy, nor could it ever be made ſo, notwithſtanding the great Pains that were taken, a few Years ſince, to inculcate and propagate ſuch a Jealouſy through all Parts of his Majeſty's Dominions. The *Emperor*, therefore, may ſtill be a moſt uſeful Ally to us, and certainly would be ſo, if we were in any real Danger; becauſe we ſhall always be a moſt uſeful Ally to him, when the Balance of Power is in Danger, at leaſt, I am ſure, we ought to be ſo. The King of *Pruſſia* likewiſe is a Power whoſe Alliance we may always depend on, if we follow right Meaſures; and another Power, which is now as formidable as any in *Europe*, will always, I believe, be fond of cultivating a cloſe Alliance and Friendſhip with this Nation. Even the *Dutch*, I believe, might eaſily be brought in to purſue more vigorous Meaſures than they have done of late Years. But theſe Things are not to be done by Negotiation. They are to be done by vigorous Meaſures on our Side, eſpecially in thoſe Affairs that particularly regard ourſelves. If we ſhew the Powers of *Europe*, that we dare reſent our Wrongs, and vindicate our Rights, and that we can do it in a wiſe and vigorous Manner: If we ſhew them, that we can ſtand upon our own Legs, they will apply to us; they will court our Favour, becauſe they will from thence ſee, we can give them Aſſiſtance. A Nation, like a private Man, muſt in vain expect Aſſiſtance from its Neighbours, if they believe it cannot help itſelf. Notwithſtanding the great Pains taken by ſome of our late Dealers in Negotiation, to make the World, as well as ourſelves, believe, that we are in a weak and helpleſs Condition; I hope we ſhall now ſhew, that we are ſtill able to make the proudeſt Nation in *Europe* repent her having dared to inſult us.

The Hypotheſis of our Politicks is now, I hope, quite altered. We are now, my Lords, I hope, upon a right Hypotheſis; and if that Hypotheſis be vigorouſly and ſteadily purſued, no Matter by whom; for it is not Men, but the Hypotheſis of our late Conduct, that I have found Fault with. If the ſame Men ſhould alter the Courſe of their Meaſures: If they ſhould lay down a right Hypotheſis, and follow that Hypotheſis in a proper Manner, I ſhall be as ready to approve, as ever I was to blame their Conduct. But if they have a Mind to alter their Conduct in Time to come, they will forget, they muſt even approve of the Oppoſition that was made to their Conduct in Time paſt; and therefore, they will be far from preſuming to ſay, that the Authors of that Oppoſition were Fomenters of Heats and Animoſities, or that there is now ſubſiſting any Diviſion in the Nation. There is really no ſuch Thing now amongſt us, nor can there be any ſuch Thing in the Courſe of the preſent War, if it be carried on with a Deſign to revenge us, and not with a Deſign only to amuſe us. Therefore, I was ſurprized to hear any Thing of Diviſions and Animoſities mentioned in his Majeſty's Speech, but I am much more ſurprized to hear our Diviſions and Animoſities made a Part of a Motion in this Houſe, and that by a noble

Lord, who at the ſame Time ſays, he has taken all poſſible Care to avoid inſerting in his Motion, any Thing that may occaſion the leaſt Objection or Difficulty, and that he moſt heartily wiſhes we ſhould be unanimous upon the preſent Occaſion.

But ſuppoſe, my Lords, there had been any real Diviſions and Animoſities amongſt us: Suppoſe theſe Diviſions and Animoſities were ſtill ſubſiſting; would it be right in us to publiſh it to the World? Our Enemies are apt enough to ſay we are a factious and divided People: We find they do ſay ſo; and they will certainly endeavour to propagate that Opinion among thoſe who incline to be our Friends. Shall we then, by an Addreſs which, we know, will be publiſhed in all the foreign *Gazettes*, give the World good Ground to believe ſo? Will not this encourage thoſe who are already our declared Enemies to prolong the War? Will it not encourage thoſe who are as yet our ſecret Enemies to declare openly againſt us? Will it not diſcourage our Friends from giving us any Aſſiſtance? If we ſhould come to ſtand in Need of any Alliance, there is nothing, in my Opinion, can be more effectually done for preventing its being in our Power to procure one; therefore, I hope, the noble Lord will agree to leave out of his Motion every Expreſſion that may ſeem to inſinuate, as if there were Diviſions and Animoſities ſtill ſubſiſting amongſt us, eſpecially ſince thoſe Expreſſions muſt be look'd on as a Reflexion upon Lords who have, upon former Occaſions, happened to differ from him in Opinion, and conſequently muſt occaſion an Oppoſition to a Motion which would otherwiſe be unanimouſly agreed to.

Theſe, my Lords, are my Thoughts upon the preſent Occaſion. It was incumbent upon me to offer them to your Lordſhips; but I ſhall make no Motion, till I ſee how other Lords think, with regard to the Motion now under our Conſideration.

The next that ſpoke was Cn. Domitius Calvinus, *the Purport of whoſe Speech was as follows*, viz.

My Lords,

I SHALL be heartily glad to ſee the Reſolution we come to upon this Occaſion unanimouſly agreed to, but I would not have us, even for the Sake of Unanimity, be guilty of any Sort of Diſreſpect to his Majeſty. As he has mentioned, and, I think, properly and ſeaſonably mentioned Diviſions, Heats, and Animoſities, we ought, in Reſpect to him, to make ſome Sort of Anſwer to that Part of his Speech; and, in my Opinion, we cannot make a more proper Anſwer, than what the noble Lord has been pleaſed to propoſe. That there have been Diviſions amongſt us, and that thoſe Diviſions have been fomented, and even carried the Length of Heats and Animoſities, is what, I think, no Man can deny. I beg Pardon, my Lords, I do not mean in this Houſe, or among your Lordſhips. Your Lordſhips may differ in Opinion, and you may ſupport your reſpective Opinions with Fervency and Zeal. I know you always will, becauſe you have the Good of your Country ſincerely at Heart. But your Lordſhips ſupport your Opinions with Temper and Diſcretion, and never allow a Difference in Opinion, to tranſport you into any Heat or Animoſity.

This, my Lords, has been, this, I hope, will always be, the laudable Behaviour of your Lordſhips both within Doors and without; but this cannot be ſaid of the reſt of the Nation. Their Differences in Opinion may ſometimes flow from a Difference that has ariſen in this Houſe: They may follow your Lordſhips in their Differences, but few of

of them know how to imitate you in Temper and Moderation. This is the Cauſe that Differences in Opinion, about Matters of a publick Nature, often create Diviſions among the People without Doors; and thoſe who are diſaffected to his Majeſty's Perſon and Government, always endeavour to nurſe theſe Diviſions up into Heats and Animoſities, and too often ſucceed in their Attempts. Whatever is ſaid, therefore, in his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne, whatever may be ſaid in your Addreſs, about Diviſions, Heats or Animoſities, can relate only to the People without Doors: It can no Way relate to your Lordſhips, and conſequently no Lord in this Houſe can have Reaſon to think himſelf reflected on by any ſuch Expreſſion, either in his Majeſty's Speech, or in our Addreſs.

But ſuppoſe, my Lords, there never had been, nor were now, any ſuch Thing as Diviſions, Heats or Animoſities in the Nation, yet as ſuch Misfortunes are too frequent in every free Country, it was right in his Majeſty to caution us againſt them. It was a moſt ſeaſonable Advice upon the breaking out of a War, which may be heavy, dangerous, and tedious, tho' it has at preſent the Appearance of not being ſo. The noble Lord that ſpoke laſt, expreſſed a great Regard for the late King *William*. I ſhall readily join with him in teſtifying my Eſteem for that great Prince; and therefore, I muſt approve of his Majeſty's giving us a Caution at this Juncture againſt Heats and Animoſities, becauſe King *William* did the ſame upon a like Occaſion. That Prince, in his laſt Speech to his Parliament, when War againſt *France* and *Spain* was reſolved on, tho' not then declared, recommended it particularly to his Parliament to avoid all Manner of Diſputes and Differences, and to lay aſide thoſe unhappy fatal Animoſities, which divided and weakened this Nation. For this Reaſon, if the Example of King *William* can be of any Weight, and, I muſt think it ought, we muſt approve of the Advice his Majeſty has given us upon this Occaſion, and if we approve of it, we ought to ſay ſomething in Return.

In this, my Lords, his Majeſty has done no more than follow the Example of King *William*, and as he equals that Prince in many other Virtues, ſo he equals him in a true Regard for the Glory and Happineſs of his Kingdoms, which, I am convinced, will be manifeſted in a prudent and vigorous Proſecution of the preſent War. King *William*, in my Opinion, and, I believe, in the Opinion of every Man that hears me, judged right when he ſuppoſed that the *Indies* was the proper Place for carrying on a War againſt *Spain*. His preſent Majeſty we may ſuppoſe, from what he ſays in his Speech, to be of the ſame Opinion. He has told us that he has augmented his Forces by Sea and Land, as the neceſſary Means of diſtreſſing and annoying our Enemies *in the moſt ſenſible Parts*, by which he certainly means the *Indies*; and, I believe, no Man ſuppoſes that we ought to exhauſt our Strength in attacking any of their Dominions in *Europe*. We may, therefore, ſuppoſe, that his Majeſty will certainly puſh the War againſt *Spain* with the greateſt Vigour in the *Indies*; and if he had Occaſion for it, he would as certainly make Stipulations in every Alliance he enters into, for our keeping Poſſeſſion of the Conqueſts we may make in that Part of the World. It was neceſſary for King *William* to make ſuch a Stipulation in the Alliance he at that Time concluded with the *Emperor*, becauſe by that Alliance the Dominions of *Spain* were to be given to a Branch of the Houſe of *Auſtria*. But as his preſent Majeſty has no

ſuch

ſuch Deſign, he has no Occaſion for any ſuch Stipulation. If we now make any Conqueſts in that Part of the World, as I hope we ſhall, no Ally we can have in the preſent War, will have a Right to prevent our keeping Poſſeſſion of what we conquer: Whereas, by the Alliance we then entered into, the *Emperor* would have had a Right to prevent it, if it had not been for that Stipulation.

I do not ſee, my Lords, how any of our former Meaſures can be properly brought under our Conſideration in this Debate. I wiſh we could all forget our Differences about paſt Meaſures, and heartily unite in ſuch Meaſures for the Time to come, as may redound to the Glory and Advantage of our Country. But as the noble Lord that ſpoke laſt, was pleaſed to throw out ſome Things that may be look'd on as Reflections upon our paſt Meaſures, I think it incumbent upon me, conſidering the Poſt in which I have the Honour to ſerve his Majeſty, to ſay ſomething in their Juſtification. I have approved of our publick Meaſures, my Lords, for ſeveral Years paſt: I ſtill approve of them: Nay, I ſo much approve of them, that if any one of them had been otherwiſe than it was, I am convinced, I ſhould have diſapproved of it. The noble Lord has found fault with ſeveral of our Meaſures: He has particularly, upon this Occaſion, found fault with our Negotiations for preventing a War, which of all others, are, in my Opinion, the moſt juſtifiable. His Majeſty, out of his tender Regard to his People, was reſolved, if poſſible, to avoid a War: He endeavoured as much as he could, to obtain Redreſs by peaceable Means. For this Purpoſe it was neceſſary to negotiate; and from the ſame Motive he continued to negotiate, as long as there were any Hopes of Succeſs. I hope the noble Lord would not have had us declare War before we demanded Redreſs; and we could not, in Juſtice, declare War, as long as we had Reaſon to believe our Demand would be complied with. Our Negotiations were not altogether fruitleſs: They procured a Convention, by which, if *Spain* had been ſincere, an open Rupture might have been avoided; for I muſt ſtill approve of that Convention: I muſt ſtill think, we acted prudently in agreeing to it. Reparation for our Damages was thereby expreſsly promiſed; and, if that Promiſe had been fulfilled, the other Articles in Diſpute might have been eaſily adjuſted. But when the Court of *Spain* refuſed to comply with what they ſo ſolemnly promiſed, then, and not till then, it became in vain to negotiate; and then his Majeſty, according to the Advice of his Parliament, reſolved upon forcible Means, for obtaining that which he ſaw he could no longer expect to obtain by Negotiation.

Trade, my Lords, is our chief Support: Even the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, has acknowledged it to be ſo; therefore, it is neceſſary for us to avoid War as much as poſſible; for our Trade muſt ſuffer by every War we can be engaged in. It muſt of courſe occaſion an entire Stop to our Trade with that Nation againſt which we happen to be engaged, and this breaks the Chain of the general Trade we carry on; for our Trade with every Nation depends, in ſome Meaſure, upon our Trade with every other Nation where we carry on any Commerce. Beſides, our Trade muſt ſuffer in every Branch, by the Privateers of that Nation we are at War with; for it is impoſſible ſo to cover the Ocean with Cruiſers, as to prevent their ſending out Privateers; and, if they have any ſuch at Sea, our Merchant Ships cannot proceed ſafely

on

on their Voyage without Convoy, which is always a great Expence, and often occaſions a Diſappointment to the Merchant. To which I muſt add, that a War with *Spain*, muſt always be more injurious to our Trade, than a War with any other Nation in *Europe*; becauſe of the great Trade our Merchants carry on in that Kingdom, either in their own or in borrowed Names, and becauſe of that Country's lying ſo convenient for interrupting, by their Privateers, our Trade with *Portugal*, *Turkey*, *Italy*, *Africa*, and with our own Plantations in *America*.

No Man therefore, my Lords, who conſiders theſe Things, can, in my Opinion, blame our endeavouring to avoid a War with *Spain*, by Means of a Negotiation. We were in the right to negotiate as long as we had the leaſt Hopes left of obtaining Satisfaction in that Way. If his Majeſty had plunged the Nation into a War, upon the firſt Inſult offered by *Spain*, I am convinced we ſhould then have had as much ſaid, and I am ſure with more Reaſon, againſt a raſh and precipitate War, as we have lately heard againſt long and tedious Negotiations. The Inconveniencies and Loſſes our Trade was expoſed to by a War, would have been ſet forth with great Vehemence: The Advantage of our Trade with *Spain*, would have been magnified to a high Degree; and the Prudence of waiting a more favourable Conjuncture for obtaining Redreſs from that Crown, might have been with Juſtice inſiſted on; becauſe, as it is the Intereſt of that Nation not to fall out with us, it was reaſonable to expect, that a Change of Meaſures at that Court, or a Change in their Adminiſtration, would have put an End to their injurious Treatment of us, and would have inclined them to give ear to a friendly Accommodation.

But, my Lords, as his Majeſty, like a tender Father, was loth to engage his People in a War, which muſt be fatal to ſome of them, and prejudicial to great Numbers; as he endeavoured to prevent a War by Negotiation, as long as there were any Hopes left of ſucceeding in that Way, thoſe who are reſolved to find fault with the Conduct of our publick Affairs, (which, I am ſure, is not the Caſe with regard to any of your Lordſhips) have now nothing to ſay, but againſt our Negotiations, which have, indeed, at laſt failed of the wiſhed for Succeſs; but this, I am ſure, no Man could foreſee. Before the End of *May* laſt, no Man could pretend to ſay, that this would be the Event. As ſoon as this happened to be the Caſe, his Majeſty began to prepare for War, and took the firſt Opportunity to commence Hoſtilities; and we have, at leaſt, gained this Advantage from our Negotiations, that all the Powers of *Europe* muſt now ſee we have Juſtice of our Side, becauſe we did not offer to attack them, till they had broke through one of the moſt ſolemn and explicit Stipulations that one Nation can make with another. The other Powers of *Europe* could not eaſily, or perhaps would not be at the Pains to underſtand the Diſputes between the *Spaniards* and us about ſearching our Ships on the Seas, or about our reſpective Rights and Limits on the Continent or in the Iſlands of *America*; but every Power in *Europe* muſt underſtand, and muſt look on their refuſing to pay the 95,000*l.* ſtipulated by the Convention, as an open and notorious Violation of Faith.

His Majeſty's Declaration of War has, 'tis true, put an End to thoſe Clamours that were raiſed againſt our peaceable Negotiations; but I am afraid, my Lords, it has not put an End to our Diviſions. Thoſe

who

who in Time of Peace cried out for War, cannot certainly find Fault with the Declaration of War. This would render them ridiculous; but I am afraid, the ſame Spirit that prompted them to find Fault with our peaceable Negotiations, will prompt them to find Fault with our warlike Operations; and the very Nature of the Thing muſt furniſh them with a greater Abundance of Materials for Complaint. In Time of War ſome croſs Accidents muſt happen: The beſt concerted Schemes may fail of Succeſs: The former will be aſcribed, by the Malicious, to Want of Care, and the latter to Want of Conduct. The noble Lord who ſpoke laſt has, indeed, with his uſual Candour, declared, that if the Plan be right, he will not find Fault with the Event, therefore, I do not queſtion our having his Approbation in every Step of our future Conduct; and as we have Juſtice on our Side, and may conſequently expect the Protection of Divine Providence, I hope the moſt malicious will have but very little Room to find Fault. We have already met with ſome Succeſs; which, in all Probability, will ſoon be followed by others: We have failed in no Attempt but one, and that was ſo viſibly occaſioned by contrary Winds and Storms, that no Man can have the Aſſurance to impute it to any Defect in our Conduct. At the ſame Time, ſo great Care has been taken to provide for our Safety at home, and for the Protection of our Dominions and Trade abroad, that we are in no great Danger of being attack'd in any Part of our Dominions; and conſidering the extenſive Trade we carry on, and the veſt Number of Ships our Merchants have at Sea, ſo few of them have fallen into the Hands of our Enemies, and all this has been done with ſo much Prudence and Œconomy, that the moſt ſertile Malice cannot, I think, invent an Objection againſt our Conduct ſince the Commencement of the War.

I ſhall join with the noble Lord in ſaying, that it is our Buſineſs to make this, as well as every other War we engage in, as ſhort as poſſible, and, I hope, the War we are now engaged in will not be of any long Duration. It cannot continue long, if *Spain* gets no Aſſiſtance from any other Power in *Europe*. We have already provided, I hope ſufficiently provided, for our Defence, which was certainly the firſt Thing neceſſary. We are now to provide for attacking the Enemy; and I make no doubt but that as ſoon as the Seaſon will permit, we ſhall be able to attack them in the proper Place, with ſuch a Force as they cannot reſiſt. Our Negotiations to prevent a War were, perhaps, more tedious than was agreeable to ſome People amongſt us; but now the War is begun, I hope we ſhall be able to puſh it with ſuch Vigour and Succeſs, as muſt produce an honourable Peace, before any Man in the Kingdom can have Time to be tired of the War. As his Majeſty has ſecured us, by an Augmentation of his Land Forces, againſt the Deſigns of our Enemies at home, and, by covering the Seas with his Squadrons, againſt an Attack from our Enemies abroad, the *Spaniards* muſt ſoon find themſelves diſappointed in the Hopes they had, of reaping Advantage from our Diviſions; and being deprived of theſe Hopes, when they ſee that we are ready to attack them in the moſt ſenſible Part, and with an irreſiſtible Force, they will probably ſubmit to reaſonable Terms. They muſt ſubmit, unleſs they are ſure of having the Aid of a neighbouring Power, for preventing that Vengeance which will ſoon be ready to burſt upon them.

My

My Lords, the noble Lord that ſpoke laſt has allowed, that there is ſome Danger of *France*'s declaring againſt us in the preſent War. He has allowed that *France* may ſacrifice her Trade to other Views. I do not know that we are as yet in any Danger from that Quarter. I hope we are not; but no Man can tell how ſoon we may; for notwithſtanding the great Age of the preſent prime Miniſter of that Kingdom, notwithſtanding his preſent peaceable Diſpoſition, we cannot entirely truſt to it. We know he can alter that Diſpoſition, when he finds it proper or neceſſary ſo to do. We know the Animoſity that has ſo long ſubſiſted between that Nation and this: We know the Regard the People of *France* have for the Royal Family of *Spain*; and therefore the prime Miniſter of that Kingdom, notwithſtanding the arbitrary Form of their Government, may, like the Miniſters in other Countries, be forced to chime in with the general Inclinations, perhaps the general Whim, of his Countrymen. Many Things may induce the *French* to alter their preſent Meaſures, and as their King is abſolute Maſter within his Dominions, the Effects of that Alteration may, and probably will be inſtantaneous, and may be fatal to us, if we are not fully provided againſt them. On this Account it is prudent, it is neceſſary for us to make more formidable Preparations, and to put ourſelves to a greater Expence, than might, perhaps, be neceſſary, if we were ſure of having none but the *Spaniards* to deal with.

But this, my Lords, is far from being the Caſe. We cannot depend upon the Counſels of any foreign Nation. The only ſure Method we have for preventing an Alteration in their Counſels with regard to us, is to prevent its being in their Power to hurt us, by providing ſufficiently for our Defence at Land, as well as by Sea; and as the Court of *France* is nearly allied with that of *Spain*, as the Coaſt of *France* lies more convenient for invading this Kingdom than any other Coaſt in *Europe*, we ought, in the preſent War, to provide againſt a ſudden Attack from thence, as well as againſt an Attack from *Spain*. It is a little, I may ſay, diverting to obſerve the different Opinions of ſome without Doors at different Times. It is not many Years ſince the Power of *France* was repreſented in a terrible Light: We were but a few Years ago told, that the Power of *France* was become dangerous to the Liberties of *Europe*; and from thence an Argument was drawn for our engaging againſt that Crown in a War, in which we had no immediate Concern. I am ſure the Power of *France* is no way diminiſhed ſince that Time, nor can I think, that the Power of this Nation is any way increaſed; and yet now, we are told, that the Power of *France* is ſo inconſiderable, that even this Nation alone has nothing to fear from the united Power of *France* and *Spain*: And that *France*, by joining with *Spain* in the preſent War, may hurt herſelf, but cannot hurt us. This Way of talking is ſomething ſtrange; but I am no way ſurprized at it. We were then in Peace, and our Adminiſtration were againſt involving their Country in War, unleſs *France* ſhould puſh her Conqueſts ſo far, as to endanger the Liberties of *Europe*: We are now in War, and our Adminiſtration think it neceſſary to provide againſt *France*'s taking a Share in the War againſt us. This is the ſole Cauſe of this Difference in Opinion, with regard to the Power of *France*. Our Adminiſtration have, for good Reaſons, altered their Meaſures, and therefore thoſe who oppoſe them muſt, without any Reaſon, alter their Opinions.

I am far from accuſing any Lord in this Houſe of ſuch a Conduct. Your Lordſhips always form your Opinions upon Reaſons that appear at leaſt to you ſubſtantial; but this, my Lords, cannot be ſaid of many without Doors. The chief Reaſon for the Opinion they form, often ſeems to be, becauſe the Adminiſtration happens to be of another; and ſuch a Conduct muſt proceed from a Spirit of Diviſion and Animoſity: I am ſure, it does not proceed from a Spirit that can, in any Senſe, be called rational. It muſt from thence appear, that there is a Spirit of Diſſenſion and Animoſity reigning without Doors; and thoſe who are diſaffected, will always endeavour to cultivate and improve that Spirit as much as they can, eſpecially at the Beginning of a foreign War. This made it neceſſary for his Majeſty, upon the preſent Occaſion, to caution us againſt Heats and Animoſities, and for the ſame Reaſon we ought to pay a due Reſpect to that Caution, not only in our Addreſs, but alſo in our future Conduct. This ought to prevail with us, to be as unanimous as poſſible in all our future Reſolutions; for, tho' no Difference of Opinion ever ariſes to any Heat or Animoſity in this Houſe, yet it adds Fewel to thoſe Heats and Animoſities that are induſtriouſly fomented by the Diſaffected without Doors; and, as it cannot be ſuppoſed, that any of your Lordſhips are in the leaſt concerned in thoſe Diviſions, Heats, or Animoſities that prevail without Doors, therefore, I hope, the noble Lord's Motion will be unanimouſly agreed to without any Amendment.

A. Poſtumius *roſe up next, and ſpoke to this Effect*, viz.

My Lords,

AS I have not the Honour to have any Share in his Majeſty's Counſels, I cannot pretend to ſay, what is meant by the Divi-

Diviſions, Heats, and Animoſities mentioned in his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne; but as that Speech, and all ſuch Speeches are directed to the two Houſes of Parliament, the moſt obvious, and, I think, the moſt natural Conſtruction that can be put upon it is, That his Majeſty means the Diviſions, Heats, and Animoſities that have ariſen in one or other Houſe of Parliament. This is the Conſtruction, I am convinced, that will be put upon it by our People at home, and by our Friends as well as Enemies abroad; and as his Majeſty can know nothing of theſe Diviſions, Heats, or Animoſities, but by Information, I am ſure, thoſe that have told him of there being any ſuch Thing in either Houſe, have done no Service to their King or Country. No Man can, with the leaſt Shadow of Truth, ſay, there has been any ſuch Thing in Parliament; and therefore I muſt think, that thoſe who have given his Majeſty ſuch a falſe Information, if they are not guilty of Treaſon, they are at leaſt guilty of a very high Miſdemeanor. It is a Miſrepreſenting of the Parliament to the King, which may be attended with Conſequences fatal to the Nation, and therefore muſt be a Crime of a moſt heinous Nature. What then ſhall we be guilty of, if by any Words in our Addreſs, we confirm this Miſrepreſentation that has been made of us to his Majeſty? Will it not make his Majeſty, as well as every Perſon without Doors, both abroad and at home, be convinced, that there have been great Heats and Animoſities in Parliament, and that thoſe Heats and Animoſities are far from being allayed or alleviated? What an Encouragement will this be to our Enemies, what a Diſconſolation to our Friends?

Surely every Lord that hears me muſt be conſcious, that there have been no Heats or Animoſities in this Houſe, and I have heard of none in the other. Even with regard to the People without Doors, I cannot think, my Lords, there is the leaſt Ground for ſaying, there is any Diviſion or Animoſity among them. I am ſure it cannot be ſaid, there is any Number of Men in the Nation, that diſapprove of the War his Majeſty has declared againſt *Spain*. I have not lately been in many Parts of the Country, but here in *London* there never was a Meaſure more univerſally approved of, by all Ranks and Degrees of Men. The People have ſhewn their Approbation by every Method they could think of; and I do not think, that a Meaſure ſo highly approved of in and about the City of *London*, can meet with any Cenſure or Oppoſition in the Country.

What Circumſtances the Nation was in, towards the latter End of King *William*'s Reign, I cannot at preſent, my Lords, take upon me fully to explain; but I remember two or three Circumſtances, which make our Caſe very different now, from what it was then. But three or four Months before that Prince made the Speech to his Parliament, which the noble Duke has been pleaſed to mention, the late unfortunate King *James* having died at *St. Germans* in *France*, his Son was publickly proclaimed King of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, at *St. Germans*, and ſolemnly and openly acknowledged as ſuch by the King of *France*, which was a good Reaſon for King *William*'s admoniſhing his Parliament to beware of Diviſions and Animoſities, and a Reaſon which does not now ſubſiſt. This, I ſay, was a good Reaſon; but there was ſtill a much ſtronger. In the very Seſſion of Parliament immediately preceding that which he opened with the Speech the noble Duke has mentioned, there had been great Conteſts, and great Heats and Animoſities in both Houſes: Several noble Lords who were the King's chief Miniſters and Favourites, and who had done ſignal Services to their Country, had been impeached by the Houſe of Commons, which not only raiſed Heats and Animoſities in each Houſe, but occaſioned a Sort of Breach between the two; and was, perhaps, the Occaſion of diſſolving that Parliament about the End of the enſuing Summer. To this I may add, that even as to the War then about to be entered into, there were great Diviſions in the Nation; ſome being for entering into it as Auxiliaries only, and ſome for entering into it as Principals: Nay, the Party for the former of theſe two Methods was ſo numerous and powerful, that had it not been for the Indignity put upon theſe Kingdoms by the *French* King, as I have juſt mentioned, the Nation could hardly have been prevailed on to enter into the War as Principals.

King *William*, therefore, had ſome Reaſon to caution his Parliament, being a new one which he had no Experience of, againſt thoſe Heats and Animoſities that had actually happened in the former; but ſurely, my Lords, no ſuch Reaſon exiſts at preſent. His Majeſty has had ſeveral Years Experience of this Parliament: There have been no Heats or Animoſities in Parliament: There has been no Animoſity among the People, but a very general one againſt *Spain*, and as general a one againſt the Tameneſs with which our Miniſters bore the Inſults of that Nation. The latter is now put an End to by his Majeſty's Declaration of War: The former, I hope, will continue till we have fully revenged ourſelves of our Enemies. By Diviſions, Heats, and Animoſities, nothing can be meant but the Oppoſition which the People in general, and many Members of both Houſes of Parliament, have ſhewn, and the Indignation with which they have treated the late peaceful negotiating Humour of our Miniſters; and to call that Oppoſition a Diviſion, or to complain

of its being carried on with Heat or Animosity, is throwing an unjuſt Reflexion upon the whole Nation, and upon many Members of both Houſes, merely for the Sake of making a Compliment to our Miniſters, which, I hope, this Houſe will give no Countenance to; and therefore, I think we ought to avoid ſaying any Thing in our Addreſs about Diviſions, Heats, or Animoſities. I am ſure, if the noble Lord intends to have his Motion unanimouſly agreed to, he will take the Advice that has been offered, and leave out of his Motion, every one of thoſe Expreſſions that have been objected to.

[*This Debate and Journal to be continued in our next.*]

In our *Magazine* for *May* 1738, Page 243, we informed our Readers, that in the Debates of the Political Club, the Speakers on each Side aſſume the Characters of ſome of their Superiors, and endeavour to ſpeak in the Character they have aſſumed, as much as they can.

The following Liſt contains the Names of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, whoſe Characters the Members of the ſaid Club have aſſumed.

SCIPIO Africanus, Lord Noel Somerſet.
Aſinius Pollio, Lord Polwarth, now Earl of Marchmont.
L. Æmilius Mamercinus, Mr. Ald. Perry.
C. Duillius, Sir Charles Wager.
P. Valerius Publicola, Walter Plummer, Eſq;
M. Craſſus, Edward Montagu Wortley, Eſq;
L. Caſſius Longinus, Lord Hinton.
P. Ventidius, Earl of Weſtmorland.
L. Porcius, Duke of Portland.
M. Giganius Macerinus, Lord Gower.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus, Duke of Newcaſtle.
L. Piſo, Earl of Cheſterfie'd.
C. Mucius Scævola, Earl of Scarborough.
M. Agrippa, Lord Carteret.
C. Helvius, Lord Harvey.
Q. Fabius Maximus, Lord Bathurſt.
L. Æmilius Paullus, Duke of Argyle.
L. Junius Brutus, Samuel Sandys, Eſq;
M. Tullius Cicero, Sir Robert Walpole.
M. Cato, William Pulteney, Eſq;
M. Valerius Corvus, Sir John Barnard.
Servilius Priſcus, Henry Pelham, Eſq;
M. Furius Camillus, Sir William Wyndham.
L. Quintius Capitolinus, John Talbot, Eſq;
L. Valerius Flaccus, Sir William Yonge.
L. Quintius Cincinnatus, Will. Shippen, Eſq;
Mecænas, George Lyttleton, Eſq;
C. Plinius Cæcilius, Lord Chancellor.
Pomponius Atticus, Horace Walpole, Eſq;
Julius Florus, William Pitt, Eſq;
C. Cicerejus, Earl of Cholmondly.
Q. Salonius Sarra, Biſhop of Saliſbury.
L. Icilius, Earl of Iſla.
C. Calpurnius Piſo, J. Campbell of Pembrokeſhire, Eſq;
P. Sempronius Tuditanus, Sir Tho. Saunderſon, now Earl of Scarborough.
L. Hortenſius, John Howe, Eſq;
T. Manlius Torquatus, Col. Mordaunt.
P. Villius Tappulus, Mr. Alderman Willimot.
A. Poſtumius, Duke of Bedford.
C. Fabricius, Lord Viſcount Falconbergh.

The SPEECH *of the Right Hon. the L—d V——t* G—GE, *in favour of the* Place-Bill.

SIR,

AS the noble Lord that ſpoke laſt, ſeems to be under ſo great an Uneaſineſs, that the Officers of the Army and Placemen ſhould have been, as he thinks, reflected upon by thoſe that have already ſpoke in this Debate, as Perſons biaſs'd by their Employments in their Way of Voting; I ſhall therefore, to oblige him, begin by ſaying that, to be ſure, they are all Men of great Honour, great Probity, and always vote according to their Conſciences.

I ſhall now endeavour to anſwer the Objections made to this Bill, by the Hon. Gentleman that ſpoke immediately before the noble Lord: But hope in the mean Time he will forgive me, if I ſay he has not given any one Reaſon, that can convince me or any unprejudic'd Perſon, that a Bill for the Limitation of Places in the Houſe of Commons, is not a right Thing; being, in my Opinion, the chief Thing that can preſerve our Conſtitution from Deſtruction.

As I have ever been in this Way of thinking, ſince in Parliament, and always voted for both Place and Penſion Bills; ſo I hope, whatever I ſhall ſay in ſupport of the Queſtion before us, may not be looked upon as done from a Spirit of Contradiction to thoſe that oppoſe it, or that I mean any Reflection to any one whatſoever: But ſhall beg the Indulgence of the Houſe for a few Minutes, to ſhew the Danger that may befal this Nation, if ever there ſhould be an influenced Houſe of Commons, the Probability of its ſoon being ſo, and the Neceſſity to find out, if poſſible, a Remedy to prevent its ever being ſo.

No Body, Sir, will deny but that, in former Parliaments, this Houſe has been filled with a Parcel of mercenary Wretches, who, *Eſau*-like, ſold their Birth-rights, and from being born free, became Slaves to their Purchaſers; and, if it cannot be denied that former Parliaments have been corrupted, ſo future ones may; and therefore it is the Duty of a good Parliament to provide Laws, if poſſible, to prevent what muſt ſap the Foundation of our Liberties, and the very Being and Intent of Parliaments.

To tell the Gentlemen of this Houſe of Commons, that a large Number of Places

may not create an Influence, would be impoſing upon their Underſtanding, particularly when the Members hold them no longer, than they vote according to the Dictates of the Miniſter. No, Sir, they are Gentlemen too ſenſible not to know, that the *touching* from 500*l.* to 2 or 3000*l. per Annum*, muſt be a Bias over Members votes that feel the Weight of it, *unleſs in a Parliament as virtuous as this is*; and, if that muſt be the Caſe, and as many Places remain to be diſpoſed of amongſt the Members in future Parliaments, as there are now, with the pecuniary Influence that might alſo be added, what may not be the Conſequence, if ever *England* had the Misfortune to have a bad King?

Then, if there ſhould be a wicked and ambitious Miniſter, the Diſtributer of Corruption, he might raiſe to himſelf a Faction, that would ſcreen and ſupport him and his deſtructive Meaſures, to the Ruin of their Country: For no Controul to his Actions, or Juſtice on himſelf for his Crimes could be hoped for, when thoſe that were to be his Judges, were Partakers of his Bounty, and ſhared with him the Spoils of their Country. —Parliaments then, Sir, would only be ſummoned to grant Money; but its Miſapplication could never be made out, or any Redreſs of Grievances expected, when every Light, or Proof, that might be called for, would be ſure to meet with a Negative.

What Difference would there be (as to any Advantages the Nation could reap by it) between a Parliament of *Great Britain*, and thoſe of *France*, if the Members of a *Britiſh* Parliament, by ſelling themſelves for the Lucre of their Places, became equally ſubſervient to the deſpotick Will and Pleaſure of the Prince on the Throne? We then ſhould be told here, as they are there, in Anſwer to all Attempts of Advice or Remonſtrances to the Crown for the Good of the People, *Sic volo, ſic jubeo, ſtat pro ratione voluntas.*

If ever, Sir, there ſhould be ſuch a Parliament as I have been mentioning, as there ſurely muſt be ſooner or later, if Court Influence is to prevail in it, what then becomes of all our boaſted Liberty, all thoſe valuable Privileges, that were ſupported at the Expence of ſo much Blood and Treaſure?

Tho' I muſt own, were we always ſure of as good and gracious a King on the Throne as we are bleſt with at preſent, or that his Succeſſors would equal the preſent Heir apparent, who, by the many princely Virtues and Qualifications he is endowed with, preſages the Happineſs we may expect one Day or other to enjoy under his Reign, there would be no fear of our Conſtitution being endangered. But as our Liberties may not always be as ſecure as at this happy Juncture, this Bill is to prevent, in future Times, thoſe Influences, that may be their Ruin.

And I will venture to ſay, there never was a Bill more wiſhed for by the People of *England* in general, than this is, they well knowing how far Corruption has and may hurt this Nation; nor are they ignorant of how much larger a Number of Placemen there are in this Houſe of Commons, than ever were in any former, nor what it coſt the Nation to ſupport them, and that they are ſtill increaſing. Not but that I am perſuaded, they are as throughly convinced as I, and every Gentleman that hears me, *Places have no Influence in this Houſe of Commons.*

The Nature of this Bill is ſo well underſtood, and has been ſo well explained, by the Gentleman that moved for Leave to bring it in, that I need ſay but very little upon that Point; it being no Ways intended, if it comes into the Committee, but that People of Merit may have their Seats in this Houſe, and enjoy all the Offices of State, Treaſury, Admiralty, Board of Trade, and what other Places the Committee may judge neceſſary to have the Blank in the Bill filled up with.

I will now take Notice of the two chief Objections made by the Hon. Gentleman againſt this Bill. As to the firſt, where he ſays, that preventing the Places being diſpoſed of amongſt the Members of the Houſe of Commons, wou'd be throwing them into the Houſe of Lords, and thereby make that Houſe too powerful; it can have no Foundation from what fell from the Gentlemen, that moved for Leave to bring in the Bill; for they propoſed that above 100 of the great Places ſhould remain in the Houſe of Commons as at preſent; and therefore, thoſe that make up the 200 now in the Houſe, and intended to be excluded by this Bill, for fear of too great an Influence, would be of ſuch a Nature, that none of the Lords would accept of them.

As to his ſecond Objection, that it is a Hardſhip that a Gentleman who, through his Merit, might be preferred by the Crown to a Place excepted by this Bill, ſhould be debarred thereby the Service he might do his Country in Parliament, when by the Laws now in being, after his accepting the Place, he is to be re-choſe before he can ſit; I ſhall ſay in Anſwer to it, firſt, that there is nothing new in the Legiſlature deciding by Law, who is proper or not proper to ſit in the Houſe of Commons; for let a Man be worth a Million of Money, unleſs he has 300*l.* a Year in Land, or iſſuing out of Lands, he, by Law, is debarred a Seat in this Houſe; which, conſidering the great Property and Merit he might be Maſter of, may be thought a Hardſhip.

The ſame Hardſhips may be complained of by the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms, and Exciſe, as well as ſeveral other Officers who hold Places, and by Law are equally debarred a Seat in this Houſe; and as the Fear of Influence was the Occaſion then, of thoſe Offi-

cers

cers being deprived this Privilege, why may it not be as reaſonable now for the Parliament, for the ſame Cauſe, to paſs a Bill to prevent a Houſe of Commons being filled with a much larger Number of Placemen, than in former Times were ever heard of?

And as to the ſecond Part of this Objection, I can only add, that the Legiſlature which enacted, that a Member who accepted of a Place, ſhou'd be re-choſe, to be ſure, meant well, and by the by, ſhews that it thought a Place might influence the Member that accepted it, and therefore judged it not fit he ſhould any longer ſit in the Houſe, unleſs thoſe who had formerly entruſted him to repreſent them, and were ſuppoſed beſt to know his Honour and Integrity, could rely on him afterwards.

But alas, Sir, how far does this anſwer the Intent, when moſt of the Placemen may be choſe for Boroughs they never ſaw, and where their Names, till the Time of the Election, were never heard of by their Electors, or elſe for ſuch venal Boroughs, that would prefer a Placeman, thinking he would be beſt able to bribe them?

I ſhall beg Leave, in a very few Words, to give one farther Reaſon why this Bill is even more neceſſary at preſent, than in former Times, and that is, becauſe Parliaments are choſe for 7 Years; and, I think, I may draw my Argument from an Obſervation I have made on a Policy uſed in the military Governments abroad, which may equally ſerve for the preſent Queſtion.

There, whenever a Prince gariſons a fortified Town, whoſe only Security in it is the Troops he has placed there, he never entruſts them to ſtay above 2 or 3 Years at fartheſt, well knowing the Danger that might enſue, if they and the Towns-men ſhould grow too intimate: So, Sir, a Parliament, that is deſigned as a Guard to the Liberty of the People, againſt any Encroachments of the Crown, is much more liable to be corrupted when choſe for 7 Years, than it could have been, as formerly, when annual, or but for 3 Years. For in that Length of Time, the Crown may eaſier find Ways of being more intimate with its Parliament, than conſiſts with the Safety of the People.

I ſhall add but one Reaſon more, why I ſhall be for this Bill, and that is, becauſe I am required ſo by my Conſtituents, who, I think, have a Right to direct thoſe that repreſent them; and, as they themſelves are above being corrupted, ſo no wonder they ſhould wiſh to ſee a Bill paſs, that they hope may prevent a biaſſed Houſe of Commons: And I am not aſhamed to own, that the Inſtructions I have in my Pocket, will weigh with me, and don't in the leaſt doubt but that thoſe Gentlemen, who oppoſe this Bill, will find the Weight of theirs *in their Pockets*.

If a Bill of this Nature is never to paſs, I will foretel,—That as under the Shew and Maſk of Religion, the moſt wicked Things have been executed, ſo under the ſpecious Name of a Parliament, no longer the Guardian of the People but a Miniſterial Tool, *England* will be enſlaved.

The SPEECH *of the Right Hon. the L—d V——t* G—GE, *againſt the* Regiſter-Bill. *(See p.* 138.*)*

SIR,

I HAVE attended to the Reading of this Bill, and am confident, that did the Gentlemen, who brought it in, ſee the *Conſequences* of it, in the ſame Light as I do, and indeed almoſt every Body, that ever I heard ſpeak of it, they never would have done it.

The Bill is no more than almoſt an exact Copy of the Ordinances for the Sea Service, made uſe of in a neighbouring Kingdom, without conſidering the different Effects of its Operation, in a free Country and an arbitrary one.

I have often been in *France*; and by my Acquaintance there, with thoſe who are at the Head of Marine Affairs, had Opportunity of making myſelf thoroughly Maſter of one of the fineſt regulated Plans for an *arbitrary* Country; which is, their Method of regiſtering their Seamen and manning their Fleets; and tho' no one Man in *France* is to regiſter himſelf, as preſcribed by this Bill, or is ever impreſs'd, yet, if at any Time the King of *France* gives his Orders to have his Fleet mann'd, in ſix Weeks Time, with 20 or 30,000 Seamen, 'tis performed to the very Day: But this proceeds from the good Uſage and Encouragement the Sailors meet with there.

As to the Bill before us, give me leave to ſay, it is the *moſt flagrant, bare-fac'd Attempt* upon the Liberties of his Majeſty's *Subjects*, throughout all his DOMINIONS, that ever was brought into Parliament: But I ſhall ſpeak of it, only as it relates to ENGLAND.

Where, in the firſt Place, it is not only to enſlave, for the beſt Part of their Lives, upwards of *one hundred and fifty thouſand free-born Subjects*, and to inveſt the CROWN with an abſolute Power over them; but alſo, thereby, to give the Crown a farther Power of influencing of the *Elections* throughout ENGLAND: Both which Points, beſide the diſtreſſing of all Trade, which *muſt ruin the Nation*, I ſhall endeavour to make out from the Bill.

To prove that the *Scope* of this Bill is to *enſlave* ſuch a Number of his Majeſty's *free-born Subjects*, 'twill be ſufficient to quote the very Words of it, which ſet forth, That all *Seamen, Fiſhermen, Lightermen, Bargemen, Keelmen*

Keelmen, *Boatmen*, *Trowmen*, *Watermen*, and ALL OTHER his Majeſty's Subjects, within the Kingdom of great *Britain*, &c. who get their Livelihood by going to Sea, or by following any Buſineſs upon the WATER, being, as I ſuppoſe is intended by this Bill, of the Age of 18 Years or upwards, but under the Age of 40, ſhall be *regiſter'd*, in Purſuance of this ACT, and obliged to ſerve his Majeſty, his Heirs, and Succeſſors, in the Royal Navy, when, and as they reſpectively ſhall be *ſummon'd* or wanted thereto, by the reſpective Officers, appointed and to be appointed, by Virtue, and in Purſuance of this Act.

Not ſatisfy'd, Sir, with the Arbitrarineſs of this Clauſe, the Bill goes on farther and ſays, That if any *Perſon* required, or liable to be regiſter'd, in Purſuance, or within the Meaning of this *Act*, ſhall *neglect* or *refuſe* to be *regiſter'd* accordingly, within the Times, herein after limited; *every Perſon* ſo *offending* ſhall be puniſhed with DEATH (being the Puniſhment, I ſuppoſe, intended by this Bill) ſo that theſe poor People are to be hanged, if they do not come of their own accord to be enrolled SLAVES.

Now, Sir, I would defy even KOULI-CAN to ſend a more arbitrary Mandate to any of his conquer'd Countries, than this *Bill* would be, if paſs'd into a Law. But let us lay aſide the enſlaving Part, and conſider the Conſequences, that would ariſe from the *Bill*.

In the firſt Place, all our ſeafaring Men, who are naturally of a roving Diſpoſition, will, when under ſo *ſevere a Bondage*, let no Opportunity eſcape them, of running away from theſe Officers, and of taking Refuge in foreign Countries, where there are no Laws to confine them to an involuntary Service.

In the next Place, it would effectually deſtroy all future Nurſeries of Seamen; for what Parents will bind out their Children to ſeafaring People, or to thoſe who follow any Buſineſs on the Water, when they know it is the infallible Means to *enſlave* them for the beſt Part of their Lives, and to, poſſibly, deprive themſelves of Support from their Children, ſhould they want it in their old Age?

By theſe Means, and the Reſtraints likewiſe, by this Bill laid on Merchant-Ships being fitted out, not only the greateſt Part of our foreign Trade might be loſt; but alſo, all our inland Trade on navigable Rivers, muſt ſuffer from the ſame Reaſons. And,

In Time of War, I dare ſay, no Merchant-Ships would be mann'd, without the Owners firſt bribing one of theſe new-appointed Officers: Nor would any one of theſe poor ENREGISTERED SLAVES ever be able to obtain Leave, to go any Voyage for the Support of themſelves and Families, without firſt paying a Gratuity; the Bill ſaying, they are not to move from their Places of Reſidence, without Leave of their Officers.

But now, Sir, let us conſider, what a pretty Parcel of Officers (the chief of whom, I ſuppoſe, will be brought into Parliament, to add to the Number of Placemen) are to be diſperſed throughout every County in *England*, as well as in the ſeveral Diſtricts of each County, who wou'd be as abſolute there as any of the *Grand Signior's Baſhaws*; and then ſee, whether this will not make out my ſecond Objection to this Bill, *viz.* the Influence they muſt have had on Elections. For,

The Bill ſays, That all the Dominions of the Crown of *Great Britain* ſhall be divided and diſtinguiſhed into different and diſtinct Diviſions; and that each of the ſaid Diviſions ſhall, and may be ſubdivided, and diſtributed into ſo many inferior or ſubordinate Diſtricts, as the Lord High Admiral of *Great Britain*, or Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of *Great Britain*, by Inſtruments or Writing under the Seal of the Office of Admiralty, ſhall reſpectively order, preſcribe, direct, and appoint. This, Sir, confirms what I ſaid, as to the Number of Officers, that wou'd be diſperſed throughout the Kingdom.

Now, Sir, I ſhall ſhew you from the Bill, under whoſe Command they would have been; it being therein declared, That the ſeveral Officers to be appointed as aforeſaid, ſhall from Time to Time, and at all Times, be ſubject to the Government, Direction, Superintendency, and Controul of the Lord High Admiral, or Commiſſioners for executing the ſaid Office; and that it ſhall be lawful for them, at all Times, to nominate, appoint, remove, diſplace, and ſubſtitute ſuch Officers and Servants, as ſhall, to them, ſeem neceſſary and expedient.

This, Sir, plainly makes out, that the Admiralty has the abſolute Command over the Officers deſigned to controul theſe *poor enregiſtred Slaves*; and as no Body can deny, but that the Miniſter, or at leaſt the Crown, has the entire Command of the Admiralty, of Conſequence the Crown would have the Power to influence moſt of the Elections in *England*, by cauſing thoſe who are enregiſtered, and have Votes for any County or Borough, to be either ſent abroad, or kept at home, as may beſt ſerve its Purpoſes. By what I have ſaid, I think, I have clearly demonſtrated the Power this Bill gives the Crown over all the Elections in *England*.

The Bill, indeed, ſays, that theſe Officers ſhall always ſelect and make Choice of thoſe, who, from Teſtimonials and Certificates, ſhall appear to have been longeſt out of the ſaid Service: But what Penalty does the Bill fix on the Officer, if he does not? Why, none at all. But,

Suppoſe

Suppoſe there was a Penalty,—what would it ſignify? Would not the Officer eaſily avoid it, and for the Sake of a Gratuity, or with a View to Elections, let them ſtay at home, whoſe Turn it was to go abroad, under the Pretence of being ſick or lame? The Truth of which, if enquired into, would always be confirmed by the Perſons favoured. Thus he would be ſcreen'd from the Neceſſity he ſhould lie under of ſending his Quota of Men, by ſupplying the Deficiency of theſe occaſional ſick and lame Men, from among ſuch as were not in Turn to go into the Service. And then, Sir, every Man who had a Vote, or who he knew would give it contrary to his Directions, would certainly not be forgot to be ſent out of the Way.

I have taken the Liberty of troubling this Houſe with only two Objections to this Bill; but were it not for treſpaſſing too much upon their Patience, I could point them out twenty others; tho' with me, what I have already ſaid, is ſufficient to determine me againſt the committing of a Bill, the Baſis of which is the Slavery of *free-born Subjects*.

A SPEECH *ſaid to be ſpoken by a certain* GENTLEMAN, *at the End of laſt Seſſion of* PARLIAMENT. *

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

THE Commons of *Great Britain*, in Parliament aſſembled, beg Leave to preſent to your Majeſty the Money-Bills for the Sums that are neceſſary to carry on the great and important Buſineſs of this Nation. They amount, in all, to four Millions of Money; an immenſe Sum indeed! but granted by your Commons not only with Chearfulneſs, but Unanimity, and a great Part of it with unuſual Diſpatch; this, Sir, aroſe from the Aſſurance they have, that it will be expended for the great and neceſſary Purpoſes for which it is granted.

Thus, your Majeſty has the Satisfaction to perceive, that your faithful Subjects have done their Duty, in enabling your Majeſty to ſupport thoſe vaſt Armaments both by Sea and Land, which are, under your Majeſty's wiſe Direction, to procure them Satisfaction for thoſe Wrongs that have been wantonly inflicted upon this Nation by an inſolent Enemy, who vainly imagined, that a prudent Forbearance was the Effect of puſillanimous Councils, and that Willingneſs to avoid, if poſſible, a deſtructive War, proceeded from an Inability to puniſh their Injuſtice. But, Thanks to Heaven, there is yet a Strength and Spirit in the Nation, that may convince them how fatally they are miſtaken, and the Sum which your faithful Commons have now the Honour to preſent to your Majeſty, is a Proof of the great Power which this Nation is able to exert, when the Glory of your Majeſty's Crown, and the Preſervation of their own juſt and undoubted Rights calls it forth. At the ſame Time, the Unanimity and Chearfulneſs which appears among your faithful Commons, to ſupport your Majeſty in this juſt and neceſſary War, may give other, and more formidable Powers to underſtand, what they are to expect, if they ſhall join with the preſent Enemies of your Majeſty's Crown and People. It is, perhaps, owing to this Unanimity and Chearfulneſs, that we are as yet engaged in a War with *Spain* alone, and that, during the Courſe of this War your Majeſty's Subjects have been enabled, without any material Interruption, to proſecute their moſt valuable Branches of Trade, while their Enemies have met with the ſevereſt Checks, and have fatally experienced, how feeble their Riches and Wealth are againſt the Efforts of a brave People, united under a Prince who knows no Intereſts ſeparate from theirs, nor aſpires at any Glory greater than that of preſerving them in the full Enjoyment of their Rights and Privileges.

Let the Enemies of this Nation, therefore, boaſt of their far-brought Treaſure; let them rely upon their wide extended Dominions, while all *Europe* are Witneſſes, how little the Advantages that ariſe from either, avail againſt that irreſiſtible Strength, which ariſes from *Induſtry*, *Liberty* and *Commerce*. Theſe invaluable Mines of the *Britiſh* Treaſure have been fully protected under your Majeſty, and your faithful Commons reflect with Pleaſure and Gratitude, that it is owing to this conſtant Attention in your Majeſty to the great Concerns of your Subjects, that they are now enabled to grant to your Majeſty the great Sums contained in theſe Bills.

The great Succeſs of your Majeſty's Arms under your Majeſty's brave Admiral in *America*, is an illuſtrious Proof of your Majeſty's wiſe and prudent Care in giving the proper Orders for *diſtreſſing the Enemy in the moſt ſenſible Parts*. The Bravery of your Majeſty's Subjects on that Occaſion, will, no Doubt, convince the Enemy of the Superiority, which a juſt Senſe of the moſt ignominious Treatment of your Majeſty's Crown, and the barbarous Inhumanities inflicted upon their Fellow-Subjects, will always produce in a People jealous of their Sovereign's Honour and their own Rights. The other Succeſſes that in the Courſe of this War have attended your Majeſty's Arms are ſo many Inſtances

* N. B. *Tho' we are well aſſured, that this Speech is far from being genuine, and that the Imitation is far ſhort of the excellent Original, yet we thought it neceſſary to give it a Place in our Collection, leſt ſome of our Readers ſhould complain of our having omitted any Thing they may think material.*

of

of the vaſt Power of this Nation, when ſhe exerts her true and natural Strength, and give your faithful Commons the pleaſing Proſpect of your Majeſty's ending this juſt and neceſſary War with that Glory to your Majeſty, with that Security to their own undoubted Rights of Navigation and Commerce, and with that Honour to the Nation in general, which the Goodneſs of your Majeſty's Cauſe, the Wiſdom of your Councils, and the Bravery of your Forces, deſerve.

It will be owing to ourſelves, if we are diſappointed in this Expectation; and we can only have ourſelves to blame, if this War is not attended with numberleſs Advantages to your Majeſty's Dominions. But if we are united at home, we have nothing to dread from abroad; and we have every Thing to hope from your Majeſty's known Attachment to the Rights and Liberties of your People. Our Situation, as an Iſland, defends us from all Attacks of foreign Power, and your Majeſty's faithful Commons hope, that no Diſunion among ourſelves ſhall ever give the common Enemies of the Nation, whoever they are, thoſe Advantages which they now deſpair of obtaining by Arms. It is Union alone, (and we may ſay with Pleaſure, we are all united in the preſent great Work) that can take from our Enemies the leaſt Shadow of Hope to ſucceed, either by open Force, or domeſtick Treachery. It is by each of us in our ſeveral Stations endeavouring to promote that Duty and Zeal for your Majeſty's Perſon and Government, that Regard for the Laws and Conſtitution of this Kingdom, and that Abhorrence of thoſe Principles which have ever tended to ſubvert our Liberties; it is by ſuch a Behaviour alone, that we can reap thoſe Bleſſings, which your Majeſty's wiſe and mild Adminiſtration, and the glorious Succeſs of your Majeſty's Arms in the Courſe of this War, gives us the moſt ſolid Foundation for expecting.

At the End of the laſt great War, in which the very Power that your Majeſty's Arms are now chaſtiſing, was a Party againſt us, we might have ſecured thoſe Advantages in the moſt effectual Manner, had we been but true to ourſelves, and had we not given up in a ſhameful Manner, all the Terms which this Nation had a Right to expect from a long, glorious, and expenſive War. Providence has again brought the ſame Opportunity about; and your Majeſty will, we hope, ſoon retrieve, by your wiſe and ſucceſsful Conduct in the Proſecution of this great and important War, thoſe Advantages, in Point of Commerce and Navigation, that were then ſacrificed to our domeſtick Animoſities, which would not ſuffer us to diſcern our real Intereſts. But your Majeſty's Regard for the Rights and Privileges of your Subjects on this great Occaſion, has united all Parties in a juſt Senſe of the Wrongs the Nation has ſuffered, they are all agreed upon the Terms your Majeſty has a Right to require, and your Majeſty's faithful Commons will think themſelves happy, they will think all the Treaſure employed at this important Juncture, wiſely and uſefully apply'd, if it ſhall procure to the Nation thoſe Advantages of Commerce and Navigation, which we then gave up.

It is from the Regard your Majeſty has always ſhewn for the juſt Rights of your Subjects, from that inviolable Attachment to the Intereſt of this Nation, which have been always the Rule of your Majeſty's Adminiſtration, that your faithful Commons promiſe to themſelves ſuch a full Security in the Exerciſe of their Navigation, as may raiſe this Nation to a higher Pitch of Grandeur than ſhe could have hop'd for even on the Concluſion of that great War. The Meaſures which have hitherto been purſued, give them the ſtrongeſt Reaſon to believe, that all their juſt Expectations will be fulfilled, and that the Reputation, Commerce, and Influence of this Nation, under your Majeſty, will be put upon ſuch a Footing, as to put them beyond the Poſſibility of all future Violation, even from the moſt powerful and moſt formidable Enemy, which this Nation now has, or may hereafter have to encounter.

As your Majeſty, by the Attention you have ſtill paid to the juſt Deſires of your People; as by your Majeſty's continual Application to the Senſe of your great Council upon every Step that has been taken in the Proſecution of this great Work, you have convinced your Subjects that you purſue no Intereſts ſeparate from theirs, ſo there is nothing that may be neceſſary for them to fulfil in the future Management of the War, that your Majeſty may not juſtly promiſe to yourſelf from their Affections and Gratitude. As they and all *Europe* are Witneſs with what Reluctance your Majeſty entered into this War, while there remained any Hopes of obtaining, in the Way of Negotiation, that which your Majeſty endeavours now to obtain by Force of Arms; as they feel no other Inconveniences from it, but ſuch as muſt unavoidably happen in the Courſe of a *Maritime War*, ſo they have Reaſon to hope that it will be as glorioufly ended, as it has been hitherto ſucceſsfully conducted, and that all *Europe* will be convinced from the Fate of *Spain*, how dangerous it is to provoke the Reſentment of your Majeſty, or to attack the Rights of a Nation, who derive their Riches and Strength from Commerce. And indeed, who can ſay, that this War may not be critical to *Great Britain*, by opening Channels of Trade hitherto denied to your Majeſty's Subjects? Who can ſay, it is not reſerved to be the peculiar Glory of your Majeſty's

jesty's Reign, that *Great Britain* shall, from the Event of this War, extend her Commerce, and enlarge her Possessions, so as to acquire a Degree of Strength and Power unknown to her under the most glorious of your Majesty's Predecessors?

Their Glory often desolated their Kingdoms, and impoverished their Subjects, but it may be your Majesty's Happiness to reconcile your Glory to the noblest, the richest Gifts of Peace and Commerce, by the Encouragement given to your Majesty's Subjects, to attack the Possessions of your Majesty's Enemies in *America*. A Bill, to which your Majesty has already given your royal Assent, has this same Session passed both Houses for the Purpose; by that Bill such Encouragement is given to your Majesty's adventuring Subjects, or other your Majestys Forces, if they shall attack and conquer any Part of the Enemies distant Possessions, as cannot fail of obtaining those Advantages in Trade and Navigation, which we were formerly so wanting to ourselves as to overlook; Advantages that may raise the Power and Reputation of this Nation to the highest Pitch upon the most solid Foundation, and unalterably fix the Balance of *Europe* in the Hands of your Majesty, and your august House. These are the Consequences which your Majesty's Subjects may reasonably promise to themselves from the Event of this War. They are Consequences that will distinguish your Majesty's Reign to all Posterity, by making this War as productive of Happiness and Riches to your Majesty's Subjects, as others have been of Desolation and Ruin.

The great Aids which your Majesty's faithful Commons now present to your Majesty, will enable your Majesty to retain the Dominion of the Seas, which will render it impossible for any Power in *Europe* to give your Majesty's Enemies such Assistance, as to wrest from your Majesty any of the Advantages which your Majesty's Subjects promise to themselves from this War, and which will be such a Source of Wealth to this Nation, as may give Posterity Reason to reflect with Pleasure upon the generous Views of your Majesty, and the provident Wisdom of this Parliament.

And now may that God, to whom your Majesty has now appealed, bless your Majesty's Councils and Arms with the Success which the Justice of your Majesty's Cause deserves, and make this War as glorious and happy to your Majesty, and Subjects, as it has been wisely and necessarily enter'd into by your Majesty. And that your Majesty's faithful Commons may not be wanting to your Majesty, to the Nation, or to themselves, in providing for what lies at their Door towards making this a glorious and a successful War, they beg your Majesty's gracious Acceptance of the following Bills, which will convince your Majesty and all the World, that under whatever Difficulties this Nation may labour from its publick Debts, yet your Majesty's Subjects will always find the Means of supporting your Majesty, while your Majesty so effectually employs your Power in protecting them. (See the Bills, p. 241.)

Craftsman, April 26. N° 721.

Of some late Writings in the Gazetteer.

THE wretched Scribblers in the *Gazetteer* having presumed to attack the private Characters of several Persons of great Worth and Honour, with all the Virulence, *that Malice could suggest, or Falsehood invent*, I shall step a little out of my Way this Week, to reprimand the *Scoundrels*, as one cannot help doing sometimes to *Curs* in the Street; who, by their continual Snarling and Barking, get the better of one's original Contempt for them, and acquire the Honour of a *Kick*—I suppose they flatter themselves; from my long Forbearance, that they have nothing to fear from me, whom they cannot provoke; but, to prevent Mistakes, I now inform *them*, and *their Superiors*, that the Impunity I granted them was to extend no farther than to their *political, inoffensive Dulness*. But since, by the Orders of *their Master*, the *dull Rogues* have melted their Lead into Bullets, and fire from behind the *Treasury*, at *private Characters*, I am not only justified in firing again, but in charging high enough to go thro' them, and give *their Master* a Contusion.

Let it not be objected that I beg the Question; and, without Proof, charge him with being the Superintendant, Director, and Paymaster of *these flagitious Hirelings*—The Thing proves itself—The *Papers* are printed, which neither the *Authors*, or the *Printers* could afford—They are distributed all over the Kingdom, the only Way they can be distributed, *gratis*—They are written in *his Favour*; which could not happen, unless the *Authors* were paid for it; and Nobody would be at that Expence but *himself*—It is likewise notorious that Mr. *Pounce*, with a *P.* receives from Time to Time his Orders how to employ *this mercenary Band*, whether in *publick Falsehoods*, or in *private Defamation*.

I have hitherto confined myself, as Justice and Decency require, to *publick Characters*. If I have blamed a *Minister*, I have blamed him only with Relation to his *publick Conduct*. If I have thought it *blundering*, I have shewn in what Instances. If I thought it dangerous to the *Constitution*, and the *Liberties of this Country*, I have given Warning, and sounded the Alarm; as every Lover of his Country not only may, but ought to do; but I have modestly withstood the Temptation, and pass'd

over the Opportunities, of entering into his *private Character*, and raking into *domeſtick Impurities*; tho' every Body muſt own that the Temptations have been ſtrong, and the Opportunities frequent and favourable—I have never broke into his *Chelſea* Retirement; nor mention'd the virtuous Companions of his leiſure Hours—I was even ſilent upon the memorable Event in the Year 1737, and will ſay no more of it now; tho' I am furniſhed with authentick Memoirs, and curious Anecdotes relating to that memorable Period.

It will always be painful to me to employ *theſe Materials*; and nothing ſhall ever force me to it but the Neceſſity of making Repriſals. When the Rules of fair War are notoriouſly broken, on *one Side*, and a determined Reſolution appears of carrying on the Diſpute by *thoſe unwarrantable ſavage Methods* alone, the *other Side* muſt proceed, however unwillingly, to *ſevere military Executions*, and aim at *Revenge*, as well as *Victory*.

Were greater Provocations of this Kind ever given, than in *thoſe impudent Papers*, which I have already mention'd, and are ſent at the publick Expence, like a Noſegay of poiſonous Weeds, to ſtink all over *England*? —What infamous Scurrilities do they contain on the perſonal Characters of ſome of the *greateſt and beſt Men in the Nation*, whoſe Abilities and Virtues, next to the *King* and *his Family*, are the laſt Hopes of our Country, in theſe Times of Danger and Difficulty —I will not ſay any Thing of the *Hon. Gentleman*, who is call'd my *Patron*, and to whom I owe the greateſt Obligations; becauſe I know by Experience that he not only diſdains *Flattery*, but is diſpleaſed even with a *juſt Compliment*. But *three other Gentlemen* having lately been moſt infamouſly abuſed in the *Gazetteer*, without any reaſonable Pretence of Provocation, unleſs their ſteady Attachment to the true Intereſt of their Country, I think myſelf bound in Juſtice and Honour to take ſome Notice of it.

In the firſt Place, it ought to be obſerved, that *one of theſe mercenary Fellows* wrote a long, dull Paper about a little Article in a common News Paper, where it was only ſaid that *a City Creature of the Court was in a* bad Way; for he was not then dead—But don't *theſe proſtitute Hirelings* know and remember, that their worthy Predeceſſor Mr. *Walſingham*, raked up the Aſhes, before they were cold, of the late Hon. *Daniel Pulteney*, Eſq; one of the beſt Men that ever lived, and put a villainous Speech into his Mouth, as a *Ghoſt* or *Apparition*, condemning his *own Conduct*, whilſt alive, and adviſing a *near Relation* to forſake the ſame Meaſures, for the future?— Did not *theſe infamous Fellows* lately inſult a *noble Earl* upon his *Father*'s Death, which was as much lamented by the *whole Nation* as by *him*, except the *mercenary Creatures of Power*? By the Death of the late Earl of *Marchmont*, we loſt a diſintereſted Patriot, and at the ſame Time the Aſſiſtance of his Son, the *preſent Earl*, who diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in the Cauſe of *Liberty*, with ſo much undaunted Zeal and natural Eloquence, that he became the Terror of the corrupt, and the Darling of the uncorrupt Part of the whole Nation. But as we have loſt him in *one Houſe of Parliament*, it is to be hoped that the Peerage of *Scotland* will judge it for their Honour and Intereſt to chuſe him one of their Repreſentatives, at the next Election, and give him an Opportunity of exerting the ſame Abilities and Integrity in the *other Houſe*. (See p. 123, 126.)

Theſe *ſcandalous Writers* were not contented to ſtop here; for no ſooner was this *noble Earl* ſet out upon a Tour to *France*, in Company with *two Hon. Gentlemen*, (in order, perhaps, to relieve the Anguiſh of his Mind upon the Loſs of ſo great and good a Father) but they publiſh'd an infamous Reflection upon all *three of them*, for no other Reaſon, than becauſe it is probable, that they intended to pay a Viſit to a *noble Friend*, who is allowed on all Hands to be a much abler Politician, and I verily believe, as honeſt a Man, at leaſt, as *their Patron*, whatever Pains have been taken to flatter the *one*, and vilify the *other*. *

But nothing ſhews the Folly, Wickedneſs, and Abſurdity of *theſe Fellows* in a ſtronger Light, than their firſt endeavouring to depreciate the glorious Succeſs of Admiral *Vernon* at *Porto Bello*; and when the whole Nation rung with Acclamations upon it, their next awkward Attempt to transfer the whole Merit of it from *that brave Officer* to the Wiſdom of *their own Pay-maſter*, tho' it is very well known, that he deſign'd to ſend the *Admiral* upon a Fool's Errand, and was out-witted by him, notwithſtanding all his boaſted Skill in Politicks.—Let me aſk *theſe dull Mercenaries* only two or three Queſtions.—Suppoſing *their Patron* had been pleaſed in his great Wiſdom to have truſted the *Admiral* with a few *Land-Forces*, what Exploits might he not have perform'd?—Might he not have made great Advantages of his Victory, with even 1000 *Men* only, by purſuing the *Spaniards* to *Panama*, and ſeizing all their Treaſure at *that Place*?—If he had been truſted with 2 or 3000 more, might he not have taken the *Havanah*, *Carthagena* †, or *Porto Rico*?—Laſtly, if any Accident ſhould happen

* *In the* Gazetteer *of* April 18. *was the following Paragraph:* "*We hear that Sir* William Wyndham, *in Company with the Right Hon. the Lord* Marchmont *and* William Chetwynd, *Eſq; commonly call'd* Oroonoko Chetwynd, *are gone to* France *to pay a Viſit to the late Lord* Bolingbroke."

† *See the Plans of theſe two Places, with* Porto Bello, *in our laſt.*

pen to him, for Want of *Land Forces*, or *proper Intelligence*, who is to be blamed?

Common Senſe, May 3. N° 170.

The WARLIKE FEAST.

SIR,

AMONGST all the ingenious Devices the Wit of Man has fram'd, amongſt all the various Triumphs Conquerors have made over the Vanquiſh'd, one cannot, I think, meet with any which comes up to the late Invention of a right worthy and loyal Citizen, who has found out a Way to make us all Partners of the glorious Victory obtain'd by our Admiral, and the brave Soldiers under his Command, at *Porto Bello*. Burning a Pope, hanging a M———r in Effigy, will no more be look'd upon as Pieces of Wit and Humour.

A conquer'd Fort ſerv'd up in a Deſert, perfum'd Ramparts, and Sweet-meat Fortifications have ſomething more facetious in them, as well as more warlike, than any Thing of this Sort I have yet met with either in antient or modern Hiſtory. The *Greeks*, indeed, as *Homer* informs us, took Care to indulge themſelves in Feaſts both before and after a Battle; but never had the Wit to think of this admirable Method of enjoying their Victories when they were over: This is entirely adapted to the Genius, Humour, and (if I may ſo expreſs myſelf without being ſuſpected of a Pun) to the Taſte of our Nation; for whilſt every Man is ſatisfying his own Appetite, he will at the ſame Time be doing a Service to his King and Country, by a laudable Commemoration of our Victories, and the Succeſs of the *Britiſh* Arms; beſides, that by this Means the Ladies will not be exempted from the Pleaſure of humbling the Pride of *Spain*; and it is to be hoped that every fair Patriot will prepare a keen Appetite for the next Lord Mayor's Feaſt, by which Time we hope to ſee a great Part of his Catholick Majeſty's Dominions ſerv'd up and expoſed to be plundered in the ſame Manner.

It muſt be a Pleaſure to every true *Engliſhman* to think on the late happy Turn of Affairs in this Kingdom; the Proſpect of a difficult, unavoidable War, together with the Terrors of a hard Froſt, put a great many of his Majeſty's Subjects in Fear of ſtarving; but I heartily rejoice that I can now congratulate my Countrymen on a firm Belief that

Hæc erat illa fames, hæc nos ſuprema manebant
Exitiis poſitura diem.

This gives us a double Enjoyment of our Conqueſts; it puts me in Mind of *Alexander*'s Feaſt, where the Conqueror (as *Dryden* tells us) in the Height of his Rage,

——*Fought all his battles o'er again,*
And thrice he routed all his foes, and thrice he
ſlew the ſlain.

The Method of teaching Children their Alphabet by Ginger-bread Letters, by which Means they learn to eat, and eat to learn, has been found of excellent Uſe towards the Advancement of their Learning and Growth: And why mayn't this new Invention of Feaſting on our Enemies Dominions have the like Effect on our Warriors? This, no doubt, will ſharpen our Soldiers Stomachs for new Victories; it will make them, properly ſpeaking, feed themſelves with the Hopes of Conqueſts, when they know that whatever their Hands deſtroy, their Bellies will reap the Benefit of: I humbly propoſe therefore, that, during the Continuance of the preſent War, no Muſick ſhall be made Uſe of either at a Lord Mayor's, or Sheriff's Feaſt, or at the Feaſt of any of the Companies of the good City of *London*, except Drums and Trumpets, I mean till after Dinner, any Cuſtom or Uſage to the contrary notwithſtanding, becauſe it hath been ſaid by a wiſe Man and moſt excellent Poet,

It is the trumpet and the drum
That makes the warrior's ſtomach come.

I am only apprehenſive that our Enemies may object, that this voracious Kind of Triumph has ſomething ſavage and inhuman in it; they will reſemble us to Canibals, Hottentots, and what not; they will perhaps cry out,

O may they ne'er digeſt
The horrors of ſo ſad a feaſt.

With a thouſand other bitter Reflexions; but let them look back upon, and bluſh at their own real Cruelty, and they will forgive (if they can forgive) ſuch innocent Barbarities as we are guilty of: However, I would not adviſe our ingenious Epicures, according to the old Saying, To count their Chickens before they are hatch'd; let nothing be devour'd in Effigy, the Reality of which is not already conſum'd, or at leaſt ſubjected to us. Let us earn our Bread before we eat it; for if we are ſo imprudent as to do it before, it may perhaps ſit ſo heavy upon our Stomachs that we ſhall be obliged to diſgorge, or at leaſt to wiſh we had not been quite ſo luxurious; but the Conſequences of ſuch Inadvertencies I leave every Man's private Judgment to preſent to him, with free Leave to act according to it in this Particular. *A. B.*

The *Craftſman* of *May* 3. contains a Letter, ſign'd *Harry Engliſh*, upon the Behaviour of Governors towards the Governed, ſhewing, that without a mutual Intercourſe of Affection, there can be no Happineſs between a Prince and his People, who are in

a Kind of *Marriage-State*; that a *paternal Tenderneſs*, *Affability*, *good Humour* and *Generoſity* will gain and ſecure the Affections of the *Multitude*; and that the Want of theſe, or a contrary Behaviour, will alienate their Minds, and be attended with the worſt of Conſequences.—He concludes, that by the Virtues he had mention'd, the great, the divine *Elizabeth* raiſed her Glory; whoſe Policy was natural; whoſe Arts endearing, and whoſe Reign for that Reaſon ſucceſsful; in ſhort, whoſe Glories will never be eclips'd, till the Time comes when we ſhall ſee a *Miniſter*, ſupported by a *numerous ſtanding Army*, leaning on *Corruption*, and vomiting up a *Spaniſh Writing*, which Fear and the Devil may have cramm'd down his Throat.

§. *To the honourable Maſter of the* SWINERIES *in and about* London,

The humble Petition of Ralph Freeman, *Eſq*; *of the Stye in* Pater-noſter-Row,

Sheweth,

THAT *your Petitioner* was farrow'd at *Hog's-Norton*, where he learn'd to play upon the *Organ*, and ſoon conceiv'd Hopes of being brought to a *fine Market*.

That he was driven up to St. *James's*, in order to be ſold, but being very meaſley, and not fit for his *Majeſty's Service*, he was bought by *your Honour's principal Hog-jobber*, who aſſur'd him that he ſhould ſoon wallow in rich Mire, wherein *your Petitioner* cannot ſay that he hath been entirely diſappointed.

That notwithſtanding *your Petitioner* is an *Hog* of Delicacy, tho' plac'd amongſt the moſt filthy of his Kind, the Noſes of which *your Honour's Hog-jobber* aforeſaid hath left un-rung, for Reaſons beſt known to himſelf, and to the great Annoyance of the *whole Stye*; for tho' none of us are very *cleanly Creatures*, yet their abominable Naſtineſs not only offends *your Petitioner*, but all your faithful Servants.

Your Petitioner therefore moſt humbly prays that a *ſeparate Stye* may be allotted to himſelf, where he may devote his Gruntings, without Interruption, to *your Honour's* Service; and *your Petitioner*, as in Duty bound, ſhall ever pray. R. FREEMAN.

The *Gazetteers* of *May* 1 and 10, are in Anſwer to the *Craftſman* of *April* 26. In the former, which is addreſſed to Mr. *D'Anvers*, the Writer ſays,

As you complain of a *long*, *dull Paper*, written on a Paragraph inſulting a *late worthy Alderman* (Sir *Joſeph Eyles*) in his *laſt Moments*, I had the Curioſity to turn to it, and found it a *very ſhort* Paper: But *long* and *dull* you muſt call whatever you are aſhamed ſhould be read;——yet is it not ſtrange you ſhould complain of the *Gazetteer's* taking Notice of a *little Paragraph in a common News Paper*, and the next Moment complain of an *infamous Reflexion*, which is nothing more than a Paragraph of News, in another News Paper, relating to 3 *Gentlemens Departure for* France! If your own Party inſiſt on a Liberty of *jeſting with dying Men*, will you not permit others to ſay ſome in ſound Health *have ſet out on a Journey!*——

In the latter Paper, the Writer blames Mr. *D'Anvers* for crying up the *Politicks* and *Honeſty* of one of his *Patrons* (as he calls him) now reſiding in *France*. The Conduct of that *quondam Miniſter* (ſays he) was ſo variable and extravagant whilſt he was in Power, and his *Diſingenuity* ſo notorious whilſt he was in *Exile*, that it's morally impoſſible for this Writer to hope that his Encomium on his diſtant Patron's *Politicks* and *Honeſty* would not be taken for *Satyr*; or that his Diſpraiſe of a *Miniſter* now in Power, would not be taken for an Encomium, when in the ſame Paragraph he draws a Parallel between the Characters of both.

The Peace of *Utrecht*, the unhappy Fate of the poor deluded *Catalans*, the Diſgrace and Exile of the Duke of *Marlborough*, the *Schiſm Act*, the Attempt upon the Liberty of the *Preſs*, the Diſreſpect to his Majeſty whilſt only Electoral Prince of *Hanover*, the Attempts to defeat the Act of *Settlement*, the *Rebellion* in 1715, the *Seals* received from the Hands of the *Pretender*, the *Fidelity* in that *treaſonable Service*, the Diſcontent and Diſloyalty endeavoured to be inſtilled in the Minds of the Subject ſince his *Pardon*, and the other *Et Cæteras* with which a Volume might be fill'd, ſo loudly proclaim the *Politicks* and *Honeſty* of *Caleb's* degraded *Patron*, that without Doubt he intended his Readers ſhould take his Praiſe of him for Banter.

Common Senſe, May 10. N° 171.

Of the Reception which the News of Admiral VERNON's *Succeſs met with.*

UPON the firſt Rumour of Admiral *Vernon's* Succeſs, in Relation to his gallant Attempt upon *Porto Bello*, I had the Curioſity to viſit ſeveral publick Places, in order to divert myſelf with obſerving the different Countenances upon a joyful Event ſo little expected. Amongſt the reſt I look'd into the *Royal Exchange*, where the News had brought a more than ordinary Concourſe of People that Day. As it it natural to give Credit to what we wiſh, every Body believ'd it, no Body rais'd the leaſt Objection concerning the Improbability of the Thing, becauſe of the Admiral's not being furniſhed for ſuch an Enterprize; and there appear'd as much Pleaſure in the Face of all the honeſt Citizens, as if every

indi-

individual Man had been a Commander himſelf in the Expedition, or had been intitled to a Share of the Booty.

From thence I went to the other End of the Town, not doubting but from ſome Perſons in great Employments one might learn the Particulars of the Action; all I could find out amongſt them was, that ſome Letters were come from Admiral *Vernon*, and that the Particulars would be declared at Sir —— Levee the next Morning. I was reſolved to go to that Place, where *Common Senſe* was never ſeen to enter before: Aſſuming therefore the inſolent Air of a Placeman, I repair'd to that Scene of Falſhood and Cringing, where I ſaw a vain Man make exactly the ſame Figure which *Dryden* has deſcribed in the four following Lines:

There like a ſtatue did he ſtand beſieg'd
By ſycophants, and ſlaves, the growth of courts,
Where his gull'd eyes, in all the gaudy round,
Met nothing but a lie in every face.

Being a Stranger to the whole Company, I ſtood unobſerv'd amidſt a Groupe of Negroes, and by that Means eſcaped being affronted. Inſtead of Congratulations, Compliments, and high good Humour, I found the whole Company ſoured, the Corruptor himſelf had let fall his Chin, and his Face was at leaſt two Inches longer than the Day before; the reſt (to uſe *Shakeſpear*'s Expreſſion) looked like a chidden Train.

There ran a Buz thro' the Room, and I pick'd up ſome broken Sentences; as, *the Citizens are tranſported out of their Wits about it*;—*the Mob will commend every Thing that hath Succeſs*;—*a raſh Attempt!—it is a fine Thing, if Men preſume to exceed their Orders!* and the like.

I found the News was true, but it had griped the Company, and I perceiv'd where the Shoe pinch'd.—Says I to myſelf, we are all out here,—the Corruptor's Scheme with his *Spaniſh* Friends is in Danger of being broke off; but ſo much the better.—While I was in the Midſt of my Soliloquy, one ſaid to thoſe about me, what do you think the Admiral hath done with the Money that hath been taken? he hath given it all among the Sailors. Here I could not help commending the Honour and Generoſity of the Action; upon which they turned upon me with a Look of Scorn, and one of them anſwered, he was a Fool for his Pains, to which they all agreed; for if he had not been ſo (they ſaid) he might have made a good Job of it. It is plain, I forgot what Company I was in, otherwiſe I ſhould not have talk'd of Honour; I am ſenſible nothing is Folly amongſt them but to ſlip an Opportunity of robbing the Publick. Leſt I ſhould have been diſcovered by my Indiſcretion, I thought it ſafeſt to ſneak off.

It may ſeem ſtrange there ſhould be a Country in the World, where thoſe that are ſupported at the publick Expence, ſhould repine at any Succeſs or Proſperity that may happen to it: Yet I am afraid there is ſuch a Country now in the World.—When one Servant of the Crown uſurps to himſelf the whole Power of the State, without admitting any Perſon to the leaſt Share, a Practice inconſiſtent with the Nature of a free Government, he may, no Doubt, in a little Time fill all Employments with Spirits like his own. Rapine within, and ignorant Meaſures without, will beget a Diſlike in the People towards thoſe in the Adminiſtration, and this Diſlike (if the ſame Meaſures are continued) muſt proceed at laſt to an invincible Hatred. When it comes to this, the Man in Power will naturally think, that he is not ſafe till Liberty is ſubdued: The inferior Tools of Power, ill uſed, will be order'd to declaim againſt the People,—*They are too rich,—they never will be quiet till they are poor.* Every iniquitous Meaſure, tending to diſtreſs the Publick, is to be extoll'd; and thus will a Nation be reduced to ſuffer the Inſolence and Malice of the Vermin which they feed.

But to return to Admiral *Vernon:* Since the News of his Action, I have thought a hundred Times of the Statue that was erected at *Rome*, to the Honour of a young Man that ran to carry the News of a Victory to the Senate, without ſtopping to take out a Thorn which had run in his Foot; which ſhews, that this wiſe and brave People would not omit to diſtinguiſh the moſt inconſiderable Action that diſcover'd a Zeal for the Commonwealth. I am ſorry that a gallant Admiral, who reviv'd the ſinking Reputation of the *Engliſh* Valour, ſhould meet with a different Treatment, and that the whole Nation ſhould take Notice that there had not been a Gun fired to do Honour to the brave Action perform'd by him. I am inform'd, that during the late War, there was not a Citadel or a Fort taken, but the News was proclaim'd from the Mouths of the Cannon of the Tower: But the voluntary Compliments paid our Admiral by two great Cities, as well as the univerſal Applauſe of his Countrymen, make him ample Amends, and do him more Honour, than if all the Cannon in the Kingdom had been fired by the Order of a Miniſter.

In whatever Light this Action is conſider'd, it deſerves the higheſt Commendations. The Admiral being ſent out without any Troops to enable him to make a Conqueſt of Importance, has turn'd to his Glory, tho' his Country may have loſt by it; for it has ſhew'd that his Reſolution roſe ſuperior to all Difficulties. Let us add another Thing by way of Suppoſition, that if he knew of any Man whoſe Councils or Influence were a

Clog

Clog upon all Meaſures, and who meant nothing but to finiſh an unactive War, by an inglorious Peace, it encreaſes the Merit of this Action, becauſe it proves that he was willing to ſacrifice all Conſiderations of Wealth and his own Preferment, to the publick Good, and deſpiſed the Reſentment of a vindictive and deſperate Man, when it ſtood in Competition with the Intereſt of his Country, tho' that Man might have threaten'd Ruin to all that ſhould oppoſe his Meaſures.

Craftſman, May 10. N° 723.

ONE who ſigns himſelf *Tom Briton*, ſays, A People, who deſire to appear conſiderable in the World, muſt have either ſome real or imaginary Advantages over other Nations, to work on their Minds, and enable them to diſtinguiſh themſelves upon all Occaſions.

Thus the *Grecians* and *Romans* pretended, either that their Cities had *Gods* for their *Founders*, or that their *Founders* ſprung from *Gods*, in order to inſpire their Citizens with a more than ordinary Love for their Country; and when, by Length of Time, this Object was too remote to have any great Influence on their Actions, *new Deities* were trumpt up. *Oracles*, *Voices*, *Viſions*, &c. ſerved to anſwer the ſame Purpoſe; till at laſt the *Sibylline Books* were found out, a compleat Maſter-Piece of *State-Ingenuity*, which hath proved a perpetual Engine to manage the *People* upon all Emergencies.

But, perhaps, ſome People may aſk, what Uſe can be made of this Obſervation? We are too wiſe in this Age to believe on ſuch eaſy Terms. *Prieſtcraft* is now ſufficiently exploded, and *Truth* itſelf muſt convince our Underſtandings, before it gains Admiſſion to our Hearts. I grant it. But yet there is ſuch a prevailing Paſſion, and even Partiality, in every Man for the Intereſt of his Country, that if it is but a tolerable one, an *able Manager* might, even in theſe more enlightened Ages, make it ſerve to great Purpoſes.

My firſt Proof, in Favour of this Suppoſition, ſhall be fetch'd from a *neighbouring Commonwealth*; where, under the Shew of *Liberty*, ſcarce a ſingle Act in the Adminiſtration deſerves that Name; and yet, by the Help of a little *political Quackery*, a Puppet dreſs'd up in the Garb of *Liberty* is made to dance before the *People*'s Eyes; which ſo bewitches them, that they are ready at all Times to ſacrifice their Lives and Fortunes to a *mere Phantom*.

For my ſecond Proof, I ſhall go to *France*; where, without the leaſt Pretence to *Liberty*, this enthuſiaſtick Love of their Country prevails, in ſo eminent a Degree, that no Man is more ready to lay down his Life for his Country than a *Frenchman*; and yet this Paſſion, ſtrong as it is, is work'd up, as far as I could ever find, by the ſingle Pronunciation of *le Grand Monarque* — It looks as if there were ſome Magick in thoſe Words.

What then ſhall we, who are *Engliſhmen*, ſay? Or how comes it to paſs, that the Love of our Country, which was formerly ſo powerful in a *Grecian*, or a *Roman* Breaſt, and will ſtill act ſuch Wonders in other Nations, is ſo faint and languid in a *Briton*, that he even declines every Opportunity of ſerving his Country, unleſs where his Intereſt leads him?—*This he ſays is not to be imputed to any Defect in our* Conſtitution, *but to a puſillanimous Behaviour towards our Enemies, and to Diſcouragements on Trade*, &c.

Common Senſe, May 17. N° 172.

Of MARRIAGE, *with the remarkable Stories of two* YOUNG COUPLE.

Aſpiring to be gods, if angels fell;
Aſpiring to be angels, men rebel.
Eſſay on Man.

AS the Riches of a Country conſiſt more in the Number of its Inhabitants, than in the Extent of its Dominions; *Marriage* has always been encouraged by Politick Societies. The Immunities granted by the *Roman* Commonwealth to ſuch as had 3 Children are well known: And the Cuſtom of *Free-Bench*, as well as *Tenancy by the Curteſey* peculiar to this Nation, ſhews it was not formerly diſcountenanced in *England*. Its being an Advantage to Society is itſelf a ſufficient Proof that it is a *moral Perfection*: Yet there is no Occaſion to reſt it upon that ſingle Argument.

If whatever promotes the great Ends of the Creation is a Duty of Morality, certainly that upon which the Continuance of it does depend muſt be an eſſential one: And if the not forwarding the Deſigns of Providence in the Creation is a moral Evil, that muſt be ſo in a much greater Degree which tends neceſſarily to defeat them. Yet notwithſtanding this plain Demonſtration of the moral Obligation of Marriage, it has been too much diſcouraged by ſome of our Church, as well as by thoſe of the Church of *Rome*: And *Celibacy* inculcated as a Chriſtian Virtue.

To ſuppoſe it poſſible for Religion to contradict Morality in a ſingle Inſtance, is at once to over-turn all the Evidences of it. If then Marriage is a moral Duty, how much muſt thoſe be miſtaken, who recommend Celibacy as a Chriſtian Perfection, and publiſh ſet Forms of Prayer to implore the Divine Aſſiſtance to continue in a ſingle State, which is living in a conſtant Breach of a moral, and conſequently religious, Obligation!

Let us conſider the Force of their Argu-

ments,

ments, that we ought to ſubdue our Paſſions, and imitate the Angels *who are neither married nor given in Marriage.*

Our Appetites and Paſſions were given us to promote the Deſigns of Providence in our Creation, and when properly regulated tend admirably to that End. They were intended to inſtigate us to Action, and under the Government of Reaſon are productive of every good Quality and Virtue: And whoever will argue that we ought to extinguiſh any Paſſion becauſe an irregular indulging it is vicious, ſhould *ſtarve* ſooner than eat, becauſe *Hunger* is an human *Appetite*, and *Gluttony a Vice*. The other Argument ſcarce deſerves an Anſwer. We ſhould, indeed, imitate the Angels in conforming to the ſeveral Laws of our State, as religiouſly as we ſuppoſe they do to theirs; but where-ever our Duties *differ*, our Actions ought not to be *the ſame*: And whoever agrees to the pleaſing as well as rational Syſtem of Mr. *Addiſon*, will not be at a Loſs to ſhew why our Duties vary *in this Particular*.—The eternal Progreſſion of the human Soul in Knowledge, and its conſtant Approaches to the Divinity, like a Mathematical Line that ſtill draws nearer to another without ever being able to touch it, is the nobleſt Idea human Conception is capable of. Our preſent State is the *firſt Link* of this great Chain, and as it is reaſonable every Soul ſhould begin its Progreſs from *the ſame Point*, we *alone* ſeem properly calculated by the Divine Pleaſure to give Exiſtence to new Creatures; that ſo the Gradation of Beings perpetually riſing in Perfection may be continued as long as the Author of this admirable Scheme ſhall think fit. *Thus* we ought not to aſpire at being Angels *too ſoon*, but be contented to fill the Space deſigned for us by Nature. Tho' we cannot be certain that the Neglect of this Duty will be *poſitively* puniſhed, yet I think it capable of almoſt mathematical Demonſtration that it will *negatively* be ſo, by making us *leſs happy*: For if the performing the Duties of this Life is productive of future Happineſs, (and that it neceſſarily is ſo, is undeniably proved by Mr. *Wollaſton* in his *Religion of Nature delineated*,) the increaſing the Number of *thoſe Duties* by the Addition of the Conjugal and Parental *ones*, muſt be an infallible Means of increaſing *that Happineſs*.

After ſo ſtrenuous a Recommendation of Marriage, it will be expected I ſhould lay down ſome Rules concerning a proper Choice; but as *Example* ſways more than *Precept*, I will conclude with a Story, from whence either Sex may draw Inſtruction.

Eugenio was a young Gentleman from the Nature of his Education addicted to Gaiety and Expence; which he ſupported by the Aſſiſtance of good Senſe and a plentiful Fortune, without injuring his Reputation or Eſtate. Having no Family of his own, he made a Viſit to a Friend, with a Deſign of paſſing the Summer with him in the Country. *Sophronia* happen'd to be there at the ſame Time, by the Invitation of the Lady of the Houſe, with whom ſhe had always been educated. Her Perſon was nothing remarkable; but a ſweet Diſpoſition and a good natural Underſtanding made her Converſation agreeable. Upon his firſt Arrival, *Eugenio* was too well-bred not to ſhew a particular Civility to one ſo much reſpected by the Family; and *Sophronia* knew how to return it by a ſuitable Behaviour. They had not been long acquainted before the Sprightlineſs of *his* Converſation, and the amiable Innocence of *hers*, begot a *mutual* Deſire of rendering themſelves agreeable to each other. *Eugenio's* Education had been too ingenuous to harbour a Wiſh that was diſhonourable; and *Sophronia* willingly encouraged a virtuous Inclination, that would be ſo much for her Advantage. She knew he poſſeſſed no ill Qualities; and thought he wou'd eaſily be wean'd from his Love of Shew and Expence by a more ſettled Way of Life. But his Deſire to live ſplendidly got the better of his Paſſion: He would not *throw himſelf away* upon one, who had but 3000*l.* for her Portion; ſo determined to return immediately to *London*, and obliterate his Fondneſs by the Diverſions of the Town.

Theana came up about the ſame Time to ſpend the Winter with her Aunt. She was the only Daughter of a Gentleman of Fortune, by whoſe Death ſhe was lately come into the Poſſeſſion of above 15,000*l.* She was determined never to marry a Man, who could not ſupport her in the Magnificence that ſuch a Fortune *might expect*; and *for that Reaſon only* had refuſed *Euphorbus*, a young Gentleman bred up to a Profeſſion, in which his natural Abilities, join'd to a ſteady Application, promiſed him the greateſt Succeſs. They had long been acquainted, and ſo perfectly agreeable to each other, that *Euphorbus* had juſt Reaſon to hope he ſhould prevail over her Deſire for Grandeur, which was the only Failing ſhe poſſeſs'd: But that Paſſion was predominant; ſhe was afraid it ſhould be ſaid ſhe had *acted imprudently*, and that ſhe ſhould not be able to ſtand the Reflections of the World for having only one Footman behind *a Chariot and Pair*, when ſhe might have had half a Dozen powder'd Valets attending *her Coach and Six*.

Upon her coming to *London*, *Eugenio* made his Addreſſes among the reſt; and as his Fortune enabled him to make a *ſuitable Settlement*, Preliminaries were ſoon agreed on. Before they had been ten Times together, the Lawyers were bribed not to be *dilatory*. Several Thouſands were expended *in Plate and Jewels*;

Jewels *. The *gay Livery* and *gilded Car* proclaim'd them the happieſt Couple of the Seaſon. But they ſoon found that Happineſs did not conſiſt in *Shew*. Little Contrarieties of Temper were the Cauſe of continual Differences; which in leſs than two Years aroſe to ſuch Height, that they were juſt *not parted*. To avoid the Uneaſineſs of Home, *Eugenio publickly* indulged himſelf in his Amours; and *Theana* was only *more private*. *His* Money was thrown away at Hazard; *hers* as religiouſly devoted to Quadrille. *He* was regardleſs of the Education of his Sons, becauſe he was not ſure they were his own; *ſhe* inſtructed her Daughters in nothing but Cards and Romances.——But it is Time to make ſome Enquiry after the other two. The next Winter after her Diſappointment, *Sophronia* came to *London* with her Female Friend. *Euphorbus* accidentally fell into her Company. Frequent Meetings created an Acquaintance: That Acquaintance encreaſed gradually into a mutual Eſteem; which, as it was not founded *upon Intereſt*, but *a thorough Knowledge of each other*, they had good Reaſon to believe would continue. With this Proſpect they intermarried. The Smallneſs of their Fortunes was compenſated by Contentedneſs and Oeconomy. The Deſire of providing for his Children made *him* double his Application to his Profeſſion; and ſhe was in the mean Time as agreeably entertain'd in taking Care of their Education. *He* was daily adding to their Fortune; *ſhe* to their Virtue. In the Decline of Life they retir'd to a Country-Houſe and Eſtate, which *his* Profeſſion and *her* Oeconomy had enabled them to buy of *Eugenio*, whoſe Extravagance and Ill-Management had obliged him to ſell the greateſt Part of his Eſtate. as ſoon as a Booby Son was old enough *to be bribed* to cut off the Intail. *There*, in the Words of *Agamemnon*,

They know a paſſion ſtill more deeply charming
Than fever'd youth e'er felt; and that is love,
By long experience mellow'd into friendſhip.

Thus are *Euphorbus* and *Sophronia*, by a Marriage *founded on good Senſe*, poſſeſs'd of Happineſs, Riches, and Reputation; which *Eugenio* and *Theana* have loſt by the contrary Means.

A. Z.

Craftſman, May 17. N° 724.

Of his Majeſty's Journey to Hanover, *&c.*

Mr. D'Anvers,

THE *Coffee-Houſe Politicians* are very much divided in their Opinions concerning the Reaſon of his Majeſty's Abſence at this critical Juncture; but all of them agree, that it muſt be about ſome Point of the laſt Importance; for a Prince, who is the true Father of his People, would not leave them in the Midſt of an expenſive War, when there is ſo much Occaſion for his Royal Preſence amongſt us, without the moſt cogent Motives.

The moſt prevailing Opinion is, that this ſudden Reſolution was taken, in order to get the Start of *France*, and re-unite the *grand Alliance*, in Caſe that Court ſhould at laſt play us a Trick, notwithſtanding their promiſed *Neutrality*, and openly join with *Spain* againſt us.—This, I confeſs, is a plauſible Conjecture enough; and if *ſuch a Confederacy* is really in Agitation, nothing could poſſibly facilitate it ſo much as his Majeſty's Reſidence in *Germany* this Summer, where he may have perſonal Conferences with ſome of the greateſt Potentates, even the *Emperor* himſelf, and not truſt his Affairs intirely to the Care of the *beſt Miniſters* that have been lately ſent abroad.

But if it ſhould really be true, as the *miniſterial News-Writers* aſſure us, that we may ſafely rely upon the Neutrality of *France*; and that ſhe will take no Part in the Quarrel between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, *but ſuch as may be* neceſſary *for* reconciling *theſe two Crowns*; that is, *mediating* between them; I ſay, were there any Dependence upon this, we ſhould be a good Match for the *Spaniards*, without putting the Nation to half the Expence of *ſuch a Confederacy* as I have mentioned.

There are others again, who ſuggeſt that *his Majeſty* is gone abroad to adjuſt the Differences in the *North*, and quench the Flames, which are juſt upon the Point of breaking out between *Ruſſia* and *Sweden*, and may affect *other Countries*.——This would certainly be a glorious Undertaking, and redound to our immortal Honour, if whilſt we are carrying on a vigorous War in one Part of *Europe*, we ſhould be able to keep the Peace in another.

Nay, ſhould a Negotiation of Peace between *Great Britain* and *Spain* be ſet on Foot at *Hanover*, under his Majeſty's ſacred Auſpices and Direction, we may be aſſured that it will not end in mere *Preliminaries*, and *Conventions*, which have ſo often proved ineffectual, but in a *ſolid*, *final*, and *honourable Peace*.

Thus, Mr. *D'Anvers*, have I given you ſome Account of the different Sentiments of Mankind upon this important Occaſion. But as they are only Conjectures, Time alone

* N. B. *The neateſt plain Gold Rings and Diamond Hoops are to be bought of Mr.* William Hart, *at the* Graſshopper *in* Fleetſtreet, *who promiſes to abate* 5 per Cent. *in the Price of all Jewels, to every Couple that will declare their Marriage is founded upon Common Senſe.*

muſt

must determine whether any of them are true.

It may be objected, perhaps, by the Cenſorious and Diſaffected, that notwithſtanding all theſe glorious Hopes, the *People* will be great Sufferers at preſent, by the Dearneſs of all Sorts of Proviſions, and even the common Neceſſaries of Life; whilſt they are loaded with ſuch *heavy Taxes*, that the Poor, and even the middling Sort of People are hardly able to ſupport themſelves. This exceſſive Price of Proviſions is a Sort of *Summer-Froſt*, and may ſtarve, or diſtreſs almoſt as many People.

It cannot be deny'd that there is too much Reaſon for this Objection; but *private Hardſhips* muſt ſubmit to the *publick Good*; and if any of the great Ends propoſed ſhould be obtained, either by a *vigorous War*, or an *honourable Peace*, it will make us ample Amends for all our *paſt Loſſes*, and *preſent Calamities*.

As for the Seditious and Diſaffected, let them ſtir if they dare; for we have not only the *Law* on our Side, but a very *numerous ſtanding Army*, to be encamped in different Places, which will be able to cruſh them in a Moment; and as this Army is now purged of all *ſuſpicious Officers*, even of the higheſt Rank, we may ſafely depend on their Service and Protection againſt all *domeſtick Inſurrections* and *foreign Invaſions*.

There hath, indeed, been a ſilly Maxim lately ſtarted, that there ought not to be a *prime Miniſter* inveſted with abſolute Power over all the Provinces of the Kingdom, becauſe it may happen to tempt an ambitious, a wicked, or a covetous Man to dethrone his *Maſter*, and deſtroy the *Conſtitution*; but that every great Officer, both *civil* and *military*, eſpecially the *latter*, ought to have the ſole Direction of his own Department. This wild Notion is founded on a Suppoſition that the very Eſſence of an *Army* conſiſts in a due Subordination of the *Officers*, and an *exact Diſcipline*, which cannot be without ſome *known Commander in Chief*; whereas, ſay they, there is no Occaſion for any *ſuch Commander*, in *civil Affairs*, becauſe the ſeveral Offices and their Buſineſs are diſtinct and independent of each other. — Now I think it as plain as any Propoſition in *Euclid*, that there can be no quiet Government, where the *Prince* does not repoſe an abſolute Confidence in *one Man*, with full Power to controul all the reſt, and to turn them out at Pleaſure, whenever they thwart *his Schemes*, or he hath a Mind to ſubſtitute ſome of his *Relations*, or *Creatures* in their Room; for though a *mixt* and *limited Monarchy*, like ours, is a very good Form of Government, yet a *mixt* and *limited Adminiſtration* would turn every Thing topſy-turvy. There would be nothing but Jarring in our Councils, and every Man would be ſo wiſe in his own Conceit as to think himſelf intitled to the chief Management of *his own particular Office*. But when they ſee the *whole miniſterial Power* lodged in *one Perſon*, they will readily ſubmit to him, which will produce Harmony, and Things will go ſmoothly on—I will only put one Caſe: Suppoſing the whole Adminiſtration ſhould be divided between *two Perſons* only; *one* to have the chief Command of all the *civil Employments*, and the *other* of the *Army*; don't you think it would be attended with Diſſenſions between them? The *Miniſter* might happen to grow jealous of the *General*, eſpecially in Time of *War*; and the *General*, perhaps, might not care to let the *Miniſter* intermeddle in his Province. But when *both theſe* are united in *one ſupreme Miniſter*, it would be a Sort of *Mutiny* to diſobey his Orders, and *Deſertion* to throw up their Places. Thus would the Diſcipline of the *Army* be punctually kept up, and the *Peace of the Kingdom* preſerved. What chiefly induces me to mention this is, becauſe we have lately had ſeveral Inſtances of *great Officers*, who choſe to loſe their Employments rather than ſubmit to the Will and Pleaſure of a *certain Miniſter*, in a *certain Place*; for I have not heard them charged with any Miſbehaviour in thir *military Capacity*.

I ſhall therefore conclude this Letter with obſerving, that tho' there ought to be an uncorrupt Independency between the *ſeveral Branches of the Legiſlature*, (as you aſſert) yet ſuch an Independency of *one Part of the Adminiſtration upon another* would throw every Thing into Confuſion, and even tends to the Subverſion of the *Adminiſtration* itſelf.

Common Senſe, May 24. Nº 173.

Of the preſent State of AFFAIRS, *and his* MAJESTY's *going abroad.*

I Enjoy this great Privilege (ſays a political Writer) by being born in a free Country, That, as a private Man, I am not accountable to the greateſt Man in *England* for my Actions; but the greateſt Man in *England*, in a publick Station, is accountable to me.

It is very natural for a People bred up in ſuch high Ideas of their own Liberty, to be very inquiſitive into the Conduct of every Man in the Adminiſtration of publick Affairs. If the Nation grows poor, while thoſe that manage its Revenues are growing rich, the People will certainly call upon them to explain by what ſecret Legerdemain a Man who came a Beggar into the publick Service, ſhall be able to purchaſe a great Eſtate, by viſibly ſpending every Year three Times as much as his Wages, and that the ſame Man's Oeconomy ſhall have a quite different Effect with Reſpect to his Country.

Such Queſtions will be aſked even in arbi-

trary Countries, tho' perhaps the Man in Power will not think fit to anſwer them there; he may imagine he has nothing to do, but to ſecure his Power and Intereſt at Court; and particularly to take Care of the Back-Stairs, as a certain Corruptor lately bragged he had done, and therefore, with his uſual Modeſty, defied his Enemies,——placing his Safety not in the Integrity of his Conduct, but in a Crime of a high Nature, no leſs than that of impriſoning his Maſter.

In the Beginning of the publick Ill-Will towards a Man of this Character, he might make ſhuffling and evaſive Anſwers, as other Criminals generally do; but when he looks round and glories in the Number of his Negroes, he may inſultingly tell his Country, Do they think he is ſuch a Fool to furniſh Evidence againſt himſelf? In this Manner he may plead guilty, and bid Defiance to Juſtice at the ſame Time.

This inquiſitive Temper ſo natural to the People of this Iſland will, as I take it, ſoon be at an End; they may be ſatisfied, that all Affairs both abroad and at home are now as good as ſettled upon ſuch a Foot as we could wiſh, and that we ſhall ſoon ſee ourſelves in a moſt perfect State of Tranquillity; this we may be ſure of by his Majeſty's going abroad.

We deſired a War, and we have had it, but, let not the Diſaffected therefore ſay, that his Majeſty leaves us in a War.——Our Miniſters, who are ſo famous for diving into the Secrets of all the Cabinets of *Europe*, are certainly ſatisfied that no foreign Power has any Deſign of diſturbing us at home by Invaſion, or otherwiſe. It is not conſiſtent with his Majeſty's heroick Character to fly from Danger, and leave his People without a Head to oppoſe their Enemies. Therefore, I ſay, we may be ſure, that every Thing is in a proſperous Way.

His Majeſty's Subjects of *Great Britain* have been bleſs'd with his Majeſty's Reſidence a great while; his Subjects of *Hanover* have a Right to expect a little of his Company in their Turn. Thoſe poor People ſuffer'd by the Severity of the Winter, as well as we; our *Gazetteers* and *Evening-Poſts* gave us an Account of his Majeſty's great Goodneſs towards them in the following Paragraph:

"*Hanover*, *April* 19. The King of *Great Britain*, in Compaſſion to the great Hardſhips his Subjects of this Electorate ſuffer'd during the late ſevere Winter, has order'd all his own Granaries to be open'd, and the Corn not only to be ſold at a moderate Price to the Publick, but to be delivered *Gratis* to the Neceſſitous, as well for their Support, as to ſow their Land with.——As this rigorous Seaſon has greatly impoveriſh'd his Majeſty's Subjects of this Country, he has been pleaſed to leſſen very conſiderably the annual Rents of the Tenants."

Theſe poor People having been reduced by the Severity of the Seaſon, may be very glad to be chear'd with his Majeſty's Royal Preſence; and tho' the moſt neceſſitous Part of them have already been reliev'd, and the Rents of the reſt abated, yet it will do them no Harm to have Part of the Revenues of that Electorate ſpent amongſt them, which, no Doubt, have been ſpent amongſt us, notwithſtanding any Thing which diſaffected Men may inſinuate to the contrary: Beſides, his Majeſty's Preſence may be of Conſequence in other Reſpects.—*Then he mentions the Affair of* Steinhurſt, *&c.* which ſee, Vol. VIII. p. 62.

As his Majeſty poſſeſſes a much larger Revenue than any of his Royal Predeceſſors ever did, he has it more in his Power to exerciſe Acts of Generoſity and Munificence; his Subjects of theſe Kingdoms have ſuffer'd by the Severity of the Weather, as well as thoſe of the Electorate; they are loaded with the Expences of a War, in which thoſe of the Electorate have no Share, an Expence that has amounted to vaſtly more than any Man in the Kingdom expected it would have done, there being no leſs than four Millions to be rais'd this Year for that Purpoſe, in which the Sums appropriated for the Payment of the Intereſt of the publick Debts, the Civil Liſt, and the 40,000 *l.* given for the Portion of the Princeſs, are not included: Beſides which, they are burden'd with an infinite Number of Placemen, a heavy Burden, which his Subjects of the Electorate are ſo happy not to feel.——Upon all which Conſiderations his Majeſty, upon his Return, will think of ſome Method of eaſing and comforting the poor Subjects of theſe Kingdoms, as he hath already done thoſe of the Electorate.—*Then he tells us, how* Q. *Anne* contributed largely towards the Expences of the War, (V. VIII p. 590.) *And ſays*, I am very ſure his preſent Majeſty will equal any of his Predeceſſors in Acts of Generoſity.

If the publick Tranquillity (as there is Reaſon to preſume by his Majeſty's going abroad) be as good as ſettled, there may be great Savings out of the Money granted for the Service of this Year, by diſbanding the Army: There are Encampments talk'd of, but if theſe Encampments ſhould be attended with any Expence to the Nation, it is to be hoped they will not take Place, ſince, whether we have Peace or War abroad, Encampments at home are looked upon as mere Raree-Shews;—be that as it will, I hope there will be no Room for another *Forage Contract*: And if Affairs have taken the happy Turn, which there is Reaſon to think, there will be ſuch Savings in the publick Expences, that a certain Perſon's Negroes may be diſappointed of the Jobs for which they are gaping like ſo many greedy Sharks;—for when we were moſt eager for War, it was not for the Love of War, but becauſe it was plain a ſafe and honourable Peace could not be obtain'd without it.

A

A Deſcription of the EVENING.

SEE! *Phœbus* downward ſhoots his ſaffron beams,
And ſlow deſcending, ſinks into the ſtreams;
But leaves behind, e'er yet his glory dies,
His glowing honours, ſtreak'd along the ſkies:
The weary pilgrim, trav'lling on his way,
Mourns the decreaſe of light, and ſetting day,
Obſerves with longing eyes, the weſtern air,
Where bluſhing clouds decaying light declare.
Thus ſadly mourn the warbling feather'd brood,
Diſpers'd about the loudly-ecchoing wood,
Whilſt each, of the departing day complains,
And moans his loſs, in elegiack ſtrains;
Thus mournfully they ſeek their moſſy neſt,
There ſilent ſit, and ſink to quiet reſt,
Whilſt through the air, the fanning Zephyrs breeze,
And gently ruſtle, thro' the waving trees.
Now limpid ſtreams in plaintive murmurs run,
And ſeem in groans to wail the abſent ſun.
Now weary'd ſee the home-returning ſwains,
Lag lazily along the dewy plains,
And, with his clanking harneſs, ſlowly lead,
Fatigu'd with daily toil, the reeking ſteed,
Where litter'd ſtall receives the drowſy gueſt,
Who gladly enters, to retire for reſt.
And now the flow'rs, all droop their painted heads,
And fading ſink, upon their dewy beds,
There with'ring lie, expecting the return
Of quick'ning light, and the reviving morn;
And nature veil'd in darkneſs melts away,
In tears of dew, for grief of fleeting day.
Thus all, for light retir'd, their ſorrow tell,
But you! ſweet darkneſs-loving *Philomel*;
Who, to alleviate the loſs we bear, [air;
Chant out your ſtrains, and charm the liſt'ning
An hallow'd ſilence all thy notes attends,
And ev'ry ear a fixt attention lends;
Each loud contending element's at peace,
And all the noiſy ruder tumults ceaſe;
Such joy, to raviſh'd ears, thy muſick brings,
That all is huſh'd, when *Philomela* ſings.

E.

An ENIGMA.

I Have feet, but no legs, back, but no belly,
Two ſides you may ſay, and ſtrange truth to tell ye!
I've a face bright and clear, ſerene as the ſky,
Without either noſe, cheek, mouth, forehead, or eye;
I'm none of the meaneſt, nor riches do lack,
For I've plenty of ſilver pack'd at my back;
And 'cauſe without legs, my feet cannot rear me,
A vaſſal's with four, created to bear me;
Thus mounted, I conſtantly wait on the fair,
For ſhe is my ward, and my principal care;
I rival each ſwain, ſo bewitching a thing,
That *V——te* ſees me, e'er ſhe bleſſes the k—;
Without a cockade, the ladies admire me,
And tho' I'm no captain, belles all deſire me.
Tho' miſs will not hark, when mother adviſes,
My counſel approv'd, ſhe never deſpiſes;
I'm honeſt and blunt, and as 'tis my duty,
Each blemiſh I ſhow, as well as each beauty;
I tell her the truth, and too oft diſcover,
That all was but flatt'ry, ſaid by her lover;
Her private concerns, and her coſmetick arts,
Tho' they are hid from the world, to me ſhe imparts;
I know ev'ry proper, and improper feature,
And ſee her the ugly, and beautiful creature:
In ſhort, it were happy, did lovers but ſee
Their nymphs imperfections, as they're ſeen by me.

E.

An Epiſtolary ODE *to a young* GENTLEMAN, *written in the late Froſt, tranſlated from the 9th Ode of the 1ſt Book of* HORACE.

YOU ſee, my friend, the aſpiring hills
Attired in robes of ſnow;
And rivers ice-impriſoned ſtreams,
A while forbid to flow:

But ſtill deſpiſe keen winter's rage,
Beneath its rigour ſmile;
And lop the foreſt's ſpreading branch,
To heap the blazing pile.

Let *Bacchus*, god of pleaſing mirth,
Revive your drooping ſoul;
Give then your ſorrows to the winds,
And fill the ſparkling bowl.

Thus would I have thee live, my friend,
And what the gods have given,
With freedom and with thanks enjoy,
And leave the reſt to heaven.

If heaven (incens'd at man) commands,
The raging tempeſts roar;
The foaming waves with fury daſh
The bleak *Atlantick* ſhoar.

So if the pitying gods ordain,
The rapid floods give way,
O'er the ſmooth ſurface of the deep
The Zephyrs gently play.

Seek not from dark futurity,
To find thy hidden doom;
Nor vainly ſtrive from fruitleſs thought
To ſee the things to come.

Each day you live ſuppoſe your laſt,
Nor ſpend thy life in vain;
So then ſhall each ſucceeding day
Be unexpected gain.

But yet, while youth and beauty bloom,
E'er frozen age advance;
With loves and graces gladly haſte,
To join the myſtick dance.

Now ſtrive from arms becoming youth,
To gain immortal fame;
Or now by nightly ſerenades,
To move the haughty dame.

trary Countries, tho' perhaps the Man in Power will not think fit to anſwer them there; he may imagine he has nothing to do, but to ſecure his Power and Intereſt at Court; and particularly to take Care of the Back-Stairs, as a certain Corruptor lately bragged he had done, and therefore, with his uſual Modeſty, defied his Enemies,——placing his Safety not in the Integrity of his Conduct, but in a Crime of a high Nature, no leſs than that of impriſoning his Maſter.

In the Beginning of the publick Ill-Will towards a Man of this Character, he might make ſhuffling and evaſive Anſwers, as other Criminals generally do; but when he looks round and glories in the Number of his Negroes, he may inſultingly tell his Country, Do they think he is ſuch a Fool to furniſh Evidence againſt himſelf? In this Manner he may plead guilty, and bid Defiance to Juſtice at the ſame Time.

This inquiſitive Temper ſo natural to the People of this Iſland will, as I take it, ſoon be at an End; they may be ſatisfied, that all Affairs both abroad and at home are now as good as ſettled upon ſuch a Foot as we could wiſh, and that we ſhall ſoon ſee ourſelves in a moſt perfect State of Tranquillity; this we may be ſure of by his Majeſty's going abroad.

We deſired a War, and we have had it, but, let not the Diſaffected therefore ſay, that his Majeſty leaves us in a War.——Our Miniſters, who are ſo famous for diving into the Secrets of all the Cabinets of *Europe*, are certainly ſatisfied that no foreign Power has any Deſign of diſturbing us at home by Invaſion, or otherwiſe. It is not conſiſtent with his Majeſty's heroick Character to fly from Danger, and leave his People without a Head to oppoſe their Enemies. Therefore, I ſay, we may be ſure, that every Thing is in a proſperous Way.

His Majeſty's Subjects of *Great Britain* have been bleſs'd with his Majeſty's Reſidence a great while; his Subjects of *Hanover* have a Right to expect a little of his Company in their Turn. Thoſe poor People ſuffer'd by the Severity of the Winter, as well as we; our *Gazetteers* and *Evening-Poſts* gave us an Account of his Majeſty's great Goodneſs towards them in the following Paragraph:

"*Hanover*, *April* 19. The King of *Great Britain*, in Compaſſion to the great Hardſhips his Subjects of this Electorate ſuffer'd during the late ſevere Winter, has order'd all his own Granaries to be open'd, and the Corn not only to be ſold at a moderate Price to the Publick, but to be delivered *Gratis* to the Neceſſitous, as well for their Support, as to ſow their Land with.——As this rigorous Seaſon has greatly impoveriſh'd his Majeſty's Subjects of this Country, he has been pleaſed to leſſen very conſiderably the annual Rents of the Tenants."

Theſe poor People having been reduced by the Severity of the Seaſon, may be very glad to be chear'd with his Majeſty's Royal Preſence; and tho' the moſt neceſſitous Part of them have already been reliev'd, and the Rents of the reſt abated, yet it will do them no Harm to have Part of the Revenues of that Electorate ſpent amongſt them, which, no Doubt, have been ſpent amongſt us, notwithſtanding any Thing which diſaffected Men may inſinuate to the contrary: Beſides, his Majeſty's Preſence may be of Conſequence in other Reſpects.—*Then he mentions the Affair of* Steinhurſt, *&c.* which ſee, Vol. VIII. p. 62.

As his Majeſty poſſeſſes a much larger Revenue than any of his Royal Predeceſſors ever did, he has it more in his Power to exerciſe Acts of Generoſity and Munificence; his Subjects of theſe Kingdoms have ſuffer'd by the Severity of the Weather, as well as thoſe of the Electorate; they are loaded with the Expences of a War, in which thoſe of the Electorate have no Share, an Expence that has amounted to vaſtly more than any Man in the Kingdom expected it would have done, there being no leſs than four Millions to be rais'd this Year for that Purpoſe, in which the Sums appropriated for the Payment of the Intereſt of the publick Debts, the Civil Liſt, and the 40,000 *l.* given for the Portion of the Princeſs, are not included: Beſides which, they are burden'd with an infinite Number of Placemen, a heavy Burden, which his Subjects of the Electorate are ſo happy not to feel.——Upon all which Conſiderations his Majeſty, upon his Return, will think of ſome Method of eaſing and comforting the poor Subjects of theſe Kingdoms, as he hath already done thoſe of the Electorate. — *Then he tells us, how* Q. *Anne* contributed largely towards the Expences of the War, (V. VIII p. 590.) *And ſays*, I am very ſure his preſent Majeſty will equal any of his Predeceſſors in Acts of Generoſity.

If the publick Tranquillity (as there is Reaſon to preſume by his Majeſty's going abroad) be as good as ſettled, there may be great Savings out of the Money granted for the Service of this Year, by diſbanding the Army: There are Encampments talk'd of, but if theſe Encampments ſhould be attended with any Expence to the Nation, it is to be hoped they will not take Place, ſince, whether we have Peace or War abroad, Encampments at home are looked upon as mere Raree-Shews;——be that as it will, I hope there will be no Room for another *Forage Contract:* And if Affairs have taken the happy Turn, which there is Reaſon to think, there will be ſuch Savings in the publick Expences, that a certain Perſon's Negroes may be diſappointed of the Jobs for which they are gaping like ſo many greedy Sharks;——for when we were moſt eager for War, it was not for the Love of War, but becauſe it was plain a ſafe and honourable Peace could not be obtain'd without it.

A

A Deſcription of the EVENING.

SEE! *Phœbus* downward ſhoots his ſaffron beams,
And ſlow deſcending, ſinks into the ſtreams;
But leaves behind, e'er yet his glory dies,
His glowing honours, ſtreak'd along the ſkies:
The weary pilgrim, trav'lling on his way,
Mourns the decreaſe of light, and ſetting day,
Obſerves with longing eyes, the weſtern air,
Where bluſhing clouds decaying light declare.
Thus ſadly mourn the warbling feather'd brood,
Diſpers'd about the loudly-ecchoing wood,
Whilſt each, of the departing day complains,
And moans his loſs, in elegiack ſtrains;
Thus mournfully they ſeek their moſſy neſt,
There ſilent ſit, and ſink to quiet reſt,
Whilſt through the air, the fanning Zephyrs breeze,
And gently ruſtle, thro' the waving trees.
Now limpid ſtreams in plaintive murmurs run,
And ſeem in groans to wail the abſent ſun.
Now weary'd ſee the home-returning ſwains,
Lag lazily along the dewy plains,
And, with his clanking harneſs, ſlowly lead,
Fatigu'd with daily toil, the reeking ſteed,
Where litter'd ſtall receives the drowſy gueſt,
Who gladly enters, to retire for reſt.
And now the flow'rs, all droop their painted heads,
And fading ſink, upon their dewy beds,
There with'ring lie, expecting the return
Of quick'ning light, and the reviving morn;
And nature veil'd in darkneſs melts away,
In tears of dew, for grief of fleeting day.
Thus all, for light retir'd, their ſorrow tell,
But you! ſweet darkneſs-loving *Philomel*;
Who, to alleviate the loſs we bear, [air;
Chant out your ſtrains, and charm the liſt'ning
An hallow'd ſilence all thy notes attends,
And ev'ry ear a fixt attention lends;
Each loud contending element's at peace,
And all the noiſy ruder tumults ceaſe;
Such joy, to raviſh'd ears, thy muſick brings,
That all is huſh'd, when *Philomela* ſings.

E.

An ENIGMA.

I Have feet, but no legs, back, but no belly,
Two ſides you may ſay, and ſtrange truth to tell ye!
I've a face bright and clear, ſerene as the ſky,
Without either noſe, cheek, mouth, forehead, or eye;
I'm none of the meaneſt, nor riches do lack,
For I've plenty of ſilver pack'd at my back;
And 'cauſe without legs, my feet cannot rear me,
A vaſſal's with four, created to bear me;
Thus mounted, I conſtantly wait on the fair,
For ſhe is my ward, and my principal care;
I rival each ſwain, ſo bewitching a thing,
That *V——te* ſees me, e'er ſhe bleſſes the k——;
Without a cockade, the ladies admire me,
And tho' I'm no captain, belles all deſire me.
Tho' miſs will not hark, when mother adviſes,
My counſel approv'd, ſhe never deſpiſes;
I'm honeſt and blunt, and as 'tis my duty,
Each blemiſh I ſhow, as well as each beauty;
I tell her the truth, and too oft diſcover,
That all was but flatt'ry, ſaid by her lover;
Her private concerns, and her coſmetick arts,
Tho' they are hid from the world, to me ſhe imparts;
I know ev'ry proper, and improper feature,
And ſee her the ugly, and beautiful creature:
In ſhort, it were happy, did lovers but ſee
Their nymphs imperfections, as they're ſeen by me.

E.

An Epiſtolary ODE *to a young* GENTLEMAN, *written in the late Froſt, tranſlated from the 9th Ode of the 1ſt Book of* HORACE.

YOU ſee, my friend, the aſpiring hills
Attired in robes of ſnow;
And rivers ice-impriſoned ſtreams,
A while forbid to flow:

But ſtill deſpiſe keen winter's rage,
Beneath its rigour ſmile;
And lop the foreſt's ſpreading branch,
To heap the blazing pile.

Let *Bacchus*, god of pleaſing mirth,
Revive your drooping ſoul;
Give then your ſorrows to the winds,
And fill the ſparkling bowl.

Thus would I have thee live, my friend,
And what the gods have given,
With freedom and with thanks enjoy,
And leave the reſt to heaven.

If heaven (incens'd at man) commands,
The raging tempeſts roar;
The foaming waves with fury daſh
The bleak *Atlantick* ſhoar.

So if the pitying gods ordain,
The rapid floods give way,
O'er the ſmooth ſurface of the deep
The Zephyrs gently play.

Seek not from dark futurity,
To find thy hidden doom;
Nor vainly ſtrive from fruitleſs thought
To ſee the things to come.

Each day you live ſuppoſe your laſt,
Nor ſpend thy life in vain;
So then ſhall each ſucceeding day
Be unexpected gain.

But yet, while youth and beauty bloom,
E'er frozen age advance;
With loves and graces gladly haſte,
To join the myſtick dance.

Now ſtrive from arms becoming youth,
To gain immortal fame;
Or now by nightly ſerenades,
To move the haughty dame.

Attend and liſten, am'rous youth,
While laughter's pleaſing ſound
Betrays the lurking virgin near,
Hid only to be found.
Snatch from the fair ſome pledge of love,
Which firm ſhe feigns to hold;
Yet pleas'd to ſee her ſtrength ſurpaſs'd,
And you, dear youth, ſo bold.

Q. A.

In Imitation of the 16*th* ODE *in the* 2*d* BOOK *of* HORACE.

WHEN the ſonorous tempeſt roars,
And ſable night involves the ſkies,
The frighted ſailor peace implores,
And lifts to threat'ning heav'n his eyes:
While not one wiſht-for ſtar appears
In all the thund'ring gloomy ſpace,
With friendly rays to calm his fears,
But death ſtares ghaſtly in his face.
The warlike *Scythian*, and the *Mede*,
That flying wounds th' imprudent foe,
And backward ſends th' unerring reed,
For peace their ſavage ſpoils forego.
But peace they ſtrive in vain to find,
Which nothing can, my friend, allow,
Unleſs upon itſelf the mind
The god-like bleſſing ſhould beſtow.
As ſwift as light'ning, cares make way
Thro' the well-guarded monarch's gate,
And their pale hideous forms diſplay
In the rich gilded rooms of ſtate.
Bold cares no poliſh'd arms revere,
Or ſplendor of a ſervile train;
But fill the monarch's heart with fear,
That ne'er diſturb'd the guiltleſs ſwain.
Happy! who in a ſweet retreat,
With virtue bleſt, nought elſe requires,
Whom heav'n has giv'n a country-ſeat,
Indulgent to his juſt deſires.
While he in pleaſure ſpends his days,
The muſe inſpires his raptur'd breaſt;
And tho' the world reſound his praiſe,
The noiſe ne'er breaks his golden reſt.
'Tis all in vain, we hope to fly
From care upon the pompous ſteed;
Tho' we ſhou'd change our native ſky,
Care equals the ſwift racer's ſpeed:
Nor can the ſplendid barge convey
The monarch to a happy ſhore,
Unleſs bright honour lead the way,
And virtue ſafe conduct him o'er.
Let then your noble ſoul deſpiſe
The glitter of deluſive ſtate,
Adore fair virtue, and be wiſe,
Nor wiſh to be ignobly great.
What wou'd you have? to you kind heav'n
A title and ſuperfluous ſtore,
No tuneleſs lyre to me has given,
With competence: I aſk no more.

A HYMN *in a Spring Morning.*

SEE! how the fair creation round
Shines with new beauty bright,
While ſweetly-bluſhing all the heav'ns
Glow with emerging light!
Hark! how the birds on ev'ry bough
Their warbling muſic pour,
And in their artleſs melody
Salute the happy hour.
O bleſt Creator! may my hymn,
In this bright ſpring of day,
Expreſs the ardour of my ſoul,
And grateful homage pay.
Breathe ſoft, ye gales, and bear my words
To the reſplendent ſkies,
And in his preſence make my praiſe,
Like fragrant incenſe riſe.
Gay ſhines the ſun on flow'ry plains,
And ſweet's his chearing light;
But yet compar'd with thy bright beams,
Seems clos'd with ſhady night.
Gay are the flow'rs on thouſand hills,
And ſweet the murm'ring ſtream;
But on thy glories when I think,
I'm raviſht with the theme.
Gay are the charms o'er nature ſpread,
And ſweet the bluſhing roſe;
But 'tis thy bounty, and thy ſmiles,
Which all theſe charms compoſe.
All weak perfection fades away,
Nor boaſts it's borrow'd light;
But in thy beauty's blaze abſorpt,
Eludes the mental ſight.
So ſtars die off th' ætherial plain,
When the ſun darts his ray,
No more their ſhrinking luſtre ſhew,
But all is one bright day.
Methinks, on the wide azure plains
Gay legions charm my eyes,
And to my ſoul in tranſport loſt
Celeſtial glories riſe:
While this bleſt truth, that *thou art love*,
Swells the ſymphonious lays,
And all the heav'ns in thunder ſhake
With ſhouts of rapt'rous praiſe.
My God! thou beauty's radiant ſource,
Inſpire my breaſt with love;
Tune my rapt ſoul with gratitude,
And all it's muſic move.

J. DINSDALE.

The IMPORTANT MEMENTO: *Or, ſome awakening Reflexions on Man's Mortality, &c.*

HOW ſhort's the ſcene of human life!
How full of noiſe, debate, and ſtrife,
Of irkſome toil, and anxious cares!
How late a foreſight, oft, prepares

For

For that new life, that muſt commence,
When heav'n thinks fit to call us hence!—
That unknown, never-ending ſtate,
To which we're juſtly doom'd by fate!
O! how does poor, deluded man
Conſume the ſhort, contracted ſpan,—
His momentary time beguile,
With lengthen'd hopes, and vain turmoil!
As if (weak, witleſs thought!) mankind
Were, for this world alone, deſign'd;
And each one's *name*, and *houſe*, and *land*
For ever wou'd *continue* grand,
Or, at the leaſt, remain ſecure,
As long as ſun and moon endure.
Vain, buſy, buſtling world!—how all
Both old and young, and great and ſmall,
The daily, trifling taſk renew!
What ſhort-liv'd bubbles we purſue!
What dull, deluſive, dang'rous joys,
What fooliſh, odd, fantaſtick toys,
Our weak, unthinking minds engage,
While here, on life's uncertain *ſtage*,
With raſh, unwary foot, we tread,
By folly, or by vice, miſled!
No danger apprehending near,
Till off we march with ſwift career.
Then, then we ſee our fond miſtake,
And, from the diſmal dream, awake,
When we our doleful *exit* make.

Yet, tho' this life be quickly paſt,—
Whilſt health, and ſtrength, and vigour laſt,
We're thoughtleſs, bold, and briſk, and gay,
And ſtill put off *the evil day*.
Yea, when th' infirmities of age,
His ſure, approaching end, preſage,
The harden'd ſinner oft we find,
Still, to his own true int'reſt, blind.
His callous conſcience feels no ſmart;
No godly ſorrows pierce his heart. *
' No thoughts of judgment him affright;
' Nor mix dull fears with his delight;
' Till ghaſtly *death* appears in view:
' And then!—he knows not what to do.'
He then his diſmal caſe bemoans,
Sighs, trembles, toſſes, raves, and groans.
What dire fore-bodings him diſtract,
When thus, on ev'ry ſide, attack'd!
Who can the agonies ſet forth,
That ſeize on *ſoul* and *body* both!
What tongue, ſufficiently declare
The horrid pangs of his deſpair!
What hand, the frightful force repel,
Of *terror*, *torture*, *death*, and *hell!*
There are, (it cannot be deny'd,)
Who ſtrangely *unconcern'd* have *dy'd*,
Whoſe *lives*, a conſtant courſe, have been
Of vice, of vanity, and ſin;—
Whoſe *converſation*, e'en a ſhame
And ſcandal to the *chriſtian name*.
But, ſhall we call it *perfect peace*,
Becauſe they ſeem'd to acquieſce?
Had they, who thus appear'd reſign'd,
A true tranquillity of mind?
Or, ſhall we thoſe ſecure eſteem,
Who, to the laſt, undaunted ſeem,
And, at the very point of death,
Do fearleſs fetch their lateſt breath?

Ah! no:—by-ſtanders may miſtake,
For peace, a ſullen ſilence, take,
And, of that wretch's caſe, judge wrong,
Who is of reſolution ſtrong,
Has, of himſelf, a good command,
His danger does not underſtand,
Or, obſtinately hides his grief,
Deſpairing of the leaſt relief.
Full oft, alas! by fatal chance,
A groſs and ſtupid ignorance,
An *unforeboding death* procures:
Nor is it ſtrange, that *epicures*,—
Who, but in *human ſhape*, convers'd
With ſpirits, like their own, immers'd,
Nay, even ſtifled, as it were,
(While ſuffer'd thus to ſojourn here,)
In dull *carnality* and *ſenſe*,—
Shou'd feel, at laſt, when hurry'd hence,
No direful thought, or ſad ſuſpence.
No wonder, ſure, if blind they be,
Who're thus determin'd not to ſee.
Thoſe, that ſcarce ever think at all,
Term we, with reaſon, *rational?*
How can it be expected then,
Who *live* like *brutes*, ſhou'd *die* like *men?*

Some, by deſtructive *error* led,
Preſumptuous hopes have oft betray'd.
Falſe principles, as well as *none*,
Have many a ſinful ſoul o'erthrown.
What numbers have on ſuch rely'd,
To hell, what numbers been decoy'd
By groundleſs, vain, deluſive hopes,
Imperious, *antichriſtian popes*,
By *wicked prieſts*, and *leaders blind*,
The very worſt of human kind!
Fallacious, mercenary men,
Whoſe only *godlineſs* is *gain*.
For O! theſe *enemies* to *truth*,
Who thus, with heav'n, on terms uncouth,
In impious ſort, *capitulate*,
And, to the vileſt reprobate,
A ready *abſolution* give,
On falſhood and impoſture live.
O dire *deluſion!* juſtly ſent
On thoſe, who thus, with full intent,
Believe, or *love*, or *make a lie*,
And, in the ſame, both *live* and *die*.

Part

* *The Author having proceeded thus far, happen'd to leave the Paper upon the Deſk in his Cloſet: And, on his Return thither, in order to proſecute the Subject, unexpectedly found the two following Diſtichs added to the foregoing, by a very ſerviceable and obliging* Help-meet. *Which, therefore, (knowing it to be his* Spouſe's *Hand, and judging 'em very appoſite for his Purpoſe,) he reſolv'd faithfully to retain.*

' Let cenſuring criticks then think, what they liſt, on't,
' Who wou'd not write verſes with ſuch an aſſiſtant?' *Swift's* Poetical Works, p. 6.

Part of the XIXth CHAPTER *of* EXODUS.

AURORA now, in purple beams arry'd,
To *Iſrael*'s ſons th' expected morn diſplay'd:
When lo! the bellowing thunder roars on high,
And frequent light'nings flaſh along the ſky:
Aloft in air a cloud, condens'd with ſmoak,
O'er trembling *Sinai*'s tow'ring ſummit broke:
The ſtartling trump, loud-ſounding in their ear,
With dreadful din proclaims the godhead near:
Thro' all the camp the piercing clangor rolls,
And heav'n-bred horror ſhakes their inmoſt ſouls:
At length, by *Moſes* led, with holy fear
Before th' Omnipotent the tribes appear:
Faſt by the mountain's hallow'd feet they ſtand,
And wait, obedient, the divine command;
While ſmoaky fires in curling volumes riſe,
Glare o'er the hill, and lighten half the ſkies.
Array'd in terrors down th' Eternal came,
And cloath'd in all the majeſty of flame:
The lab'ring mountain's deep foundations nod
Beneath the brightneſs of the living God.
Nor ceas'd the trump, but in a louder ſtrain
Rang from the hill, and echo'd through the plain.
Then ſpake the prophet on the mountain's ſide,
And by a voice, the great *I AM* reply'd.
And now, the ſacred mandate to fulfil,
The pious chief aſcends th' affrighted hill:
When thus th' Almighty: Haſte, and bid beware [near,
Th' aſſembled hoſts, that none approach too
Leſt while with curious eyes they dare to gaze,
They periſh ſudden in the burning blaze:
And let the prieſts be ſanctify'd from ſin,
Without all ſpotleſs, and all clean within;
Leſt if impure and unprepar'd they come,
From kindling wrath they meet an inſtant doom.
The people, fill'd with reverential awe,
Silent attend, and Heav'n pronounc'd the law.

Blandford, *April* 19. Jo. ELDERTON.

PSALM I. Paraphras'd.

FELIX propoſiti, quem non in devia pellax
Impietas flexit; greſſus qui gentis iniquæ
Peſtiferos horret, ſociæque pericula vitæ;
Et riſum fugit, & ſtolidæ convicia turbæ.
Ardens ille Dei leges expendere, ſacros
Aſſidue verſat libros, animumque legendo
Paſcit; inexhauſtâ captus dulcedine rerum.
Ac veluti, ripâ pingui quæ naſcitur, arbor
Exultans præterlabenti flumine certam
Spem fructûs fovet, & maturo tempore fundit:
Haud ſecus, ille vigens animi, votoque potitus
Deſpicit in vulgi curas, vultuque ſereno
Exhibet innocuæ creſcentia gaudia vitæ.
Non ita conſtanti ſtat robore turba malorum;
Heu! peritura brevi, tenuique ſimillima culmo,
Quem præceps rapit, & diſpergit in aëra, ventus.
Jamque dies aderit, cum demum cordis operti
Spectator Dominus juſtis ſecernet iniquos;
Agnoſcenſque ſuos, præclaro munere judex
Ornabit; meritâque malos ſimul obruet irâ.

HORACE. *Book the 4th, Ode the 7th, attempted.*

To a FRIEND.

THE ſnow's diſſolv'd, and now the Zephyrs breeze
With verdant leaves, o'er-tops the lofty trees;
The painted meads their annual green reſume,
And the gay daiſy breathes a ſweet perfume.
The ſpring advancing, hoary froſts conclude,
And earth rejoices in viciſſitude.
The ſtreams, that erſt ungovern'd us'd to go,
In their due bounds ſerenely placid flow.
The nymphs in dance the jocund muſes join,
And all to hail the beauteous ſpring combine.
Wiſh not, my friend, immortal life to gain;
The days, the hours, both prove your wiſhes vain.
The hoary froſts, and winter's fierceſt rage,
The ſoothing Zephyrs of the ſpring aſſuage:
Then ſhort-liv'd ſummer yellows o'er the fields,
Pomiferous autumn next its product yields:
Then in its turn the winter reigns again,
And with its froſts be-whitens ev'ry plain:
This loſs to heav'n the haſty moons repair,
At the return of each ſucceeding year.
But when we mortals (doom'd to die) ſhall go
To ſeek *Æneas* in the realms below,
With wealthy *Tullus*, and with *Ancus* juſt,
We are but ſhadows, and at beſt but duſt.
Who can be ſure to ſee to-morrow's light,
Or e'en to live till the approach of night?
Your great eſtates, and all your hoarded care,
Shall once be ſnatched from your greedy heir.
When you're condemn'd to your eternal home,
And *Minos*, judge of all, has paſs'd your doom,
No birth can bring you back, no pious ſenſe,
Nor e'en the moſt perſuaſive eloquence.
Not e'en *Diana* could the fates deprive,
And make her dear *Hippolytus* revive;
Nor *Theſeus* ſelf *Peritheus* regain,
From tyrant death's all-captivating chain.

ALUMNUS.

The *LAWYER* and his *CLIENT*.

CAuſidicum Sextus conſultum adit, ille clientem
Urget inexpertum, litem age, cauſa bona eſt;
Litem agit, at primùm promptos locat ordine nummos,
(Nam neque cauſidicus creditor eſſe ſolet.)
Cauſa agitur, multos et pendat agenda per annos:
Quid mirum eſt? hic ſpe ducitur, ille lucro.

In

In Carbonarium quendam Edenburgenſem, qui ſub ſpecie Carbonum Gelu vendidit.

PAUPER anus, dum ſævit hyems, carbonibus hauſtis,
Exquirit Siculi flammea dona dei;
Excipit incautam nebulo, carbone notandus,
Et flammam optanti, vendidit ille gelu.
Credula dum fruſtra ſopitos ſuſcitat ignes,
Obruit ardentem nix reſoluta facem.
Indignum facinus! prob noſtræ dedecus urbi!
Hæccine lex patitur, ſiccine jura ſilent!
Certaſti ob ſacras, gens Scotica, ſæpius aras,
Laude pari patrios jam tueare focos.

To CLOE. *From* CATULLUS.

WHILST we, my *Cloe*, life enjoy,
Let no frowns our bliſs deſtroy;
But let the whole, my *Cloe*, prove,
A ſcene of rapture, joy, and love.
Their naughty tongues why ſhou'd we mind,
Whoſe limbs the froſts of winter bind!
'Tis but moroſeneſs makes 'em rail——
A fig for ev'ry idle tale.
The ſun beneath the ocean flies,
And there awhile his glory lies;
Yet ſoon returns, and then again
His ſplendors gild the glaſſy main:
But when, my *Cloe*, we decay,
And death ſhall hover o'er his prey,
Ah! then the luſtre of thine eye,
And I, thy humble ſlave, muſt die;
A drowſy numbneſs fills each pore,
For ever love and toying o'er.
Since ſuch is fate's ſevere command,
No longer trifling let us ſtand;
To bleſs, be bleſt is our's to day——
A thouſand kiſſes now I pray,
An hundred more O give thy ſwain!
Another thouſand let him gain,
Nay hundreds ſtill, nay thouſands more,
Until we've laviſh'd all our ſtore.
Then leſt, my *Cloe*, we ſhou'd be
Not wholly loſt in ecſtaſy;
Or leſt invidious boſoms grieve
At the tranſports we receive,
When conſcious of what we poſſeſs,
How oft our balmy lips we preſs,
The kiſſes we'll together throw,
And in a ſea of nectar flow.

SYLVIUS.

To the PARAGON, *(my dear* CLOE,*) the Corner-Stone of my Affection, the only Comfort of a deſpairing Lover.*

CUPID, that raſcal, was th' occaſion
Of my continual lamentation;
And will, unleſs you give me hope,
Drive me to dagger, or to rope.
You'll kill me, as I've told you often;
Nay, I've already bought my coffin,
Where I will lay my bones ſecure,
From thoſe hard evils I endure.
When I conſider my hard luck,
I think ſome tygreſs gave you ſuck;
Or you was born, hard-hearted honey,
In *Flintſhire*, or in *Stratford Stony*.
If you're reſolv'd on my undoing,
Then unavoidable's my ruin;
Yet I ſhall find you out, and know ye,
In ſhades *Elyſian*, cruel *Cloe*;
Nothing but ſcorn ſhall be between us,
Like *Dido* to the ſon of *Venus*.
I die if you'll not be my wife,
So ends my letter, and my life.

Prologue to a Play, ſhortly intended for the Preſs.

TO move the paſſions, and the mind to charm,
Now melt with ſorrow, now with ardour warm;
Now make your boſoms with ambition glow,
Now tears, deriv'd from gentle pity, flow;
And now your ſouls with generous rage to move,
Now calm that paſſion into ſweeter love;
To fix your mind, and to obtain your heart,
Requires the ſkilful poet's utmoſt art.
Thus, when *Timotheus* ſweeps the warbling lyre,
The hero feels whate'er the ſounds inſpire.
But now in humble lays our poet ſings;
To others leaves rough war, and laurell'd kings;
Too high for him! an humbler theme he choſe,
And ſtrives to move you with domeſtick woes.
When kings and heroes on the ſtage you view,
You may admire what the poet drew;
But private woes your ſympathy ſhould claim,
They ſure muſt move, ſince you may feel the ſame.
A vicious love of blackeſt dye he draws,
Which if it move your hate, obtains applauſe;
Then tries to paint the charms of virtuous love,
And virtue, ſure, in any ſhape muſt move.
To you, ye fair, he for protection flies,
And as you ſmile or frown he lives or dies.
O kindly then his firſt endeavours crown,
Smile on each beauty, on no error frown.

On BEAUTY *and* INNOCENCE.

BLEST innocence! thou angels pride,
Whoſe want by nothing is ſupply'd;
Fair excellence! whoſe pure deſires
At leaſt ſhine brighter than love's fires.
Beauty without thee has no pow'r,
Or the ſhort joy dies in its flow'r;
But where thou doſt with beauty meet,
There's all that's raviſhing and ſweet.
Nought e'er can quench the ſacred fire,
Which beauty's charms, and thine inſpire:
It ev'n in heav'n will be the ſame,
Tho' ſomething more refin'd a flame.

THE

THE
Monthly Chronologer.

ON *Tueſday, April* 29, his Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, when, the Commons being ſent for up, and attending, he gave the Royal Aſſent to, An Act for granting to his Majeſty One Million out of the Sinking Fund for the Service of the Year 1740; and for enabling his Majeſty to raiſe the further Sum of 200,000*l.* out of the growing Produce of the ſaid Fund; and for granting to his Majeſty 21,000*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* ½, remaining in the Receipt of his Majeſty's Exchequer, ariſen by Sale of Lands in the Iſland of *St. Chriſtopher*'s; and for the further appropriating the Supplies granted in this Seſſion of Parliament.—An Act for continuing the ſeveral Laws therein mentioned, relating to the Premiums upon the Importation of Maſts, Yards, and Bowſprits, Tar, Pitch, and Turpentine, *&c.* for granting a further Bounty for all Ships imployed in the Whale Fiſhery during the preſent War; for exempting Harponeers, and others imployed in the *Greenland* Fiſhery Trade from being impreſſed; and for giving further Time for the Payment of Duties omitted to be paid for the Indentures and Contracts of Clerks and Apprentices.—An Act for prohibiting Commerce with *Spain*.—An Act for amending and enforcing the Laws relating to Rogues, Vagabonds, and other idle and diſorderly Perſons, and for reducing the ſame into one Act of Parliament; and alſo for amending the Laws for erecting, providing, and regulating Houſes of Correction.—An Act to prevent the exceſſive Increaſe of Horſe Races; and for amending an Act made in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, intitled, An Act for the more effectual preventing of exceſſive and deceitful Gaming.—An Act for more effectually preventing the malicious Deſtruction of Collieries and Coal Works.--An Act to continue ſeveral Laws therein mentioned, for puniſhing ſuch Perſons as ſhall maliciouſly pull down or deſtroy Turnpikes for repairing Highways, or Locks, or other Works erected, for making Rivers navigable; for preventing Exactions of the Occupiers of Locks and Wears upon the River of *Thames* Weſtward, and for aſcertaining the Rates of Water Carriage upon the ſaid River, *&c.*—An Act for the Increaſe of Mariners and Seamen.—An Act for more effectually preventing fraudulent Qualifications of Perſons to vote as Freeholders in the Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament for ſuch Cities and Towns, as are Counties of themſelves.—An Act for confirming and enlarging the Powers granted by his Majeſty to the Governors and Guardians of the Hoſpital for the Maintenance of expoſed and deſerted young Children.—An Act to give further Powers to the Commiſſioners for building *Weſtminſter* Bridge.—An Act for the more effectual Maintenance and Well-keeping of *Staines* Bridge and *Egham* Cauſeway.—An Act for repairing the Road from *Duncburch* in the County of *Warwick*, to the Bottom of *Meriden* Hill in the ſame County.—An Act for repairing the Roads from the Top of *Stokencburch* Hill to *Enſlow* Bridge, and from *Wheatly* Bridge thro' the City of *Oxford*, &c.—An Act to revive, explain, and amend an Act for making the River *Medway* navigable in the Counties of *Kent* and *Suſſex*.—An Act for making more effectual two Acts for preſerving and enlarging the Harbour of *Whitehaven*, and for repairing and amending the high Roads leading to the ſaid Harbour and Town of *Whitehaven*.—An Act for cleanſing and making navigable the Channel from the Hithe at *Colcheſter* to *Wivenhoe*.—And to 11 private Bills.

After which his Majeſty was pleaſed to make the following moſt gracious Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE Zeal which you have ſhewn for the Support and Proſecution of the juſt and neceſſary War in which I am engaged, is a freſh Proof of your Concern for the Honour and Intereſt of my Crown and Kingdoms. As this great and national Undertaking is the principal Object of our Attention and Expectations, ſo the Juſtice of our Cauſe, and the Succeſs which hath hitherto attended my Arms, give us the moſt reaſonable Hopes, that, by the Continuance of the Divine Aſſiſtance, we may ſee a happy Iſſue of it.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I thank you for the effectual Supplies which you have granted me for the Service of the current Year. The beſt Return I can make, is to aſſure you, that they ſhall be duly imployed to the Purpoſes for which they were given.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have formerly recommended to you Union amongſt yourſelves, as being highly conducive to the carrying on this great Work with Honour and Advantage, and to the more ſpeedy obtaining of all poſſible Juſtice and Satisfaction from the Crown of *Spain*, for the many grie-

vous

vous Injuries ſuffer'd by my Subjects, and effectual Security for the Freedom of our Commerce and Navigation for the future. I do now earneſtly exhort you to promote and extend that Union in your reſpective Countries. Let the Support of the common Cauſe of the Nation prevail, to attain this deſirable End. Our Enemies muſt already have been made ſenſible, in ſome Degree, of the Weight of our juſt Reſentment: They ſee my Kingdoms in ſuch a Poſture of Defence, as muſt render all Attempts from them, without Encouragement from amongſt ourſelves, vain, and deſperate. They ſee the Trade and Navigation of my Subjects protected, as far as the Nature and Circumſtance of a Maritim War will poſſibly admit; and, at the ſame Time, the moſt valuable Branches of the *Spaniſh* Commerce greatly interrupted, and ſubjected to many Difficulties and Loſſes. From theſe happy Effects of my early Endeavours, and your ready Concurrence, at the firſt Entrance into the War, I cannot but hope, that the Preparations which I am now making, for carrying it on in the moſt proper Places, and in the moſt vigorous and effectual Manner, will be bleſs'd with Succeſs equal to our juſt Expectations.

Then the Lord Chancellor, by his Majeſty's Command, prorogued the Parliament to *Tueſday* the 3d of *June* next.

On *April* 30, his Grace the Duke of *Argyll* reſign'd all his Places, excepting that of Hereditary Maſter of the King's Houſhold in *Scotland*, which has a Salary of 2000*l. per Ann.* annex'd to it. So that what the Papers aſſerted of his being made Captain General, *&c.* was a Miſtake.

SATURDAY, *May* 3.

This Morning, between 3 and 4 o'Clock, Mrs. *Branch* and her Daughter, attended by the Goaler, and 5 or 6 Perſons, walk'd from *Ivelcheſter* Goal in *Somerſetſhire*, to the Place of Execution; but when they came there the Gallows was cut down, whereupon a Carpenter was immediately ſent for, who erected another, and they were both executed before 6 o'Clock, to the great Diſappointment of ſeveral Thouſand People, who came far and near to ſee a publick Example made of two Wretches that ſo much deſerv'd it. (See p. 191.)

WEDNESDAY, 7.

The 6 following Malefactors were executed at *Tyburn*, viz. *John Sawney*, (condemn'd *March* 1 laſt) *Thomas Clements*, the Butcher, *John Hide*, *John Moor*, *Joſeph Parker*, and *John Singleton*. The reſt were order'd to be tranſported for Life, except *Margaret Newell*, who, having pleaded her Belly, is to remain in *Newgate*. (See p. 147.)

THURSDAY, 8.

This Evening were ſolemnized the Eſpouſals of the Princeſs *Mary* with the Prince of *Heſſe*, when, after the Proceſſion * being come into the Chapel, and his Majeſty, the Princeſſes, and the Nobility, and Perſons of Quality and Diſtinction, being ſeated, his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* ſaid the Collect, *Prevent us*, &c. and the Lord's Prayer.

Then his Grace the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, his Majeſty's principal Secretary of State, publickly read the Procuration, ſigned by the moſt Serene Prince *William* of *Heſſe*, and the moſt Serene Prince *Frederick* of *Heſſe*; which is as follows:

NOS Fredericus Dei Gratiâ Landgravius Haſſiæ, Princeps Hersfeldiæ, Comes Cattimelibocorum, Deciorum, Zugenhayne, Niddæ, Scaumburghi, & Hanoviæ, univerſis & ſingulis Chriſti fidelibus, quos infra ſcripta tangunt, ſeu tangere poſſunt quomodolibet in futurum, Salutem. Cum poſt graves & ſerias conſultationes & tractationes, conventum, concordatum & concluſum ſit inter ſereniſſimum & potentiſſimum Principem Georgium Secundum, Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ Regem, Fidei Defenſorem, Ducem Brunſvicenſium & Luneburgenſium, ſacri Romani imperii Architheſaurarium & Principem Electorem, &c. ex unâ, & ſereniſſimum Principem Guilielmum, Landgravium Haſſiæ, Principem Hersfeldiæ, Comitem Cattimelibocorum, Deciorum, Zugenhayne, Niddæ, Schaumburghi, & Hanoviæ, &c. ex alterâ parte, divinâ favente clementiâ, quod inter nos & ſereniſſimam Principem Dominam Mariam, Filiam lectiſſimam natu quartam prædictæ Regiæ ſuæ Majeſtatis, Matrimonium verum, purum, & legitimum contrahatur, & in facie Eccleſiæ propriis perſonis ritè celebretur, quam primùm id commodò fieri poterit; & quod interim, quia nos iter in Magnam Britanniam, præter ſpem & votum, facere impediamur, Sponſalia, in debitâ juris formâ, per verba de præſenti, in Magnâ Britanniâ, per Procuratorem, noſtro nomine, celebrarentur. Et cum nos regiam ſuam Celſitudinem ſereniſſimum Principem Guilielmum Ducem Cumbriæ, Ducemque Brunſvicenſium & Luneburgenſium, &c. eâ quâ par eſt obſervantiâ, rogaverimus, ut, noſtro nomine, dicta Sponſalia contrahere velit, cui rogationi aſſentire dictus Princeps dignatus ſit; ideò nos auctoritate & conſenſu dicti ſereniſſimi Principis Guilielmi, Patris & Tutoris noſtri, per præſentes facimus, ordinamus & conſtituimus dictum ſereniſſimum Principem Guilielmum Ducem Cumbriæ, &c. noſtrum verum, indubitatum & legitimum Procuratorem ad contrahenda & celebranda, nomine noſtro, Sponſalia, per verba de præſenti, in quâcumque Eccleſiâ, capellâ, vel loco celebri, in Magnâ

* *The Order of the Proceſſion was in many Reſpects the ſame with that at the Marriage of the Princeſs Royal, which ſee in our* Magazine *for* 1734, p. 151, 152.

Britanniâ, coram publicis & pluribus perſonis ad hoc convocatis, cum dictâ ſereniſſimâ Principe Dominâ Mariâ, in tam amplis modo & formâ, ut jura eccleſiaſtica requirunt, vel exigunt; cum plena poteſtate omnia alia & ſingula faciendi, exercendi, & expediendi, quæ ad confirmanda, vel ſtabilienda dicta Sponſalia neceſſaria fuerint, ſive opportuna; promittentes nos ratum & firmum habituros quicquid dictus ſereniſſimus Princeps Dux Cumbriæ, &c. fecerit in præmiſſis. Et in Teſtimonium prædictorum, & ad majorem hujus rei confirmationem, tàm prædictus Princeps Guilielmus, Pater noſter, quam Nos, præſentibus his literis, manibus propriis ſcriptis, ſigilla noſtra fecimus apponi. Datum Caſſellis, Die Vigeſimo tertio Menſis Aprilis, Anno Milleſimo ſeptingenteſimo quadrageſimo.

Guilielmus.

Fredericus P. H.

Then the Duke of *Newcaſtle* publickly aſked his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Cumberland*, whether he accepted that Procuration? To which his Royal Highneſs anſwered, that he did accept it.

Then his Royal Highneſs the Duke took her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs *Mary* by the Right-hand; and the Duke of *Newcaſtle* read to his Royal Highneſs the following Words; his Royal Highneſs repeating the ſame after him audibly and diſtinctly.

THE moſt Serene Prince *Frederick* of *Heſſe Caſſel*, doth by me *William* Duke of *Cumberland*, duly authorized and appointed for this Purpoſe, by Letters of Procuration now read and publiſhed, take thee Princeſs *Mary* to be his wedded Wife, To have and to hold, from this Day forward, for better for worſe, for richer for poorer, in Sickneſs and in Health, to love and to cheriſh, till Death does him and you part, according to God's Holy Ordinance, and thereto he plights hee his Troth by me, by Virtue of the ſaid Letters of Procuration.

Then their Hands being withdrawn from each other, her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs *Mary* did immediately with her Right-hand take the Duke of *Cumberland* as Procurator to Prince *Frederick* of *Heſſe* by his Right-hand, and in the ſame Manner as aboveſaid, repeated the Words following:

I *MARY*, do by you *William* Duke of *Cumberland*, duly authorized and appointed for this Purpoſe, by Virtue of the Letters of Procuration now read and publiſhed, take the moſt Serene Prince *Frederick* of *Heſſe Caſſel*, to be my wedded Huſband, To have and to hold, from this Day forward, for better for worſe, for richer for poorer, in Sickneſs and in Health, to love, cheriſh, and obey, till Death me and him do part, according to God's Holy Ordinance, and thereto I give him my Troth, by you his Procurator.

Then the Duke of *Cumberland*, as Procurator to Prince *Frederick* of *Heſſe*, ſigned the Inſtrument of Contract, the Words of which ſhe had ſaid and repeated; and they mutually exchanged the ſaid Inſtruments, the ſame having been firſt atteſted by Dr. *Paul*, his Majeſty's Advocate General, and *Edward Greenly*, Eſq; his Majeſty's Procurator General, Notaries Publick.

After which, his Royal Highneſs the Duke did, in the Name of the moſt Serene Prince *Frederick* of *Heſſe*, put a Ring on the fourth Finger of the Princeſs *Mary*'s Left-hand; and in the ſame Manner as aboveſaid, repeated the Words following.

THE moſt Serene Prince *Frederick* of *Heſſe Caſſel*, by me *William* Duke of *Cumberland*, duly authorized for this Purpoſe, by Letters of Procuration now read and publiſhed, doth preſent and deliver this Ring to thee Princeſs *Mary*.

Then her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs *Mary* accepting the Ring, repeated in the ſame Manner the following Words.

I *MARY*, do accept from the moſt Serene Prince *Frederick* of *Heſſe Caſſel*, this Ring, delivered to me by you *William* Duke of *Cumberland*, his Procurator.

Then his Grace the Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* audibly pronounced the following Speech and Benediction.

IIS, quibus privatorum hominum Nuptiis, vel Sponſalibus, datur intereſſe, haud quidquam fere prius eſt, vel ſolennius, quam ut Sponſi Sponſæque Indole, Moribus, toto denique anteactæ Vitæ Decurſu, perpenſis, eorum futuræ Felicitatis Omina captent. Hæc Parentibus, hæc Amicis gratulantur; hæc aliis paſſim prædicant.

Quem morem, ſi aliàs unquam, hoc certe tempore, atque hoc loco, ſequendum monent, ſuadentque, cùm egregiæ magnanimi juvenis, quas fando accepimus, virtutes, tùm ſpectata Regiæ Virginis Modeſtia, inſignis morum Probitas, ac mite illud Ingenium, quod ſuſpicimus, quod miramur, quod ei cum aliis admodùm paucis commune eſt.

Quæ vero, quanteque felicitas eſt, quam ex his animi Virtutibus ſperare non liceat? De Corporis enim Dotibus tacemus, quanquam hæ quoque eximiæ ſint, & omnium oculos in ſe trahant. Majora nos vocant; quæ ad veræ Religionis tutamen, publicæ Libertatis defenſionem, nec hujuſce tantum Regni aut Haſſiacæ ditionis, ſed univerſæ etiam Europæ utilitatem atque ſalutem ſpectant; quibus omnibus, per hæc ſponſalia, quoad humanum ingenium aſſequi potuit, ſapienter admodùm, ac perinde feliciter (ſic enim augurari liceat) proviſum eſt.

Vobis igitur, qui læti hic adeſtis, omnibus, reliquiſque concivibus noſtris, quibus nolentibus atque invitis à ſolenni hoc Conventu abeſſe contigit, de proſperis tantarum rerum principiis, vere atque ex animo gratulamur, quibus

bus parem etiam exitum, favente Deo, non defuturum confidimus.

Tibi vero, Regum optime ac maxime, Patriæ noſtræ Pater, Decus atque Columen, gratias, quas poſſumus, maximas habemus, agimuſque, quod nihil humile ſentiens, nihil a tanto illo faſtigio alienum, ad quod te rerum omnium Arbiter, nobis ſumme benevolus, evexit, noſtræ ſaluti ſemper invigiles, nec, vel in privatâ tuâ Domo (ſiquid privatum dicere liceat, quod talis tantique Regis interſit) agi quicquam, aut ſuſcipi patiaris, niſi quod publicæ etiam Utilitati inſerviat. Deum igitur, Cœli Terræque Conditorem, ardentiſſimè precamur, ut Te nobis, Domine, diutiſſimè ſervet incolumem; ut Regiæ Tuæ Familiæ univerſæ ſemper adſit propitius; ac Vota veſtra omnia, hoderna præcipuè, ſecundet.

Quò denique, in hoc tanto illuſtrium Virorum ac Fœminarum Choro, nemo ſit, qui nobiſcum non comprecetur, vernaculo noſtro ſermone utentes,

Let us pray,

THAT God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghoſt, Three Perſons and One God, would bleſs theſe Eſpouſals; that he would make them proſperous to his Church, to theſe Kingdoms, and to the Dominions of *Heſſe*; and that he would direct them to the temporal and eternal Welfare of the two illuſtrious Perſons now eſpouſed and engaged to each other. *Amen.*

After which an Anthem was ſung. And a proper Inſtrument, atteſting that the Ceremony was perform'd in the Manner abovemention'd, was ſign'd by the following Perſons, in the Preſence of Dr. *Paul* and Mr. *Greenly*, Notaries Publick, who atteſted the ſame.—*Cathcart*, *H. Hereford*, *Ilay*, *Romney*, *Cadogan*, *Lovel*, *Will. Yonge*, *Kinnoul*, *Cha. Wager*, *Egmont*, *Lonſdale*, *Ducie*, *Dunmore*, *Marlborough*, *Malton*, *Rockingham*, *Rothes*, *Iſ. Aſaph*, *Galloway*, *H. Pelham*, *N. St. Davids*, *E. Dureſme*, *Matt. Landaff*, *J. Briſtol*, *Ric. Lich.* and *Cov.* *Loudoun*, *Cornwallis*, *Harcourt*, *Tho Oxford*, *Tho. Bangor*, *A. Dunop.* *Joſ. Roſſen.* *J. H. Alt.* *Fitzwalter*, *Holderneſſe*, *Harborough*, *Cranſtoun*, *Monſon*, *De Lawarr*, *S. Beauclerk*, V. C. *Conway*, *Brooke*, *Pembr.* and *Montg.* *Lothian*, *Cholmondeley*, *Torrington*, *Cowper*, *Gordon*, *Tho. Norwich*, *Albemarle*, *Montague*, St. *Albans*, *Rochford*, *H. Walpole*, *Jo. Cant.* *Hardwicke*, C. *Wilmington*, P. *Hervey*, C. P. S. *Dorſet*, *Grafton*, *Richmond*, *Lenox* and *Aubigny*, *Bolton*, *Eſſex*, *Tylney*, *Kingſton*, *Leeds*, *Devonſhire*, *Eſſingham*, *Portland*, *M. Gloceſter*, *Lymington*, *Fauconberg*.

The following Tranſlation of the Archbiſhop's *Latin* Speech on this Occaſion, may be agreeable to ſome of our Readers.

AT the Marriages or Eſpouſals of private Perſons, there is ſcarce any Thing more regarded, or uſual, than for thoſe who have the Favour of being preſent, to form Conjectures of the future Happineſs of the Bridegroom and Bride, from a due Conſideration of their Tempers, Manners, and paſt Courſe of Life; and upon ſuch Conjectures they not only congratulate with their Kindred and Friends, but they publiſh them to others abroad.

Which Cuſtom, if ever there was a Reaſon for it any where, we are ſurely both admoniſhed and perſuaded to follow at this Time and in this Place, not only by the eminent Virtues of the magnanimous Youth whereof we have heard by Fame, but by that Modeſty ſo conſpicuous in the Behaviour of the Royal Virgin, by her remarkable Probity, and by that ſweet Temper of hers which captivates our Love and Admiration, and in which very few equal her.

What Happineſs therefore may we not expect from theſe Virtues of the Mind? As to the Advantages of her Perſon, tho' theſe alſo are excellent, and attract the Eyes of all, we ſaw nothing. Matters of greater Importance call for our Attention; ſuch as regard the Protection of the true Religion, the Defence of publick Liberty, and the Benefit and Safety not only of this Kingdom or of the Dominion of *Heſſe*, but even of all *Europe*; for every one of which the wiſeſt, and (we may venture to foretel) the happieſt Proviſion is made by theſe Eſpouſals, that could poſſibly be obtain'd by human Wiſdom.

With all you therefore who have the Pleaſure of being here preſent, and the reſt of our Fellow-ſubjects who ſorely regret their Abſence from this ſolemn Aſſembly, we truly and heartily congratulate on the proſperous Beginning of ſuch a weighty Affair, in Confidence that by the Bleſſing of God it will not fail of as happy an Iſſue.

But to you, O King! of Monarchs the beſt and greateſt, of our Country the Father, Glory and Pillar, with the moſt grateful Hearts we render Thanks, that, without thinking it a Diminution, or foreign to that high Dignity, to which the Diſpoſer of all Things has, in his great Goodneſs to us, advanced your Majeſty, you are always watching diligently for our Safety, and that even in your private Family (if it may be allow'd to call any Thing private which concerns ſuch and ſo great a King) you don't ſuffer any Thing to be done or undertaken but what may alſo tend to the Good of the Publick. Therefore to God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, we moſt ardently pray, that he will very long preſerve you, *Sir*, in Safety for our Sakes; that he may be ever propitious to all your Royal Family, and crown all your Wiſhes, eſpecially thoſe of this Day, with Succeſs.

And laſt'y, to the End that in this ſo grand a Choir of illuſtrious Perſons of both

Sexes, every one may offer their joint Supplications, in our Mother Tongue, *Let us pray*, &c.

SATURDAY, 10.

The Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London* waited upon his Majeſty with their Compliments upon the Eſpouſals of her Royal Highneſs, when *John Strange*, Eſq; their Recorder, made the following Speech to his Majeſty.

May it pleaſe your moſt excellent Majeſty,

TO permit the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of your Great City to approach your Majeſty, with their humble and ſincere Congratulations upon the Eſpouſals of her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs *Mary* with his moſt Serene Highneſs Prince *Frederick* of *Heſſe*. This happy Event your loyal Subjects conſider as a farther Inſtance of your Majeſty's ſteady Attention to the Honour and Intereſt of your Crown and Kingdoms, and of your Care and Regard for the Proteſtant Cauſe.

The Subjects of *Great Britain* can never ſufficiently adore the Divine Providence, for thoſe numerous Pledges of their future Security, which your Majeſty and theſe Nations are ſo happily bleſſed with, and which, to all human Appearances, promiſe a laſting Continuance of your Royal Houſe: But ſuch, Sir, is to them the Importance of ſtill adding Strength to this Security, that they would ill deſerve the Bleſſings they enjoy, if they did not upon this and every ſuch Occaſion teſtify, with the utmoſt Gratitude, their unfeigned and moſt dutiful Rejoicings. And what, Sir, is it that *Great Britain* may not promiſe herſelf from the glorious Proſpect that is now before her? Your Majeſty's Arms, ſo remarkably ſucceſsful in vindicating the Rights of *Great Britain*; and your Royal Progeny going forth, the brighteſt Examples of a Mind formed by Religion and Virtue, and of an Education received upon the true Principles of Liberty.

This, great Sir, is undoubtedly owing to the illuſtrious Pattern your Majeſty and your late Royal Conſort ſet before them; and may God grant, that your Royal Houſe may for ever ſupply the great Proteſtant Families of *Europe* with ſuch invaluable Bleſſings, as are now ſecured to his moſt Serene Highneſs the Prince of *Heſſe*.

To which his Majeſty return'd this moſt gracious Anſwer,

I return you my Thanks for your dutiful Congratulations upon the Eſpouſals of my Daughter with the Prince of Heſſe. *You may always depend upon my Favour and Protection.*

They all had the Honour to kiſs his Majeſty's Hand.

They afterwards waited upon the Princeſs *Mary*, when the Recorder made the following Speech to her Royal Highneſs,

May it pleaſe your Royal Highneſs,

THE Lord Mayor and Aldermen of his Majeſty's Great City beg Leave to expreſs the Joy they feel upon your Royal Highneſs's Eſpouſals with his moſt Serene Highneſs Prince *Frederick* of *Heſſe*: This Alliance ſo wiſely calculated for the further Security of the Proteſtant Intereſt, cannot fail to excite in his Majeſty's faithful Subjects, the humbleſt Acknowledgments to the Divine Providence, and the moſt grateful Senſe of his Majeſty's Goodneſs.

Your Royal Highneſs is now going to meet a Prince of a moſt illuſtrious Houſe, whoſe Anceſtors have worn both the Imperial and Royal Diadem, and who, to all this, can add the Luſtre of the higheſt perſonal Accompliſhments; a Prince, who muſt and will own, that it is to *Great Britain* he is indebted for his future Felicity, and who is now impatiently waiting to receive that greateſt of earthly Bleſſings, a Conſort emulating the Virtues of her Royal Parents.

Permit theſe, Madam, to expreſs their firm Aſſurance, that in the Midſt of all your Greatneſs your Royal Highneſs will never forget this the Land of your Nativity: And though *Great Britain* is thus by Degrees deprived of her Daughters, yet it will be her Conſolation to ſee them ſo deſervedly placed at the Head of the moſt conſiderable Proteſtant Families in *Europe*.

We moſt earneſtly implore the Giver of all good Gifts to bleſs your Royal Highneſs with a numerous Offſpring, and his moſt Serene Highneſs and them with the long Enjoyment of ſo ineſtimable a Treaſure, as his Majeſty has now beſtowed upon them.

To which her Royal Highneſs gave the following Anſwer.

I am very thankful to you for your Congratulations upon this Occaſion. You may be aſſured of my ſincereſt Wiſhes for the Welfare and Proſperity of the City of London.

They had likewiſe the Honour to kiſs her Royal Highneſs's Hand.

MONDAY, 12.

His Majeſty in Council declaring his Intention of going out of the Kingdom for a ſhort Time, was pleaſed to nominate the following Perſons to be Lords Juſtices during his Abſence, *viz.* Archbp. of *Canterbury*, Lord *Hardwicke* Ld. Chancellor, Earl of *Wilmington*, Lord *Hervey*; Dukes of *Dorſet*, *Graſton*, *Richmond*, *Bolton*, *Devonſhire*, *Montagu*, and *Newcaſtle*; Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl of *Ilay*, Lord *Harrington*, Sir *Robert Walpole*, and Sir *Charles Wager*.

His Majeſty's Sl op the *Swift*, commanded by Captain *Michell*, arrived this Day at *Plymouth*; from whence the Captain wrote, that he came from *Oporto* the 29th paſt, where he learnt that 9 *Spaniſh* Men of War and 3 Frigates from *Cadiz* arrived the 16th of *April* at

at *Ferrol*, where were 9 more *Spaniſh* Men of War: That on the 2d Inſtant he met Vice-Admiral *Balchen* about 16 Leagues from Cape *Finiſterre*, to whom he gave an Account of the ſaid 18 *Spaniſh* Men of War and 3 Frigates being in the Harbour of *Ferrol*. The Vice-Admiral having kept him a few Hours, ſent Letters by him, adviſing, that upon this Intelligence he propoſed to keep cruizing between Cape *Finiſterre* and *Uſhant*, with the Squadron of his Majeſty's Ships under his Command, conſiſting of the *Ruſſel*, *Norfolk*, *Graſton*, *Dunkirk*, *Deptford*, and *Severn*.

TUESDAY, 13.

This Morning about 6 o'Clock his Majeſty left St. *James*'s, paſſed in his Barge from *Whitehall* to *Lambeth*, and from thence proceeded by Coach to *Graveſend*, in order to embark for *Holland*.

WEDNESDAY, 14.

The Governors and Guardians of the Hoſpital for the Maintenance and Education of expoſed and deſerted Children, came to an unanimous Reſolution, that ſixty ſuch Children be taken in, with proper Officers, Nurſes, and Servants, as ſoon as conveniently may be; and referred it to their Committee to conſider of carrying their ſaid Reſolution into Execution.

THURSDAY, 15.

Came on at *Brentford* the Election of a Knight of the Shire for the County of *Middleſex*, in the room of Sir *Francis Child*, Knt. deceaſed: When the Numbers upon cloſing the Poll were,

For Sir *Hugh Smithſon*, Bart.	382
Henry Barker, Eſq;	147
Majority	235

Whereupon Sir *Hugh Smithſon*, Bart. was declared duly elected. A handſome Entertainment was provided at the *Red-Lion* Inn by Sir *Hugh* for his Friends; and after Dinner, the following Paper, ſigned by the Gentlemen and Freeholders preſent, was delivered to Mr. *Pulteney* and Sir *Hugh Smithſon*.

To William Pulteney, *Eſq*; *and Sir* Hugh Smithſon, *Bart. Repreſentatives in Parliament for the County of* Middleſex.

WE the Freeholders of the County of *Middleſex*, being met together for the Purpoſe of a new Election, take this Opportunity of recommending to you, our worthy Repreſentatives, a Bill for the reducing and limiting the Number of Placemen, who ſhall hereafter be admitted to ſit in the Houſe of Commons; which Bill, tho' hitherto it has unfortunately miſcarried, we cannot but apprehend to be of the utmoſt Importance to the Independency of Parliament, and therefore earneſtly beſeech and require you, to uſe your utmoſt Endeavours, to procure ſo good and neceſſary a Law, being firmly perſuaded, that nothing will contribute more effectually to the healing our preſent unhappy Diviſions, or to the extinguiſhing of all Fears or Jealouſies of any Attempts againſt our moſt excellent Conſtitution; or be, at this Time, more likely to ſtrengthen his Majeſty's Hands, by conciliating to him the Affections and Confidence of all his People.

As what we thus zealouſly recommend to your Care is manifeſtly the Deſire of all good Men, and ſincere Friends to the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, we make no Doubt of your chearful Concurrence and ready Aſſiſtance therein, hoping rather to ſee this good Work, ſo neceſſary to the Safety, Happineſs, and Proſperity of this Conſtitution, effected by the Prudence of Parliament, than that the People ſhould be forced to the Neceſſity of declaring againſt all Placemen at the enſuing Elections.

After having unanimouſly voted the foregoing Inſtructions, the Freeholders then preſent, with the ſame Unanimity, return'd their Thanks to Mr. *Pulteney* for his Conduct on all Occaſions, and more eſpecially in this Particular.

Then Mr. *Pulteney* and Sir *Hugh Smithſon* offer'd their Service to ſtand as Candidates to repreſent the County at the next general Election, which was unanimouſly approv'd of.

FRIDAY, 16.

Was held a general Court of the Governors of *Chriſt*'s-Hoſpital, for the Election of a Preſident, in the Room of Sir *Francis Child*, Knt. deceas'd, when Sir *John Barnard* was unanimouſly choſen. The ſame Day 1000 *l.* left by Sir *Francis Child* to the ſaid Hoſpital, was paid into the Treaſury of the ſaid Hoſpital.

MONDAY, 19.

His Majeſty's Royal Commiſſion paſſed the great Seal, to ordain, direct, and appoint Courts of Judicature of civil and criminal Cauſes within the Town of *Gibraltar*.

Extract of a Letter from Capt. Mackey, *on board the* Neſbit, *off the* Start, *May* 18, 1740.

We ſailed from *Gibraltar*, *April* 21, and met with various Winds, till we came into the Latitude of 46 and 47, when the Winds came to Eaſtward and Northward, veering and hauling, which oblig'd us to ſtand ſometimes to the Weſtward and ſometimes to the Northward for ſeveral Days, till we got into the Latitude of 48 : 34, about 50 Leagues to the Weſtward of *Uſhant*; when on the 10th Inſtant, the St. *Sebaſtian Spaniſh* Privateer, of 18 Guns, all 6 Pounders, and 150 Men, bore down upon us with *Engliſh* Colours. We, on Sight of her, (as we uſed to do on Sight of any Veſſel) got every Thing ready. When ſhe came pretty near us, the Gunner,

A PLAN *of the* TOWN *and* HARBOUR *of* MAHON, *&c.*

Explanation of the PLAN of the Town and Harbour of MAHON, St. PHILIP's CASTLE, *&c.* — A *St.* Stephen's *Cove.* — a *St.* Philip's *Caſtle.* — b Charles *Fort.* — C *Grand Store-houſe.* — D *St.* Philip's *Town.* — E E *New Road.* — F Sta. Gratia. — G Engliſh *Cove.* — H H *Town of* Mahon. — I Franciſcan *Convent.* — K Carmelite *Convent.* — L *The Nunnery.* — M M *The Harbour.* — N N *Admiral* Haddock's *Squadron ſailing into the Harbour, in the Year* 1738. — O *Signal Houſe.* — P Phillipet. — Q Phillipet *Cove.* — R Quarantine *Iſland.* — S Bloody *Iſland.* — T *Naval Hoſpital.* — V *St.* Anthony. — W *Maſt Houſe.*

The Town of MAHON *is at the South-Eaſt End of the Iſland of* MINORCA: *It lies in the Lat. of near* 40 *Deg. North, and Long. near* 5 *Deg. Weſt*; *bears from* Gibraltar *E. N. E. diſtant about* 630 *Miles. The whole Iſland was taken in* Sept. 1708, *by Major-General* Stanhope: *Its Length is about* 30 *Miles, and greateſt Breadth about* 14. *The chief City is* Cittadela, *at the North-Weſt End of it: But the Place of greateſt Strength is St.* Philip's *Caſtle, a ſquare Fort of* 4 *whole Baſtions, which tho' but ſmall, (not being above* 400 *Feet on each Front,) yet the many Out-works cut out of the Rock on which 'tis ſituate, and made by the* Engliſh, *render it a Fortreſs of great Strength. The Harbour is one of the ſafeſt and moſt commodious in the whole* Mediterranean, *and will contain a great Number of Ships, being about* 3 *Miles in Length, and about half a Mile in Breadth.*

Gunner, who was taken by the ſame Privateer laſt Year, aſſured us it was ſhe. When ſhe came within Gun-ſhot, ſhe ſtruck her *Engliſh* and hoiſted her *Spaniſh* Colours, and fired her great Guns and ſmall Arms upon us with great Fury; we all lay cloſe, till ſhe came along Side of us, when we forced a whole Broadſide into her, which ſhe little expected. She return'd it Broadſide and her ſmall Arms, as we did, with the Addition of 3 *Engliſh* Huzza's: This, with our conſtant firing great and ſmall Guns, oblig'd her to ſheer off a little, and decreaſe her firing. Shortly after this he ſet all his Sails, and made off as faſt as he could: We crowded after her, and rak'd her Backſide merrily, every Body on board being full of Spirits. We ſhould certainly have taken her, had we not been ſo deeply loaded. The Heat of our Engagement laſted about 3 Glaſſes, or an Hour and half. He has tickled our Sides, and maul'd our Rigging, but I am confident his are much more pepper'd. Thank God we had none killed, but 4 are wounded with the Splinters. Our People who play'd the Blunderbuſſes from the Top, could perceive their Men fall thick on the Diſcharge of our double Round and Partridge. We ſhot away his Colours, I wiſh it had been his Maſt, that we might have ſhewn the St. *Sebaſtian*'s the Way to *London*, and taught him better Manners for the many Inſults he has been guilty of.

The following is a Liſt of the Admirals in his Majeſty's Fleet, together with the particular Times when made, *viz.*

Sir *John Norris* Admiral of the Red	1733
Sir *Charles Wager* Adm. of the White	1733
Ph. Cavendiſh, Eſq; Adm. of the Blue	1735
John Balchin, Eſq; Vice-Ad. of the Red	1735
Cha. Stewart, Eſq; Vice of the White	1735
Earl of *Granard* Vice of the Blue	1735
Edw. Vernon, Eſq; ditto	1739
N. Haddock, Eſq; Rear-Ad. of the Red	1735
Sir *Tancr. Robinſon* Rear of the White	1739
Sir *Chaloner Ogle* Rear of the Blue	1739

TUESDAY, 20.

Came on before the Lord Chief Baron *Cummyns*, in the Court of Exchequer, a Cauſe wherein the King was Plaintiff, and Mr. *Thomas Blackman*, a Farmer near *Battle* in *Suſſex*, Defendant, on an Information exhibited againſt him for harbouring and concealing in his Barn in *Jan.* 1736 upwards of 2600 lb. of Tea, knowing the Duty thereof was not paid, being contrary to Act of Parliament; and after hearing Council and examining ſeveral Witneſſes on both Sides, a Verdict was given for the Crown, with 800*l.* Damages, being the ſingle Duty only.

The *Utrecht Gazette* gives us the following Anſwer made the 6th Inſtant, by his Grace the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, to M. *Comy*'s Letter of *Feb.* 10, concerning his *Sicilian* Majeſty's Neutrality.

SIR, I laid your Letter before the King, together with the Articles for a Treaty of Neutrality, between the reſpective Kingdoms and Subjects of his Majeſty, and the King of the two *Sicilies*. His Majeſty, having well conſidered the Matter, has order'd me to let you know, for the Information of the King your Maſter, that his Majeſty has no Intention to break the good Underſtanding which ſubſiſts between him and the King of the two *Sicilies*; but that in the preſent Conjuncture, his Majeſty does not think it neceſſary to make a Treaty of Neutrality for that Purpoſe.

As his Majeſty is perſuaded, that the King your Maſter will not ſuffer his Majeſty's Subjects to be moleſted in his Dominions, nor within the Limits of his Ports, his *Sicilian* Majeſty may be aſſured, that the King's Admirals and Sea-Officers have the ſtricteſt Orders not to diſturb any Veſſels or Effects belonging to his *Sicilian* Majeſty, to his Subjects, or to any other neutral Power, nor to infringe in any Manner whatſoever the Neutrality of his *Sicilian* Majeſty's Ports.

I am, &c.

SATURDAY, 24.

The Seſſions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when the 3 following receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz. John Clarke*, for a Robbery on the High-

way;

way; *Anne Armſtrong*, for ſtealing a ſilver Tankard; and *Arthur Bethell*, for a Street Robbery.—Mr. *Rochfort Fitzgerald* was tried for forging a Draught on Meſſ. *Knight* and *Shuttleworth*, and acquitted.—Two Men are taken up for robbing the Mail.

SUNDAY, 25.

A Meſſenger arrived at St. *James*'s with an Account of his Majeſty's ſafe landing at *Helvoetſluys* on *Saturday* Morning in good Health, whence he immediately ſet out for *Hanover*. He ſet ſail from *Sheerneſs* on *Thurſday*, having been detained there till then by contrary Winds.

Whitehall, May 26. On the 24th Inſtant came in Letters from Vice-Admiral *Vernon*, dated *Feb.* 25. giving an Account that the *Burford* having in returning from a Cruize, run upon a Rock off *Point Canoa*, two Leagues from the Shore, was found when ſhe came into *Port-Royal* ſo very leaky, that there was an abſolute Neceſſity for her being careen'd before ſhe can put to Sea again. The Admiral therefore hoiſted his Flag in the *Strafford*, for the Expedition he has now in Hand; and having cauſed the reſt of the Squadron he takes with him to be repaired, victualled, and ſtored, with all the Diligence that could be uſed, he put out of *Port-Royal*, and being got out of the Harbour, dates his Letters of the 25th of *Feb.* from on board the *Strafford* at Sea. On *Feb.* 21. Capt. *Wyndham*, in the *Greenwich*, returned to *Port-Royal* from a Cruize, in which he had chaſed aſhore and deſtroyed, juſt to the Leeward of the Port of St. *Jago*, the *Spaniſh* Brigantine Privateer that was the *South-Sea* Company's, commanded by Captain *Willis*, and ſeized in that Port, and fitted out for a Privateer, and might have been very pernicious to our Trade if ſhe had not been timely deſtroyed; ſhe was towing in an *Engliſh* Brigantine that had left Company with the Convoy, but was brought ſafe into *Port-Royal* by the *Greenwich*.

Sir *Nathaniel Curzon* has procured the Grant of a Market, to be held thrice a Week near *May-Fair*.

The following Clauſes are in the Act to reſtrain exceſſive Horſe-Racing, *viz.* That after *June* 24, 1740. no Perſon ſhall ſtart or run any Horſe, Mare or Gelding, but what is his own Property, and to enter but one at a Time for the ſame Plate, on Penalty of forfeiting ſuch Horſe, *&c.* That no Plate be run for under 50*l.* Value, on the Penalty of 200*l.* Five-year-old Horſes to carry 10 Stone, ſix Years old 11 Stone, and 7 Years old 12 Stone: Any Horſe, Mare, or Gelding carrying leſs Weight, to be forfeited; and the Perſon or Perſons entering ſuch Horſe, *&c.* to forfeit 200*l.* Races to be begun and ended in one Day. Matches to be run at *Newmarket* and *Black-Hambleton* only, and for not leſs than 50*l.* Value, under the Penalty of 200*l.* One half of the Penalties to the Informer, and the other to the Poor of the Pariſh, except in *Somerſetſhire*, where one half is to be given to the Hoſpital at *Bath*.

The *Spaniſh* Man of War, taken by the *Orford*, *Kent* and *Lenox* (as we gave an Account in our laſt) has been brought by the Lord *Auguſtus Fitzroy* to *Portſmouth*. She is called the *Princeſſa*; in her Crew were a great Number of *Iriſhmen*; the firſt Lieutenant was alſo an *Iriſhman*, who was the chief Cauſe of maintaining ſo long and deſperate an Engagement, the Commander being for ſtriking long before. The Dimenſions of this formidable Ship are as follows, *viz.* Breadth by the Beam 50 Foot 4 Inches, which is 4 Inches broader than our firſt Rates; 152 Foot by the Keel, which is 2 Foot longer than our firſt Rates; 166 Foot 3 Inches on the Gun-Deck; and draws 26 Foot Water abaft, and 23 and a half before, which is a great deal more than our firſt Rates draw.

Mr. *Charles Drew* (of whoſe Trial and Execution we gave an Account in our laſt, p. 193, 195) in a Paper he left with the High Sheriff, confeſſed, that he had agreed to ſettle 100*l.* a Year upon *Humphreys*, if he would kill his Father: That *Humphreys* accepting the Propoſal, they went together, at the Time mentioned in the Trial, with a Gun loaded with Slugs; but when they came near his Father's Houſe, *Humphreys*'s Heart failed him; upon which he (*Drew*) took the Gun out of his Hand, knocked at his Father's Door, and when he opened it, ſhot him dead. ——The King, in Compaſſion to the Mother and 4 Siſters of the Criminal, remitted his Right to the Eſtate forfeited on his Conviction, valued at 50 or 60,000*l.*

We had very uncommon Weather at the Beginning of this Month. It has continued indeed very cold for the Seaſon ever ſince the Breaking of the late great Froſt: But the latter End of *April* it ſnow'd on ſeveral Days, and on *Sunday* the 4th of this Month, in the Night, a great Quantity of Snow fell, ſo that it lay ſome Feet deep in ſeveral Places under the Hills; and almoſt all that Week continued exceſſive cold, with Hail, Snow, and Sleet, accompanied alſo with ſome Thunder and Lightning. The late hard Winter, and this backward Summer, very much inhanced the Price of Proviſions, Bread and Meat having riſen to almoſt double the Price they were at before.

MARRIAGES.

EARL of *Murray*, to Lady *Margaret Weemyſs*, Siſter to the Earl of *Weemyſs*.—*Matthew Lamb*, of *Red-Lion-Square*, Eſq; to Miſs *Coke*.—Cornet *Congreve*, to Miſs *Handaſyde*.—*Thomas Hill*, Eſq; to Miſs *Noell*.—*Wm. Chapple*, Eſq; to Miſs *Reynolds*.—Sir *Jacob Aſtley*, of *Melton-Conſtable* in *Norfolk*, Bart. to

to Mrs. *Page* of *Norwich*, Relict of *Greſham Page*, of *Saxthorpe* in the ſame County, Eſq; and Daughter of *Iſaac Watlington*, Eſq; formerly Member of Parliament for *Cambridge*.—*John Sly*, of *Standgrownd* in *Huntingdonſhire*, Eſq; to Mrs. *Bevill*.—*John Taylor*, of *Eaſt-Sheen*, Eſq; to Miſs *Fogg*, Niece to Sir *Robert Godſchall*.—Hon. and Rev. Mr. *Dawney*, Son to the Lord Viſc. *Downe*, to the eldeſt Daughter of Sir *Tho. D'Aeth*, Bart.—*John Comyns*, Eſq; Nephew to the Lord Chief Baron *Comyns*, to Miſs *Hallet*.—Hon. Mr. *Yorke*, Son and Heir to the Lord Chancellor, to the Hon. Miſs *Campbell*, only Daughter to the Lord Viſc. *Glenorchy*.—Lord Viſc. *Primroſe*, to Miſs *Drelincourt*.

DEATHS.

AT *Bruſſels*, the Marquiſs of *Deveniſh*, a Native of *Ireland*, and Governor of *Courtray* in *Flanders*.—*John Elwood*, L. L. D. Vice-Provoſt, and one of the Repreſentatives in Parliament for *Trinity-College*, *Dublin*.—Rev. *Edw. Maynard*, D. D. Prebendary of *Litchfield*, and Rector of *Boddington* in *Northamptonſhire*.—Mr. *Thomas Haſelden*, Maſter of the Royal Academy at *Portſmouth*, and F. R. S. well ſkill'd in the Mathematicks.—Hon. *Edward Walpole*, of *Dunſtan* in *Lincolnſhire*, Eſq; a *Roman* Catholick Gentleman of that ancient Family.—Mr. *Lund*, Senior Bridge-Maſter, a Place in the Choice of the Liverymen of *London*.—Rev. *Francis Anneſley*, L. L. D. Rector of *Winwick* in *Lancaſhire*, reckon'd the beſt Living in *England*.—At his Houſe in *Bedford-Row*, *Henry Bendiſh*, Eſq; of *Chinkford* in *Eſſex*.—*Denham Hammond*, Eſq; Comptroller of the City of *London*, a Place worth 3600 *l.* two Thirds of which belong to the Lord Mayor, and one Third to the City.—Lieut. Col. *Wyvill*, of the Royal Regiment of Horſe-Guards Blue, lately commanded by the Duke of *Argyll*.—*Davis Davenport*, Eſq; a Gentleman of a good Eſtate in *Cheſhire*.—*William Moyle*, Eſq; Nephew to the late Lieut. General *Moyle*.—At *Highgate*, Mr. *Edwin Belk*, a *Kentiſh* Gentleman, commonly called the Pilgrim, who for ſome Years paſt had retired from the World, and ſpent almoſt his whole Time in Acts of Piety and Charity.—Dr. *John Inglis*, Aſſiſtant-Maſter of the Ceremonies to his Majeſty, and formerly Phyſician in Ordinary to King *William*, and to Queen *Anne*.—Rev. Mr. *Tidcombe*, an eminent Diſſenting Miniſter of *Salters-Hall*.—At his Lodgings at *Cambray*-Houſe, of a lingering Indiſpoſition, Mr. *Ephraim Chambers*, of *Gray's-Inn*, Author of the famous Dictionary, entitled *Cyclopædia*. 'Tis ſaid, that amongſt his Papers was found an Epitaph intended for his Tomb-ſtone, of his own Hand writing, alluding to this Work, viz.

Multis pervulgatus,
Paucis notus,
Qui vitam inter lucem & umbram,
Nec eruditus, nec idiota,
Literis deditus, tranſegit; ſed ut homo,
Qui humani nihil a ſe alienum putat,
Vita ſimul & laboribus functus,
Hic requieſcere voluit.

EPHRAIM CHAMBERS.

He was buried in the Cloyſters in *Weſtminſter Abbey*.—At St. *Albans*, *Joſhua Pembroke*, Eſq; Barriſter at Law.—Mr. *Perrira*, an eminent *Portugueſe Jew* Merchant, immenſly rich.—Hon. —— *Cecil*, Eſq; Brother to the Earl of *Saliſbury*, at *Aix-la-Chapelle*.—*Brook Bridges*, Eſq; aged near 80, in *Hatton-Garden*.—Rev. Dr. *Hutchinſon*, Miniſter of the Chapel of Eaſe at *Hammerſmith*.—Mr. *Penkethman*, a celebrated Comedian.—Rt. Hon. Lord *Dudley* and *Ward*.—Mr. *Humphry Hill*, one of the People call'd Quakers, an eminent Merchant.—Mr. *Limbury*, an eminent Attorney.—Rev. Dr. *Harris*, an eminent Diſſenting Miniſter.—Rt. Rev. Dr. *Mills*, Biſhop of *Waterford* and *Liſmore* in *Ireland*, the oldeſt Biſhop in the King's Dominions, except the Biſhop of *Worceſter*.—*Baltzar Lyell*, Eſq; one of the Directors of the *E. India* Comp.—Rev. Dr. *Tho. Bindon*, Dean of *Limerick*.—Rev. Mr. *White Kennet*, Son of the late Biſhop of *Peterborough*, Rector of *Burton Coggles*, and Prebendary in the Cathedrals of St. *Paul*, *Lincoln*, and *Peterborough*.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

WILLIAM *Knowler*, L. L. D. to the Rectory of *Boddington* in *Northamptonſhire*, void by the Death of Dr. *Maynard*.—Mr. *Wilkinſon*, to the Rectory of St. *Martin's* in *Leiceſter*, void by the Death of Mr. *Carte*.—Mr. *Freeman*, to the Living of *Rackheath the Greater* and *Leſſer*, in *Norfolk*.—*Matthew Bucks*, M. A. to the Rectory of *Airmthorpe*, alias *Airnethorpe*, in *Yorkſhire*.—Rt. Rev. Dr. *Matthias Mawſon*, tranſlated to the See of *Chicheſter*, in the Room of Dr. *Hare*, deceaſed.—Rev. *John Gilbert*, L. L. D. made Biſhop of *Landaff*, in the Room of Dr. *Mawſon*.—Rt. Rev. Dr. *Edward Synge*, tranſlated to the See of *Elphin* in *Ireland*, in the Room of Dr. *Howard*, deceaſed.—Rev. *George Stone*, M. A. Dean of *Londonderry*, made Biſhop of *Leighlin* and *Ferns*, in the Room of Dr. *Synge*.—Dr. *Joſeph Butler*, Biſhop of *Briſtol*, made Dean of St. *Paul's*, in the Room of Biſhop *Hare*, deceaſed.—Dr. *Alured Clark*, made Dean of *Exeter*, in the Room of Dr. *Gilbert*, now Biſhop of *Landaff*.—Mr. *Smalbroke*, Son to the Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, made a Prebendary of *Litchfield*, in the Room of Dr. *Maynard*, deceaſed.—*Nicholas Richards*, M. A. preſented to the Rectory of St. *Ive* in *Cornwall*.—Mr. *Harper*, to the Rectory of *Barwick* in *Elmett* in *Yorkſhire*, void by the Death

of Dr. *Felton*.—Mr. *Rogers*, to the Rectory of *Calſton* in *Wiltſhire*.—*George Henry Brook*, M. A. to the Rectory of *Hadſtock* in *Eſſex*.—Mr. *Samuel Salter*, to the Rectory of *Burton Coggles* in *Lincolnſhire*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil and Military*.

EARL of *Hyndford* appointed this Year his Majeſty's High Commiſſioner to the General Aſſembly of the Church of *Scotland*.—*Horatio Mann*, Eſq; Reſident to the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*.—Viſcount *Louſdale*, made Lord Lieutenant of *Weſtmorland* and *Cumberland*.—Duke of *Montagu*, Maſter General of the Ordnance, and Col. of the Queen's Regiment of Horſe.—Duke of *Bolton*, Capt. of the Band of Gentlemen Penſioners.—Earl of *Hertford*, Col. of his Majeſty's own Royal Reg. of Horſe Guards.—Lord *Cornwallis*, Conſtable of the Tower of *London*, and Lord Lieut. of the Tower Hamlets.—Earl of *Jerſey*, Chief Juſtice in *Eyre* on this Side *Trent*.—Duke of *Marlborough*, Capt. and Col. of the 2d Troop of Horſe Guards.—Major Gen. *Hawley*, Col. of the Reg. of Dragoons lately commanded by the Duke of *Marlborough*.—Gen. *Whetham*, Governor of *Berwick upon Tweed*.—Lieut. Gen. *Honywood*, Governor of *Portſmouth*.—Lieut. Gen. *Dormer*, Governor of *Hull*.—Sir *Robert Rich*, Bart. Governor of *Chelſea* Hoſpital.—The King conferred the Honour of Knighthood on *Dudley Ryder*, Eſq; Attorney General, and on *John Strange*, Eſq; Sollicitor General.

PERSONS *declar'd Bankrupts*.

ROB. Player, of *Trigg ſtairs*, Lighterman.—*Rob. Winder*, of *Weſtham*, *Eſſex*, Callicoe Printer.—*Benj. Skinner* the Elder, of the Pariſh of *Speldhurſt*, *Kent*. Brewer.—*Walter Nynn*, of *Graveſend*, Baker.—*David Avery*, of *London*, Merchant.—*Rich. Nicholſon*, late of St. *James*'s, *Weſtminſter*, Carpenter and Builder.—*John Kipling*, of *Biſhopſgate-ſtreet*, Merchant and Haberdaſher of Small Wares.—*Lancelott Green*, late of *Botolph-lane*, Chapman and Merchant.—*Rone Baudoloni*, of *Panton-ſtreet*, Diſtiller.—*Edw. Edwards*, of *Fleet-ſtreet*, Victualler.—*Cha. Fowler*, of *Iſlington*, Apothecary.—*Joſeph Jones Lloyd*, of *Newgate-ſtreet*, Worſted-man.—*Rich. Scott*, of *Finch-lane*, Warehouſeman.—*James Dryer*, late of *Briſtol*, Warehouſeman.—*Edm. Drinkwater*, of *Bow-lane*, Oylman.—*John Perry*, of St. *Luke*, *Middleſex*, Butcher and Saleſman.—*Will. Smith*, late of *Briſtol*, Diſtiller.—*Tho. Rolph*, of *Billericay* in *Eſſex*, Collar-Maker.—*Matt. Metcalf*, of *Roſemary-lane*, Saleſman.—*John Calcott*, late of the *Three Tun* Tavern at *Holborn*-Bridge, Vintner.—*Peter Seager*, of *Hounſlow*, Innholder.—*Patrick Ruſſell*, of *Cannon-ſtreet*, Stationer.—*John Phillips*, late of *Camberwell*, Gardener.—*Jer. Roobard*, late of *Wooborn*, Grocer and Tallow-Chandler.—*James Cole*, of *Harwich*, Mercer.—*Rich. Broom*, of St. *Paul*'s, *Shadwell*, Oylman.—*John White*, of St. *Martin*'s *in the Fields*, Silverſmith.—*John Holl*, of *Ludham*, in *Norfolk*, Merchant-Taylor.—*Ch. Armſtead*, late of *Daintry*, Grocer and Diſtiller.—*Samuel Thornton*, of *Edmonton*, Haberdaſher.—*Will. Biddle*, of St. *Clement*'s *Danes*, Vintner.—*Rich. Archer* the Elder, of *Dartford*, Paper-maker.—*Tho. King*, of *Rygate*, Chapman.—*Joſeph Rogers*, late of *Warwick*, Linen-draper.—*William Bird*, of *Fleet-ſtreet*, Vintner.—*Jacob de Jacob Nunes Henriques*, late of *Buckingham-ſtreet* near *York Buildings*, Merchant.—*Tho. Briggs*, of St. *Martin*'s *in the Fields*, Painter.—*Sam. Proctor*, of *Newcaſtle* in *Staffordſhire*, Mercer.—*Mich. Stonnel*, of St. *James*'s, *Weſtminſter*, Sadler.—*James Linney*, of St. *Michael*'s-*Alley*, Warehouſeman.—*John Dalton*, of St. *Andrew*'s, *Holborn*, Brewer.—*John Yeats* and *Will. Clark*, of St. *Saviour*'s, *Southwark*, Feltmakers.—*Will. Dealtry* the Elder, of *Gainſborough*, Merchant.—*Joſeph Middleton*, late of *Borough-Bridge*, Grocer.—*John Unwin*, of *Great Tower-ſtreet*, Joyner.—*James Wood*, late of St. *Saviour*'s *Southwark*, Baker.—*George Hamond*, late of *Southampton*, Brewer.—*William Clutterbuck*, late of *Milk-ſtreet*, Linen-draper.—*Samuel Pickering*, of the Pariſh of St. *Bride*'s, Mercer.—*Henry Harries*, late of *Trefnanney* in *Montgomeryſhire*, Tanner.

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Apr.* 22. to *May* 27.

Chriſtned	Males 741	Females 711	1452
Buried	Males 1964	Females 2027	3991
Died under 2 Years old			1522
Between 2 and 5			438
5	10		135
10	20		137
20	30		259
30	40		313
40	50		338
50	60		295
60	70		225
70	80		220
80	90		96
90 and upwards			13

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	30	38	*Peaſe*	28	32
Rye	13	19	*H. Peaſe*	16	18
Barley	14	18	*H. Beans*	17	22
Oats	12	14	*B. Malt*	16	18
Tares	19	22	*P. Malt*	20	22

FROM

FROM *Spain* we have an Account, that Count *de Glimes*, Governor-General of *Catalonia*, had ſent from *Barcelona* five Ships, deſigned for *Majorca*, with ſome Officers of Diſtinction, and ſeveral Companies of Soldiers; but that in their Paſſage they were met with by two or three of our Frigates belonging to Admiral *Haddock*'s Squadron; and that after a ſmart Engagement, in which the *Spaniards* had 70 Men killed, and many wounded, four of their Ships got back, two to *Terragona*, and two to an adjacent Port, but the fifth was taken and carried into *Port Mahon*. They ſay the Marquiſs *de la Mina*'s Brother-in-Law is among the Dead, and that the Count *d'Aitres*, a Knight of *Malta*, is taken Priſoner, with ſeveral other Officers, and 60 private Men. This News is confirm'd from *Port Mahon*, with theſe further Particulars, That the *Spaniſh* Ship was loaded with Ammunition and warlike Stores, and that there was on board of her a Colonel, four Captains, a Lieutenant, two Enſigns, two Cadets, three Serjeants, 26 Soldiers, 8 Servants, ſix Women and a Boy, and 14 or 15 Sailers, with freſh Proviſions, ſome Money, and Cloaths and Accoutrements for the Land Forces; and that the Colonel, whoſe Baggage, Plate, *&c.* were reckoned worth 7 or 800 *l.* had kiſſed the Queen of *Spain*'s Hand, before he left *Madrid*, for the Government of *Port Mahon*, where he now happens to be a Priſoner.

As the King of *Spain*'s Treaſures cannot now ſo conveniently be brought from the *Weſt-Indies*, they are contriving ſeveral new Ways for raiſing Money in that Kingdom. His Catholick Majeſty has already ſigned an Edict for laying a Poll-Tax upon every one of his Subjects; and he has demanded a Loan of *a Million* of Piaſtres from the College of Commerce at *Cadiz*; but that College does not ſeem inclined to comply with his Majeſty's Demand. Among other Projects, there is one very extraordinary, which is, to monopolize all the Wool in that Kingdom, by making the King Proprietor of all the Sheep. If this Project takes Effect, the King of *Spain* may properly be called the chief Shepherd of his Kingdom; but it is probable his Flock of Sheep will be as ill taken Care of, as his Flock of Subjects, who are now, by a foreign Influence, engaged in a War with this Nation, which, of all others, they ought, even according to their own Proverb, to avoid having any Diſpute with.

From *Naples* we hear, that on *Feb.* 24. in the Evening, a violent Shock of an Earthquake was felt at *Salemi*, a Town not far from *Palermo*. Some Capuchins of that Place, at the ſame Time, heard a great Noiſe under their Convent. The next Morning they cauſed Maſons to examine, whether the Houſe had received any Damage, who, after ſearching, aſſured them, that they perceived nothing, which in the leaſt threatned Ruin. The Capuchins frightned, however, with what had happened, paſſed the next Night in the Church, and at 5 o'Clock in the Morning they heard the ſame Noiſe as before, whereupon they ran, in the greateſt Conſternation, into a neighbouring Field, where they were ſcarcely arrived, before they heard a dreadful Crack, and at the ſame Time ſaw their Convent, Church and all, overturned, and, with the Garden that belonged to it, buried in the Earth, no other Footſteps of what was before upon the Surface remaining, but the Appearance above Ground of the Tops of two Cypreſs-Trees; ſo that Providence ſeems to have taken Care of the poor Monks, which is what very few Societies of Monks deſerve.

As the two *Sicilies* have now the good Fortune to have a King of their own, whoſe Councils are not biaſſed by a Regard for any foreign Dominions, they are in both, by all Sorts of Encouragement from their Government, applying themſelves as much as poſſible, to the reviving and enlarging their Trade and Manufacture. Among other Projects for this Purpoſe, the King lately publiſhed an Ordinance for diminiſhing, by 7 *per Cent.* the Duties upon all Goods brought to the great Fair held annually at *Naples* in the Month of *April*. By the ſame Ordinance he likewiſe reduced, by 8 *per Cent.* the Duty on the Merchandizes carried out; and it was farther ordered, that the Country People might bring in and carry out, without paying any Cuſtom at all, any ſmall Parcel of Goods not exceeding the Value of 3 *Ducats*. At the ſame Time a Project is on Foot for eſtabliſhing a *Levant* Company in that Kingdom; and they likewiſe talk of ſetting up diverſe Sorts of Manufactures.

From *Hanover* we hear, that an Ordinance is ſpeedily to be publiſhed for ſuppreſſing Luxury in that Electorate, by which, amongſt other Things, all Perſons, except the Nobility, are to be prohibited from wearing Gold or Silver Lace upon their Coaths; and that the Regency takes the utmoſt Care to relieve the Miſeries of the Poor, and to prevent their being oppreſſed by the Rich; for which Purpoſes all his Majeſty's Granaries in his *Hanoverian* Dominions have been opened, for ſelling Corn at a moderate Price, to all thoſe who can ſhew they want it, either for Food or Seed; and the Granaries and Store-houſes of all Dealers in Corn, Bakers, *&c.* and even of many private Perſons, who were ſuppoſed to have large Quantities of Grain in Store, have been viſited, and the Proprietors ordered to ſell it at a Price fixed by the Magiſtrates. (See p. 234, F.)

HISTORICAL.

1. A Collection of State Papers by *Wm. Cecil*, Lord *Burleigh*. Now firſt publiſhed by *S. Haynes*, A. M. and deliver'd to the Subſcribers by *J. Whiſton*, Folio.

2. The Hiſtory of *Thamas Kouli Kan*, Sophy of *Perſia*. Printed for *J. Brindley*, price 1s. 6d.

3. The Life of *Edward* Prince of *Wales*. By *A. Collins*, Eſq; Printed for *T. Oſborne*, 8vo, price 5s.

4. The Life of *Francis* Lord *Bacon*. By Mr. *Mallet*. Printed for *A. Millar*, pr. 3s. 6d.

MISCELLANEOUS.

5. *Matho*; or, the *Coſmotheoria Puerilis*. In 2 Vols. 8vo. Printed for *A. Millar*, pr. 10s. 6d.

6. An irregular Diſſertation, occaſioned by reading of Father *Du Halde*'s Deſcription of *China*. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1s. 6d.

7. The genuine Tryal of Mr. *Cha. Drew*. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 6d.

8. The Works of Sir *Francis Bacon*. A new Edition with Additions. In 4 Vols. Folio. Printed for *A. Millar*, price 4l. 10s.

9. *Antonius Muſa*'s Character repreſented by *Virgil*. A Diſſertation by Bp. *Atterbury*. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 1s.

* 10. *Fletcher*'s Arithmetick. The 2d Edition. Printed for *C. Rivington*, 12mo, pr. 3s.

11. The Manners and Cuſtoms of the *Romans*. Printed for Meſſ. *Knapton*, pr. 5s. 6d.

* 12. A compleat Guide to *London* Traders, &c. The 2d Edition with Additions. Printed for *J. Oſborn*, price 1s. 6d.

13. The World in Miniature. By *J. Franſham*. Printed for *J. Torbucke*, price 5s. 6d.

14. The Mythology and Fables of the Ancients. By the Abbe *Banier*. Vol. II. Printed for *A. Millar*, 8vo, price 6s.

15. G. Martinii, M. D. de ſimilibus Animalibus & Animalium calore Libri duo. Apud A. Millar, 8vo, pr. 4s.

16. *Horace*'s Odes, &c. Tranſlated into *Engliſh* Proſe. Number IV. Printed for *J. Davidſon*, price 1s.

17. The Works of Sir *William Temple*, Bart. In 2 Vols. Folio, price 1l. 12s.

18. Q. Horatii Flacci Poemata, ex caſtigationibus, &c. Bentleii, &c. Printed for *J. Nourſe*, price 2s.

19. A Second Letter to the Rev. Mr. *Bate*. Printed for *E. Comins*, price 6d.

20. The Impertinence and Impoſture of modern Antiquaries diſplayed. Printed for *J. Oſborn*, price 1s.

21. A Muſical Dictionary. By *J. Graiſſineau*, Gent. Printed for *J. Wilcox*, 8vo, price 5s. 6d.

22. A Treatiſe on the Virtues and Duties of a Sovereign. Printed for *R. Dodſley*. In 2 Vols. 8vo, price 8s.

23. The General Laws of Eſtates; or, Freeholders Companion. Printed for *A. Ward*, 8vo, price 5s. 6d.

24. A Liſt of the Colonels, Lieutenant Colonels, &c. on the *Britiſh* and *Iriſh* Eſtabliſhments. Printed for *T. Cox*, *C. Bathurſt*, and *J. Pemberton*, price 2s. 6d.

POETICAL.

25. *Hardyknute*. Printed for *R. Dodſley*, price 1s.

26. Seaſonable Admonitions. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1s.

27. Verſes to the Memory of the Lady *Elizabeth Haſtings*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1s.

* 28. Mr. *Cooke*'s Heſiod, with Notes, &c. The 2d Edition. Printed for *J. Wood* and *C. Woodward*, price 3s.

29. Liberty regained. Sold by *M. Dodd*, price 1s.

POLITICAL.

30. A State of the National Debt, pr. 6d.

31. A Supplement to *Great Britain*'s Miſtakes, &c. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6d.

32. A Letter from a Counſellor of the Parliament of *Paris* to the King. Printed for *P. Vaillant*, price 1s.

33. The Conduct of his Grace the Duke of *Ar—ll*. Printed for *W. Webb*, price 1s.

34. The Importance of an uncorrupted Parliament. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 6d.

SERMONS.

35. Thirty-ſix ſelect Diſcourſes. By *S. Johnſon*, A. M. In 2 Vols. 8vo. Printed for *C. Rivington*, price 10s. 6d.

* 36. Our Saviour's Divine Sermon on the Mount, explain'd. By *James Blair*, M. A. The 2d Edit. In 4 Vols. 8vo. Printed for *J. Brotherton* and *J. Oſwald*, price 1l. 1s.

37. A Sermon preach'd at St. *Bride*'s. By the Bp. of *Briſtol*. Printed for Meſſ. *Knapton*, price 6d.

38. A Sermon preach'd at St. *Bride*'s. By Dr. *Denne*. Printed for *J. Pemberton*, pr. 6d.

39. A Sermon preach'd before the correſponding Society. By the Biſhop of St. *Aſaph*. Sold by *M. Downing*, price 6d.

40. A Sermon preach'd before the Truſtees for eſtabliſhing the Colony of *Georgia*. By Dr. *Crowe*. Printed for *J. Clarke*, price 6d.

THEOLOGICAL.

41. A Vindication of revealed Religion againſt Mr. *Chubb*. By *John Phelps*. Printed for *J. Gray*, price 1s.

42. An Eſſay towards a demonſtrative Proof of the Divine Exiſtence, &c. By *Benj. Heath*, Eſq; Printed for *S. Birt*, price 1s. 6d.

43. The Goſpel Sanctuary. By *P. Cardale*. Printed for *J. Noon*, 8vo, price 3s. 6d.

44. An Eſſay on the Sabbath. By *Robert Cornthwaite*. Sold by *J. Noon*, price 1s. 6d.

45. Free Grace indeed! Printed for *J. Oſwald*, price 6d.

46. An Eſſay towards an Inſtruction for the *Indians*. By the Biſhop of *Sodor* and *Man*. Printed for *J. Oſborn*, price 2s. 6d.

47. The Doctrine of Union between Chriſt and the Believer. By *Tho. Flower*. Printed for *A. Ward*.

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

JUNE, 1740.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 219.

After A. Posthumius, *whose Speech we gave in our last, the next that rose up, was* T. Quintius, *who spoke in Substance thus:*

My Lords,

THAT there have been Heats and Animosities amongst us I shall admit, but they are now wisely put an end to; and I shall beg Leave to shew, how they were occasioned, and in what Manner they have been put an end to. If we look back upon the Conduct of our publick Affairs for almost these twenty Years, we may easily find the Cause of all our Heats and Animosities: We may justly admire, that they have not been more violent, and more fatal to those that were the Cause of them. We have been, during that long Period, in what some amongst us are pleased to call a State of Tranquillity; but that Tranquillity has been attended with all the Expence, and almost all the Misfortunes of a real War, without a Chance of reaping any of that Glory, or any of those Advantages, that may be reaped by open Hostilities. We have been negotiating when we ought to have been fighting, and we have been concluding Treaties with those, against whom we ought to have declared War; and to render those Negotiations effectual, or to enforce the Observance of those Treaties, we have been keeping up expensive Armies, that have raised Terrors among our own People at home, because they could not guess for what they were designed, and fitting out expensive Squadrons, that have raised no Terrors among our Enemies abroad, because, I suppose, they very well knew for what they were designed.

This, my Lords, is a Summary of our Conduct for almost these twenty Years past; and such a Conduct could not, in my Opinion, fail of begetting Heats and Animosities at home, as well as Contempt and Infamy abroad; but to make this the more evidently appear, I must examine into some of the particular Steps of our Conduct, and for that

Purpoſe, ſhall begin with the famous Treaty of *Hanover*; for, I think, I need go no farther back at preſent. In the Beginning of the Year 1725, the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* thought fit, by themſelves, to accommodate all the Differences that ſubſiſted between them, and to conclude Treaties of Peace, Commerce, and Guaranty, in which there was not any one Article contrary to the Treaties that either of them had made with us. What Offence we could take at this Step in either of theſe Courts, I do not know: Nay, ſuppoſe it had been true, that they had concluded ſuch a private Treaty as was repreſented, we had no Occaſion for taking any extraordinary Meaſures againſt it; becauſe the *Emperor* having no naval Force, he could give *Spain* no Aſſiſtance againſt us. However, we allowed ourſelves to be ſo much alarmed, that the ſame Year we concluded at *Hanover* an Alliance with *France*, which, I am ſure, is the laſt Nation in *Europe* we ought to enter into an Alliance with; and the whole Nation was terrified with an Invaſion in favour of the *Pretender*, tho' every one knew, that the *Emperor* and *Spain*, joined together, could not fit out ſuch a naval Force, as would have been equal to that which we can, at any Time, fit out upon a Week's Notice.

But we did not reſt here, my Lords: We did not ſatisfy ourſelves with providing, by ſuch an Alliance, for our Defence: The very next Year, we raiſed Armies and fitted out Squadrons, as if we had been to attack thoſe whom we thus repreſented to be our Enemies. We ſent one powerful Squadron to the *Baltick*, another to the Coaſts of *Spain* in *Europe*, and a third to their Coaſts in *America*. At the ſame Time we augmented our Army to above 26,000 Men; and the whole Nation expected that our Enemies would have been made to ſuffer ſeverely for the ridiculous Deſigns they had formed againſt us. But our Armies and Squadrons produced no other Effect than to load our own People with Expences, and to make *Spain* begin actual Hoſtilities againſt us, by ſeizing all our Merchants Effects they could find in their Dominions, by fitting out Privateers and taking all our trading Ships they could meet with at Sea, and by laying Siege to *Gibraltar*.

Tho' we had at firſt, my Lords, no Provocation for attacking *Spain*, yet theſe Hoſtilities were, ſurely, a good Reaſon for declaring War againſt them; and, by the Treaties we made, and the Subſidies we engaged to pay, it look'd as if we really deſigned to do ſo; for after near a Year's Negotiation, we got the *Dutch* to accede to the Treaty of *Hanover*, under many Conditions and Reſtrictions: In about 18 Months we obtained a Promiſe from the *Landgrave* of *Heſſe*, to keep in Readineſs for our Service 12,000 Men, for which we engaged to pay him 125,000*l. Sterling*, which was continued to him for ſeveral Years, tho' his Troops were never employed in our Service: About the ſame Time, we obtained the Acceſſion of *Sweden* to the *Hanover* Treaty, under Condition of paying them a yearly Subſidy of 50,000*l.* for *three* Years certain, one Half of which was to be paid by *France*: In about 19 Months we obtained the Acceſſion of *Denmark*, under Condition of paying them a large Subſidy for *four* Years certain, which was all to have been paid by *France*, tho' we afterwards thought ourſelves obliged to pay a Part of it: And upon the 25th of *November*, 1727, we obtained the Alliance and Guaranty of the Duke of *Wolfenbuttle*, upon Condition of paying him 25,000*l.* yearly, for *four* Years certain. By all theſe Preparations, Negotiations,

gotiations, and Alliances, I ſay, my Lords, it look'd as if we had, at that Time, really a Deſign to declare War againſt *Spain*, and to revenge ourſelves fully, for all the Inſults they had put upon the Nation; but this was far from being the Caſe: Our Armies, as well thoſe at home, as thoſe we paid ſo dear for abroad, remained quiet in their reſpective native Countries, and our Squadrons continued inactive upon the Coaſts of *Spain*, at the very Time they were beſieging *Gibraltar*, and making Prize of every one of our Merchant Ships they could meet with at Sea. Inſtead of declaring War, or committing Hoſtilities, againſt *Spain*, we were treating and negotiating with them, or at leaſt with the *Emperor* on their Behalf; for the Court of *Spain* itſelf carried it at that Time ſo high, and held us in ſuch Contempt, that they would not ſo much as treat with us; and in *May*, 1737, preliminary Articles were concluded at *Paris*, between the *Hanover* Allies and the *Emperor*, by which we promiſed, that all Hoſtilities ſhould on our Side immediately ceaſe, tho' *Spain* was no contracting Party in this preliminary Treaty; which Promiſe we religiouſly kept, tho' *Spain* refuſed to agree to the Preliminaries, and continued Hoſtilities for near a Year longer, when, by the Intervention of the *French* Ambaſſador at *Madrid*, we obtained from *Spain* a Convention for the Execution of thoſe Preliminaries, in purſuance of which, a Congreſs was appointed; but this Congreſs was rendered abortive, by our joining in a new Alliance with *France* and *Spain* againſt the *Emperor*, by the famous Treaty of *Seville*.

By this Treaty, my Lords, we had got of our Side, almoſt all the Powers of *Europe* that have any naval Force, ſo that we could have no Pretence for fitting out a Squadron with any warlike Intention; but this did not prevent our putting ourſelves to the Expence of fitting out one. In order to pay a Compliment to the *Spaniſh* Court, we ſent a Squadron of above *twenty* Men of War, all Capital Ships, to the *Mediterranean*, in the Year 1731, to conduct the Infant Don *Carlos* to *Italy*; and this we did, when they were erecting Forts and Batteries againſt our Town and Bay of *Gibraltar*, and committing many Depredations upon our Merchants in the *Weſt-Indies*; which we took no Notice of, tho' ſtrong Repreſentations had been made, by our People at *Gibraltar*, againſt the former, and an Application had been made to Parliament, by our Merchants, againſt the latter. Nay, tho' the Court of *Spain* had evaded making that Reparation for paſt Injuries, which they had promiſed by the Treaty of *Seville*, we took no effectual Notice of it. We contented ourſelves with ſending Commiſſaries to wrangle and diſpute about the Injuries we had ſuffered before that Treaty, and with ordering our Miniſter at that Court to preſent long, perplexed Memorials againſt thoſe we ſuffered afterwards.

This, my Lords, was the State of Affairs between *Spain* and us in the Year 1733, when they attacked our Ally, the *Emperor*, in *Italy*, with thoſe very Troops which we had aſſiſted them to carry thither, and at a Time when, from the many Evaſions they had before made uſe of, we had no Reaſon to expect any Satisfaction from them by peaceable Means. If we were, at that Time, under no Obligation, or if we had no Inclination to aſſiſt the *Emperor*, yet ſurely our own Intereſt ſhould have inclined us to take that Opportunity of declaring War againſt *Spain*, if they refuſed to give us the moſt ample Reparation for our former Loſſes, and

abſolute Security againſt our being expoſed to any ſuch for the future; but inſtead of this, our Commiſſaries and Miniſter continued ſoliciting at the Court of *Spain* for that which we might, with great Juſtice, and then probably with great Succeſs, have inſiſted peremptorily upon; and the *Emperor*, for want of that Aſſiſtance which he thought he was, by Treaties, intitled to from his Allies, was at laſt obliged to ſubmit to thoſe Terms which were preſcribed to him by his Enemies.

Whilſt the War continued, my Lords, the *Spaniards*, 'tis true, put a Sort of Stop to their Depredations in the *Weſt-Indies*, and entertained our Miniſters with ſome Hopes of a final Adjuſtment; but no ſooner was the War over than, as might have been eaſily foreſeen, they began to renew their Depredations with freſh Vigour in the *Weſt-Indies*, and, I ſuppoſe, they plainly told us, that they would give no farther Satisfaction than they had done, with regard to any of our Loſſes ſuſtained ſince the Treaty of *Seville*; for, I do not find, that it was ever afterwards ſeriouſly inſiſted on: I am ſure, the Sum ſtipulated by the late Convention, was ſo far from being any Satisfaction for thoſe Loſſes, that it was not near equal to the Loſſes our Merchants have ſuſtained, by Depredations committed ſince the Concluding of that Treaty.

Thus, my Lords, we loſt all the Advantages we might have reaped from the War between *Spain* and the *Emperor*, and I am afraid we loſt a great deal of our Character into the Bargain; but, tho' we let ſlip that Opportunity for vindicating the Honour, and ſecuring the Trade of the Nation, we took care to lay hold of it for putting the Nation to an extraordinary Expence, by raiſing Armies, fitting out Squadrons, forming Alliances, and engaging to pay Subſidies. Soon after the War broke out, we encreaſed our Land Force to near 27,000 Men; and for augmenting our Naval Force, we encreaſed the Number of Seamen, employed in his Majeſty's Service, to 30,000: We ſent a Miniſter extraordinary to *Holland*, tho' we knew that the *States General* had before concluded with *France*, a Treaty of Neutrality; and in *September* 1734, we concluded a Treaty with the King of *Denmark*, by which we engaged to pay him an annual Subſidy of upwards of 56,000 *l. Sterling* for *three* Years certain. From theſe extraordinary warlike Preparations, and moſt extraordinary Expences, the People ſuppoſed that we were to exert ourſelves in the moſt vigorous Manner, for retrieving an antient Ally from the Diſtreſs he was then in, for procuring Juſtice to our injured Merchants, and for vindicating the Honour, and ſecuring the Trade of the Nation; but the *Emperor*, it ſeems, knew better, and therefore he ſubmitted to the hard Terms that were offered him by his Enemies, which threw the Affairs of *Europe* into a Situation, perhaps the moſt unfortunate that they ever were in for this Nation.

Upon this, my Lords, we diſbanded the additional Forces we had raiſed both by Sea and Land, and ſeemed to think we had nothing more to do; for, tho' the Depredations of the *Spaniards* upon our Merchants, and their Inſults upon the Nation, in the *Weſt-Indies*, were now become more frequent, and more open, than they had ever been before, it ſeemed to give us no real Concern. We took no Step for redreſſing theſe Grievances, or for protecting our Trade, till an Application to Parliament by our Merchants, two Years ago, made it neceſſary for ſome Perſons to take a little more Notice of their juſt Complaints.

plaints. We then again began to make ſome warlike Preparations: We raiſed an additional Number of 10,000 Seamen; and we ſent one Squadron to the *Weſt-Indies*, and another to the *Mediterranean*. But ſtill we truſted to our favourite, tho', by Experience, ſo often found to be ineffectual, Methods of Negotiation: Our Squadrons did nothing, but our Negotiators, 'tis true, did ſomething: They procured us that famous Convention, which we had before us laſt Seſſion of Parliament, and which we have now found to be as frivolous, with regard to this Nation at leaſt, as the other Treaties we had before entered into with *Spain*; and thus, all our Negotiations and Treaties have, at laſt, ended in a War, perhaps the moſt dangerous, I am ſure the moſt unſeaſonable, that this Nation was ever engaged in.

I ſhall now, my Lords, give you a ſhort Account of the Charge the Nation has been put to, by theſe warlike Preparations, and pacifick Meaſures; but, in order to ſet this Charge in the cleareſt Light, I muſt obſerve, that if we kept no greater Number of regular Troops, nor any greater Number of Seamen, in our Pay, than are neceſſary for our Security in Time of Peace, I am convinced, the annual publick Expence could never amount to above 1,500,000*l.* ſo that, by Means of a Land Tax of 2*s.* in the Pound, and the uſual Malt Tax, inſtead of contracting a new Debt yearly, which has been our Caſe for many Years, we ſhould have been able to provide annually for the Service of the Year, and to pay off above 100,000*l.* yearly of our old Debt; and, if all uſeleſs Poſts, and uſeleſs or extravagant Salaries or Perquiſites, had been enquired into, and aboliſhed or reduced, I am ſure, it would have added a conſiderable Sum to our annual Savings. However, I ſhall wave taking Notice of this laſt Article of Frugality, and ſtate the neceſſary annual Expence of the Nation at 1,500,000*l.* in order, from thence, to compute the Supra-Charge that our warlike Preparations, and unneceſſary Squadrons and Armies have coſt us.

Upon computing the Sums granted every Year by Parliament, for the Service of the enſuing Year, I find, my Lords, that the firſt Seſſion, after the famous Treaty of *Hanover*, granted, for the Service of the Year 1726, 1,939,285*l.* but this was not all that was expended in that Year; for, by a Vote of Credit and Confidence paſſed near the End of that Seſſion, his Majeſty was impowered to augment his Forces both by Land and Sea; and to take ſuch Meaſures as the Exigency of Affairs might require; which Power was accordingly made uſe of, and therefore, by the next Seſſion, there was granted, for the Service of the Year 1727, and for Deficiencies in the former Year 2,980,801*l.* For the Service of the Year 1728, there was granted 3,123,449*l.*: For 1729, 3,087,859*l.*: For 1730, 2,166,400*l.*: For 1731, 2,060,232*l.*: For 1732, (the Tranquillity of *Europe* being then, as ſome wiſe Politicians amongſt us judged, eſtabliſhed upon a laſting Foundation, tho' it was really upon a moſt precarious one, as ſoon after appeared) 1,743,359*l.*: For 1733, (the War between *France* and its Allies of one Side, and the *Emperor* of the other, having broke out in that Year) 1,835,056*l.*: For 1734, 3,821,714*l.* 1,200,000*l.* of which was to be applied towards paying off ſo much of the Debt of the Navy, and 287,343*l.* for the Deficiency of the preceding Year; but, as the War I have mentioned was then juſt broke out, and as we reſolved that this Nation ſhould have a Share in the Expence, tho' it was

to

to have no Share in the War, this was far from being all that was expended that Year; for, by a Vote of Credit, agreed to about the End of the preceding Seſſion, his Majeſty was impowered to augment his Forces both by Sea and Land, and to take ſuch other Meaſures as the Exigency of Affairs might require, in Purſuance of which, the Augmentations were made, and the other Expences incurred, which I have before mentioned; and therefore, for the Service of the Year 1735, and the Deficiencies of the former Year, there was granted by Parliament the Sum of 3,070,129*l.*: For the Service of the Year 1736, 2,181,859*l.*: For the Service of the Year 1737, 1,952,725*l.* and for the Year 1738, 2,356,719*l.*

In theſe Computations, my Lords, I have omitted all thoſe Sums that were granted for making good the Deficiencies of former Funds, and likewiſe all thoſe that were granted for paying off any Part of our Debt: I have reckoned nothing but what was granted for current Services, or for extraordinary Expences incurred in the preceding Years; and, from theſe Computations, it will appear, that the Grants for the *thirteen* Years I have mentioned, amount in the Whole to 32,319,587*l. Sterling*. Whereas, if we had kept within 1,500,000*l.* yearly, which we may always do in Time of Peace, the Whole of our Expence for theſe *thirteen* Years, would have amounted to no more than 19,500,000*l.* ſo that by keeping up Armies, paying Subſidies, and fitting out Squadrons, which we made no Uſe of, nor had any Occaſion for, we have waſted very near *thirteen Millions*, which, if it had been regularly and annually applied to its proper Uſe, would have paid off near *ſeventeen Millions* of our publick Debt; and, ſuch a Payment would have been attended with this farther Advantage, that it would have enabled us, ſome Years ago, not only to have reduced the Intereſt upon the remaining publick Debt, but alſo to have reduced the Intereſt of Money in general, to 3 *per Cent.* which would have made it much eaſier, than it is at preſent, for many Landed Gentlemen to pay the Taxes neceſſary for the annual Support of our Government.

Conſidering the Situation we are now in; conſidering the Situation the Affairs of *Europe* are in; conſidering the Misfortunes one of our moſt antient and beſt Allies has met with, and conſidering the Inſults this Nation has met with, and the many Depredations and Cruelties our Merchants and Seamen have been expoſed to; I believe I may, I do, my Lords, with Confidence appeal to every Man that hears me, whether we have reaped one Shilling's Worth of Advantage by the numerous Armies we have kept up, the powerful Squadrons we have fitted out, the great Subſidies we have paid, and the many Negotiations and Treaties we have carried on and concluded ſince the memorable Year 1721? Shall we then be ſurprized, that there have been Heats and Animoſities amongſt us? Can we be at a Loſs in aſſigning the Cauſe? Could it be ſuppoſed, that a brave and a free People would bear, with Patience, being expoſed, by pacifick Meaſures, to the Inſults and Contempt of their Enemies, and that at a Time when they were loaded with an Expence, that might have made them the Terror of their Foes?

It is evident, my Lords, that all the Heats and Animoſities, that have been amongſt us of late Years, have ſprung from thoſe pacifick Counſels, that have made us tamely ſubmit to ſo many Inſults, and thoſe warlike Appearances, that have ſubjected us to ſo great an Expence; and, when we

we conſider from whence our Heats and Animoſities have proceeded, we may eaſily ſee, how they have been put an end to. His Majeſty's Declaration of War has put an effectual End to them; and, if the War be carried on in a warlike Manner, if the Naval and Land Force of this Nation be wiſely and vigorouſly employed, I dare anſwer for it, no Heats or Animoſities will ariſe amongſt us whilſt it laſts. But, if the ſame negotiating Humour, which has ſo long prevented our declaring War, notwithſtanding the many juſt Povocations, and the many good Opportunities we have had for it, ſhould now prevent our puſhing it with Vigour, as the Conſequences will be more fatal, I am afraid, the Heats and Animoſities, that muſt enſue, will be much more violent.

For this Reaſon, my Lords, as his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne, is always, in this Houſe, underſtood to be a Speech from the Miniſters, and as our Addreſs by way of Anſwer to that Speech, muſt conſequently be ſuppoſed to be an Anſwer made to the Miniſters; therefore, if we make any Mention of Heats or Animoſities, we ought to tell them, that as there are now no Heats or Animoſities amongſt us, we hope they will take care to prevent any ſuch for the future, by a vigorous Proſecution of the War. This ſhould be the Amendment I would propoſe, if I could expect that my Advice would be taken; but, as this I cannot expect, and as ſome Lords may think, that this would be a more free Way of Addreſſing our Sovereign, than has been uſual of late Years, tho' not more free than has been practiſed by our Anceſtors, I ſhall content myſelf with being for the Amendment propoſed; and, I hope the noble Lord, who made the Motion, will endeavour as much as he can to prevent Prejudices or Animoſities having a Share in our Deliberations, by agreeing to leave theſe two ugly Words out of his Motion.

The next that roſe up to give his Sentiments in this Debate, was L. Piſo, *the Purport of whoſe Speech was as follows,* viz.

My Lords,

UPON ſuch a ſolemn and important Occaſion, I am ſorry to find that a Diſpute ſhould ariſe, or the Unanimity of this Houſe diſturbed, on account of a few Words or Expreſſions, which no Lord will pretend to be of any Importance in themſelves, either to the Crown or the Nation, whatever they may be to the Miniſter; and therefore, when they were taken Notice of, and objected to by my noble Friend near me, I expected that the noble Lord who, I ſuppoſed, had accidentally made them a Part of his Motion, would have ſo far contributed to that cordial Union which he was pleaſed to recommend, as to ſtand up and agree to the Amendment propoſed. But when I found thoſe Words and Expreſſions inſiſted on, not only by him, but by other Lords, who may be ſuppoſed to have had ſome Hand in adviſing and framing his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne, I then began to ſuſpect that thoſe Words had not dropt into the Motion by Accident; but that they had been inſerted with Deſign, to make this Houſe confirm a Repreſentation that has been made to his Majeſty, by ſome who are, perhaps too often, near his Perſon; and in this Light I muſt acknowledge, they are of the utmoſt Importance to the Crown, to the Nation, and above all, to the Honcur and Dignity of this Houſe.

I know, my Lords, it has been of late Years a Cuſtom, to make the

the Addreſs of this Houſe a Sort of *Eccho* to his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne; and, as *Ecchos* never fail to repeat the laſt Words of a Sentence, ſo, it ſeems, we muſt never fail *ecchoing* back the laſt Paragraph of his Majeſty's Speech. This, I ſay, has been a Cuſtom for ſome Years paſt; but I cannot think that a religious Obſervance of this Cuſtom, is either conſiſtent with the Character we ought to preſerve, or neceſſary for ſhewing our Reſpect to our Sovereign. I am ſure, upon the preſent Occaſion, it will be a Failure in our Duty to the King, and an expoſing of ourſelves to the Cenſure at leaſt, if not to the Contempt, of the whole World.

Can any one, with Juſtice, ſay, my Lords, that Prejudices, Heats, or Animoſities have of late been intermix'd in our Deliberations? Can any one, with Juſtice, ſay, that there has lately been any Diviſion among the People of this Nation? I am really aſtoniſhed, how ſuch Words could creep into his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne. The Speech, 'tis true, is generally ſaid to be the Speech of the Miniſter; but I wonder what Miniſter dared to tell his Majeſty, that there have been, or ever were, any Heats or Animoſities in our Deliberations, or that there have lately been any Diviſions amongſt his People. I believe, there is no Aſſembly in the World, where Deliberations and Debates are carried on with more Decency and Calmneſs: I believe, the People of this Nation were never leſs divided in their Sentiments, than they have been of late Years. Therefore, if any one has of late preſumed to ſay to his Majeſty, that there were Heats or Animoſities in any of our Deliberations, or that there are Diviſions amongſt his People, it muſt be one of the groſſeſt Miſrepreſentations that was ever whiſpered into the Ear of any Sovereign Potentate; and ſhall we, by any Expreſſion in our Addreſs, give Credit to ſuch a Miſrepreſentation, and enter, as it were, into a Combination for putting an Impoſition upon our Prince, that muſt give him a bad Opinion, not only of his People, but alſo of this Aſſembly, of which we have the Honour to be Members. Such a Conduct, with regard to the People, would be moſt unjuſt, but with reſpect to ourſelves, it would be a Sort of *Felo de ſe.*

The People of this Nation, my Lords, were never, I believe, ſo unanimous in any one Thing, as they have, for ſeveral Years, been in that of deſiring to have an Opportunity of revenging themſelves againſt the *Spaniards.* The only Diviſion, if it can be called ſo, that has of late appeared amongſt us, has been between the People of one Side, and a few of our Miniſters of the other. I ſay, my Lords, a few of our Miniſters; for, I will not do ſo much Injuſtice to the Adminiſtration, as to ſay, that all thoſe who have a Share in the Adminiſtration, are of that Party which has ſo long obſtinately withſtood the general Voice of their Country. I hope I may ſay, all thoſe that have a Share in our Adminiſtration: I hope our Adminiſtration conſiſts of a great Number of Perſons: I am ſure it ought, by our Conſtitution, to conſiſt of a great Number, that have no other Dependence upon one another, but that which reſults from their Duty to their Country, and their Affection to their Sovereign. If it be otherwiſe, I am ſorry for it, and glad I have not ſo much as the Character of having a Hand in it. But let it conſiſt of what Number it will: Let it be a ſole Corporation (a Term well known to the Reverend Bench) if the World pleaſe to think it ſo, I am ſure, it has had, with regard

to

to its late pacifick Meaſures, no Party among the People for this Dozen of Years paſt; and, if any one has endeavoured to make his Majeſty believe that it has, I am ſure the Parliament, and particularly this Houſe, ought to take a proper Method for undeceiving him; for while our Parliaments continue to be of any Uſe to the Nation, they will always take care that the King may ſafely reſort to them, as to the Fountain of Truth, in order to know the real Diſpoſition of his People, and the true Character of his Miniſters.

This Diviſion, my Lords, between a few of our Miniſters, or one ſole Miniſter, and his immediate Dependents, of one Side, and the whole Body of the People of the other, has been the only Diviſion that has appeared of late Years amongſt us; and, ſuch a Diviſion can in no Light be called a Diviſion among the People; for in this Country, I think, the People and the Adminiſtration are two Terms that are generally made uſe of as oppoſite to each other, and there was never greater Reaſon for making uſe of theſe two Terms in this Senſe, than there has been for ſeveral Years paſt. Then, with regard to Heats and Animoſities, can any one ſay, that there has been lately any Heat or Animoſity amongſt the People, that is, amongſt any one Set or Party of them againſt another? There have, indeed, been great Heats and Animoſities in the Nation, but in this too, the People have been all united. They have moſt juſtly ſhewn Heats and Animoſities againſt the *Spaniards*, and as juſtly againſt thoſe who have ſo long prevented their doing themſelves Juſtice. Our Heats and Animoſities therefore, like our Diviſions, have been between the whole Body of our People upon one Side, and our Miniſters and Enemies upon the other; and this ſhews, that whatever Obſtinacy *Spain* may have ſhewn in her late Conduct towards this Nation, it could not be owing to the Diviſions, Heats, or Animoſities amongſt us; becauſe ſhe could not but foreſee, that if, by her Obſtinacy, ſhe provoked us to declare War againſt her, the whole Nation, both People and Miniſters, would unite in a vigorous Proſecution of that War; which, I hope, is now our Caſe. I hope no Man will dare to check the Progreſs of our Arms, or to interrupt the Proſecution of the War, by any Negotiation, unleſs ſuch Preliminaries be offered as will atone for all paſt Injuries, and ſecure us againſt all future.

My Lords, it was not by our Diviſions, that the *Spaniards* were encouraged to treat us in the contemptuous Manner they have done: It was by the Hopes they had, that our Miniſters would not dare to give a Looſe to our Vengeance, by declaring War againſt them; and, for theſe Hopes, the long Patience of our Miniſters, and their Fondneſs for Negotiation, had given them but too much Reaſon. But, if there had been Diviſions amongſt us, and if thoſe Diviſions made the *Spaniards* contemn us ſo much, as to refuſe fulfilling their Part of the laſt ſolemn Convention they made with us, I will then ſay, that our Diviſions have done a moſt ſignal Service to the Nation. The moſt unlucky Thing that could have befallen this Nation, would have been the Court of *Spain*'s making that ſtipulated Payment which they had wiſely promiſed, and we had generouſly, I cannot ſay wiſely, accepted of in full of all Demands. If the *Spaniards* had made that Payment, which I am ſurprized they did not, our Miniſters would, from thence, have got a Pretence to negotiate for the eight Months following, with the ſame Succeſs

they had negotiated for the eight Years preceding; and the *Spaniards* would have got a Sort of Licence, to plunder our Merchants for eight Months longer, by which they might have fully reimburſed themſelves the inconſiderable Sum paid for that Licence. But why ſhould I ſay eight Months: Upon the Expiration of that Term, I am convinced, our Miniſters would have found Reaſons for giving them ſeveral Renewals, without any new Fine, becauſe theſe Renewals, and the ſeveral Negotiations for that Purpoſe, would have been moſt excellent Expedients for putting off two or three Seſſions more.

This, my Lords, has been our Caſe for many Years paſt: We have, every Year, and from Seſſion to Seſſion, been put off with Hopes, that before next Seſſion, we ſhould be able to obtain ample Satisfaction, and undoubted Security, by thoſe Negotiations which every Man, except thoſe that carried them on, foreſaw would end in nothing but loading us with Expence at home, and with Ignominy and Contempt abroad. It is this, my Lords, that has created all the Diviſions, and all the Heats and Animoſities, that have been amongſt us. The People were for Reſentment and Revenge, our Peace-makers for Patience and Forgiveneſs: The People called out for Reparation for paſt Injuries, our Peace-makers ſubmitted tamely to freſh Inſults. The People were for bravely vindicating, our Peace-makers for meanly proſtituting the Rights of the Nation. Thank God! the People have at laſt prevailed; and this has healed up all our Diviſions, and put an End, I hope a final End, to all our Heats and Animoſities.

His Majeſty's Declaration of War has now, I hope, brought all his Miniſters to be of the ſame Sentiments his People have been of for many Years: At leaſt, if they are not ſo in their Hearts, they muſt be ſo in Appearance; and this muſt of courſe put an end to the only Diviſion that has of late appeared in this Nation: It muſt put an end to every Animoſity but that juſt one againſt our Enemies, which will now, I hope, be allowed to take its full Swing. Perhaps ſome of our Miniſters may ſtill have a Hankering after Negotiation: If they have, let them but look upon his Majeſty's Declaration of War, and they muſt ſtifle every ſuch Affection. They cannot ſuppoſe, that his Majeſty will ſubmit to treat with a Nation, that has exerciſed great Cruelties and Barbarities upon the Perſons of divers of his Subjects: They cannot ſuppoſe, that his Majeſty will ſubmit to treat with a Nation, that has inſulted the *Britiſh* Colours in the moſt ignominious Manner; unleſs that Nation ſhall, in the humbleſt Manner, ſue for Peace, and offer, by way of Preliminary, the moſt ſignal Satisfaction, for the Cruelties and Barbarities they have exerciſed upon his Subjects, and for the ignominious Inſults they have put upon his Crown and Dignity; for I will be bold to ſay, that without ſuch a ſignal Satisfaction, there is no future Security we can, with any Certainty, rely on. Nay farther, my Lords, no Man who reads his Majeſty's Declaration of War can, I think, ſuppoſe, that he will treat with a Nation, that has been guilty of ſo many Breaches of Promiſe, and of ſo many Infractions of the moſt ſolemn Treaties, unleſs they offer, by way of Preliminary, to put a real Security in our Hands, as a Pledge for their Performance of what ſhall be afterwards agreed on; and when the *Spaniards* are brought, by the Vigour of our Arms, (for they can never be brought to it by Negotiation) to offer theſe Things

by way of Preliminary, I know ſo much of the generous forgiving Temper of my Countrymen, that I can engage for their unanimous Approbation of any Treaty our Miniſters ſhall conclude, upon ſuch ſafe and honourable Preliminaries.

Thus, my Lords, his Majeſty's Declaration of War has put an end to all the Diviſions, Heats, and Animoſities, that have lately been raiſed and fomented, by the Conduct of ſome of our Miniſters; and, the Form and Method in which it was drawn up will, I hope, ſecure us againſt a Renewal of any of thoſe Diviſions, Heats, or Animoſities. For this Reaſon, I cannot let ſlip this Opportunity, to declare my Approbation of it. I not only approve of the Meaſure, but I highly approve of the Declaration itſelf. I do not know who it was that had the Honour of drawing it up: Be who he will, the Nation is, I think, highly obliged to him; for it is expreſſed in the moſt proper, the moſt juſt, and the ſtrongeſt Terms that could be deviſed. But, my Lords, I muſt obſerve, that it is expreſly contrary to the Reaſoning that was made uſe of laſt Year, in favour of the Convention; and therefore, I was ſurprized to hear the noble Duke make a freſh Attempt to juſtify that Convention. I am ſure, no Lord has a greater Reſpect for his Majeſty, than he has: I am ſure, no Man more heartily wiſhes to ſee our late Heats and Animoſities utterly extinguiſhed. But, when I conſider the Terms in which the Declaration of War is expreſſed, I cannot think it altogether conſiſtent with the Reſpect due to his Majeſty, to attempt now, to juſtify a Convention, by which no Satisfaction was ſo much as ſtipulated, for thoſe Cruelties and Barbarities the *Spaniards* had exerciſed upon his Majeſty's Subjects, or for thoſe ignominious Inſults they had put upon the *Britiſh* Flag: And, I muſt look upon a freſh Attempt to juſtify the Convention, as an Attempt to revive thoſe Heats and Animoſities that were raiſed in the Nation, by that moſt extraordinary Meaſure. I ſhall call it by no worſe a Name, leſt I ſhould be accuſed of falling into the Error I am finding fault with: I hope it has now met with the Fate it deſerves, and which, for the Honour of *Britain*, I wiſh it may meet with: I hope it is fallen into eternal Oblivion; and I wiſh it could be raſed out of every hiſtorical Record.

Having thus ſhewn, my Lords, what were the Diviſions, Heats and Animoſities, that have lately appeared amongſt us, and having ſhewn that, by their very Nature, they muſt have all ceaſed, as ſoon as his Majeſty declared War, I ſhall conclude with ſaying, that, I believe, the beſt Way to prevent their being renewed, is to forget that there were ever any ſuch amongſt us. Our Miniſters have now changed their Meaſures: They have now entered into Meaſures, which the whole Nation approves of: Why ſhould they now ſeek to juſtify thoſe former Meaſures, which the whole Nation condemned? If they purſue with Vigour the Meaſures they have now entered into, the Nation ſeems willing to forget the Errors of their former Conduct: Why then ſhould they now ſeek to brand with the odious Names of Prejudices, Heats, and Animoſities, the Objections which the People thought they had Reaſon to make to their former Conduct? This is doing what they can, to raiſe Heats and Animoſities, inſtead of endeavouring to ſtifle them; therefore, in my Opinion, it was moſt imprudent to allow any ſuch Words to have a Place in his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne; and, for this Reaſon, I muſt be

againſt their being *eccho'd* back to the Throne, by our Addreſs.

C. Helvius *was the next that roſe up, who ſpoke to this Effect*, viz.

My Lord's,

THE Word *Eccho* is, I find, a favourite Term, which is generally made uſe of upon all ſuch Occaſions as the preſent, for turning into Ridicule, a Cuſtom which has for many Years been eſtabliſhed. I know, it is eaſy for one who has ſo much Wit at command, as the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, to give a ridiculous Turn, to the moſt reaſonable Cuſtom that can be introduced; but I likewiſe know your Lordſhips Diſcernment to be ſo good, that you can eaſily diſtinguiſh between what is ridiculous in itſelf, and what is rendered ſo only by the happy Genius of him who has a Mind to explode it; and therefore, I need not ſay much in favour of a Cuſtom which I think moſt reaſonable, and which has met with the Approbation of many Years, and of ſeveral ſucceeding Generations. In private Life, it has always been reckoned one of the higheſt Degrees of Contempt or Diſreſpect, to take no Notice of what a Gentleman ſays, when his Diſcourſe is particularly addreſſed to you: In publick Life, I muſt think it is the ſame, and therefore I muſt think, it would be a Failure in that Reſpect which is due to our Sovereign, if we ſhould, in our Addreſs, omit to take notice of any one material Paragraph in his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne.

Who it was, my Lords, that had the Honour to be conſulted by his Majeſty about the Speech he has now made to us, or who it was that adviſed him to inſert that Paragraph, by which his Majeſty recommends to us, to avoid Heats and Animoſities, I do not know; but, if his Majeſty had thought fit to confer that Honour upon me, I ſhould have adviſed the very ſame Thing; and what has already happened amongſt us, would, in my Opinion, have juſtified that Advice. There has, 'tis true, no Heats or Animoſities happened this Day amongſt us: There never do happen any ſuch in our Debates; but the Debate of this Day will, I am afraid, add freſh Fuel to the Heats and Animoſities that ſtill ſubſiſt without Doors; and, if Lords would conſider, that this is generally the Conſequence of every Debate that ariſes in this Houſe, I am convinced, we ſhould not have ſo many of them as we have; becauſe, in this Caſe, I believe, no Lord would raiſe a Debate, by oppoſing any Propoſition made by another, unleſs he thought the Honour or the Intereſt of his Country deeply concerned in the Queſtion.

I ſhall not diſpute with the noble Lord that ſpoke laſt, whether the few Words objected to, dropt by Accident into the Motion made by my noble Friend, or whether they were inſerted with Deſign. In either Caſe, I think, they ought not to have occaſioned a Debate; eſpecially, at a Time when we ought not only to be unanimous, but to avoid the leaſt Appearance of Diſcord. If they dropt in by Accident, the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt has acknowledged, they are of no Importance, and might therefore, for the Sake of Unanimity, have been agreed to without any dangerous Conſequence. And, if they were inſerted with Deſign, I cannot ſo much as ſuppoſe any other Deſign, than that of ſhewing a proper Reſpect to his Majeſty, which no Lord ought to oppoſe. The noble Lord has, 'tis true, found out another Deſign: He ſuppoſes, that they were inſerted on purpoſe, for juſtifying ſome Repreſentation made

made to his Majeſty. I do not know of any Repreſentation that has been made to his Majeſty, nor do I think there was the leaſt Occaſion for repreſenting to him, that there have been Diviſions amongſt us: It is what he could not but know, by looking upon the Journals of either Houſe of Parliament, which, I hope, either he or his Servants may do without any Offence: And we cannot, in Juſtice, ſuppoſe him ſo much unconcerned about what paſſes amongſt his People, as not to know, that there have been great Heats and Animoſities among them. None of his Servants, therefore, had the leaſt Occaſion to make any ſuch Repreſentation to him, and if any of them have made ſuch a one, it was ſo far from being a Miſrepreſentation, that it has been confirmed, by every Lord that has ſpoke in this Debate. It is acknowledged on all Sides, that there have been Diviſions, Heats, and Animoſities in the Nation; but, on one Side, it has been ſaid, that they are all now put an end to, by his Majeſty's Declaration of War, and that they were not between one Set or Party of the People and another, but between the whole Body of the People on one Side, and his Majeſty's Servants or Miniſters, as ſome always affect to call them, on the other.

My Lords, I am extreamly glad to hear, that our Diviſions are all put an end to, by his Majeſty's Declaration of War: I wiſh it may be ſo. If it is, it ſhews his Majeſty's Wiſdom, and his recommending to us, to avoid any ſuch for the future, in my Opinion, ſhews his Goodneſs. But, I do not know what the noble Lord means, by Diviſions between the whole Body of the People of one Side, and a few of his Majeſty's Miniſters of the other. He muſt be an unhappy Miniſter, that has no Set of Men, no Party in the Nation, that approves of his Conduct. I do not know that I ever read of ſuch a Miniſter in our Hiſtories, and, I believe, we have had as bad, as any we have at preſent. But for God's Sake! what is this Meaſure, that has been approved of, by a few of his Majeſty's Miniſters, and condemned by all the reſt of the Nation? If his Lordſhip means any of our late Negotiations, or even the late Convention, I muſt deſire him to recollect, that they were all, not only approved of, but adviſed by both Houſes of Parliament, as well as by all his Majeſty's Miniſters. I ſhall grant, that there was a Party in the Nation, as well as in each Houſe of Parliament, that diſapproved of thoſe Meaſures; and, I do not pretend to find fault with them for ſo doing. Thoſe that are not employed by his Majeſty, may differ in Opinion with thoſe that are, and, thank God! they may, in this free Country, avow their Sentiments, and declare them openly. This, I ſhall never find fault with: I hope we ſhall always retain this valuable Liberty: But, I muſt find fault, when Heats and Animoſities are mixed with that Liberty which is indulged us by our Conſtitution; and this is what his Majeſty moſt graciouſly, I think, adviſes us to avoid: This is what we are to declare we ſhall avoid, by the Addreſs my noble Friend has been pleaſed to propoſe; and this, I think, is the leaſt we can do, in return to that moſt gracious Advice, his Majeſty has vouchſafed to give us from the Throne.

I am far from ſaying, my Lords, that any Heats or Animoſities have lately appeared in this Houſe; but there have been Diviſions amongſt us, and, by what the noble Lord has ſaid of the late Convention, he has ſhewn, that thoſe Diviſions ſtill ſubſiſt. I am ſorry that Affair

ſhould

ſhould now be brought into any of our Debates. I am certain, it is what we have nothing to do with, upon this Occaſion; but, when fault is found with any paſt Meaſure, or ſatyrical Things thrown out againſt it, it is natural, and even reaſonable, in thoſe who adviſed or approved of it, to ſay ſomething in its Vindication. The Convention, my Lords, was attended with this Benefit at leaſt, that it gave us Time to prepare for War, and to give Notice to our Merchants, to withdraw their Effects out of the *Spaniſh* Dominions; and I muſt think, that *Spain*'s refuſing to perform what was therein ſtipulated, is now a ſtrong Argument for convincing us, that it was both honourable and advantageous on our Part. To which I muſt add, that it was not only ratified by his Majeſty, but approved of by both Houſes of Parliament; and therefore, if the Reſpect that is due to our Sovereign does not, the Reſpect we ought to have for that Aſſembly, of which we are Members, ought now to prevent our giving it ill Names, or loading it with any invidious Epithet.

I ſhall not now, my Lords, take upon me to determine, whether it would have been happy for this Nation or no, to have had the Convention punctually performed, on the Part of *Spain*. But, I cannot think it would have been any Loſs to us, to have had 95,000 *l.* of *Spaniſh* Money, to have divided amongſt our injured Merchants; and I am ſure, it would have been happy for the Nation, to have obtained Juſtice without a War, if ſuch a Thing could have been any way accompliſhed. This Conſideration muſt, of itſelf, juſtify our endeavouring to obtain Satisfaction, by Negotiation; and the Convention ſhewed, that our Hopes of ſucceeding in that Way, were not without ſome Foundation. Therefore, when I hear ſarcaſtical Reflections thrown out againſt our pacifick Meaſures, which, now War is declared, muſt be allowed to be quite out of the Queſtion, I muſt ſuppoſe, that it proceeds from that Spirit of Diviſion, which has ſhewn itſelf formerly even in this Houſe, and which has, without Doors, often broke forth in violent Heats and Animoſities.

By his Majeſty's Declaration of War, I ſhall grant, my Lords, that this Spirit ſeems to be ſomewhat allayed, but, I'm afraid, it is far from being extinguiſhed. The ſame Spirit that made ſome Part of the People ſhew ſuch Heats and Animoſities againſt thoſe Meaſures his Majeſty was pleaſed to take for preventing a War, will, I believe, prevail with them to find fault with every Meaſure his Majeſty may be pleaſed to take, for bringing it to a happy and ſpeedy Concluſion. The Misfortunes we may meet with, and ſome we muſt meet with, will be aggravated, the Advantages we may gain, and, I hope, we ſhall gain a great many, will be depreciated: In ſhort, unleſs your Lordſhips begin to ſhew a good Example, I expect that every Step of his Majeſty's Conduct in Time of War, will be oppoſed or miſrepreſented, as well as every Step of his Conduct has been in Time of Peace. The Calm we now ſeem to enjoy, is not, I'm afraid, owing to the utter Extinguiſhment of thoſe Flames of Striſe and Contention, which too often prevail in this Kingdom, but to their wanting Materials to feed on. The War has been ſo lately declared: The Incidents that have happened, or could have happened, are ſo few, that the moſt diſcontented have, as yet, no Room for ſhewing their Spleen againſt the Adminiſtration; but, from what has happened to-day, we have, I think, no Reaſon to conclude, that

our

our Diſcontents or Diviſions are at an end. No Fault can be found with the Declaration of War, no Fault can, as yet, be found with the Conduct of the War; but Fault muſt be found with ſomething; therefore, we have this Day had the Conduct of our publick Affairs for *twelve* or *fourteen* Years paſt examined into, and every Step of it, I think, condemned, tho' no Part of it any way relates to the Queſtion now before us. For my Part, my Lords, I ſhall not give your Lordſhips the Trouble of entering into a minute and particular Juſtification of our Conduct, and of all the publick Expences that have been incurred, during that long,—very long Period, as ſome have thought it: The Taſk would not be difficult; but it would be tedious, and, I think, unneceſſary: Therefore, I ſhall only obſerve in general, that every Step of our Conduct, during that Period, has been approved by both Houſes of Parliament, and every Article of our publick Expence, has not only been approved, but provided for, by Parliament; conſequently, as there have been ſeveral general Elections within that Period, I muſt think, that not only the Conduct of our publick Affairs, but all the publick Expence the Nation has been put to, has met with the Approbation of a great Majority of the People.

We are now, my Lords, engaged in a War, and in a War too, that may prove a very heavy and dangerous one, eſpecially, if, by our Diviſions, ſome of our Neighbours ſhould be encouraged to join with *Spain* againſt us, and our Allies diſcouraged from giving us any Aſſiſtance; therefore I wiſh ſome noble Lords would do what they acknowledge to be right: I wiſh they would forget all former Contentions, and heartily unite in every Thing that may tend to ſhew our Friends, as well as Enemies, that whatever Diviſions there may be amongſt us, whatever Faults we may find with the Conduct of our Miniſters, in Time of Peace, we will do nothing, nor ſay any Thing, that may diſconcert or interrupt them, in the Proſecution of a juſt and neceſſary War. If this had been the Caſe, I am ſure no Part of his Majeſty's Speech, nor any Part of the Addreſs now propoſed, would have been objected to; for, ſuppoſe there were now no Diviſions amongſt us, nor any Heats or Animoſities in the Nation, ſuppoſe there never had been any ſuch, yet, I cannot think it would have been wrong in his Majeſty now, at the Beginning of a War, to caution us againſt Diviſions, Heats, and Animoſities, nor in any of his Miniſters to adviſe him to do ſo; and far leſs would it have been wrong in us, to make a proper Return to that Part of his Majeſty's Speech, by declaring in our Addreſs, that we would take care to follow the Advice his Majeſty had ſo graciouſly and ſo properly given. It is what has been often done, by the Sovereign, from the Throne, and it is what this Houſe has never failed to make a proper Return to; therefore, if we ſhould, upon this Occaſion, neglect to do ſo, I ſhould think, I am ſure the whole World without Doors would think, it proceeded from that very Thing which his Majeſty complains of in his Speech, and to which he moſt juſtly, in my Opinion, imputes the late, and otherwiſe unaccountable Obſtinacy, or rather Contumacy of *Spain*. For this Reaſon, my Lords, I ſhall be ſo far from diſagreeing with any Part of the Addreſs my noble Friend has been pleaſed to propoſe, eſpecially that Part which ſome noble Lords have thought fit to object to, that if he had omitted to propoſe it, I ſhould have ſtood up in my Place, and

and endeavoured to ſupply the Defect, by way of Amendment.

The next Speaker upon this Subject, was C. Mucius Scævola, *whoſe Speech was in Subſtance thus:*

My Lords,

ALthough I have often had the Misfortune to find what I approved of, oppoſed by ſome Lords for whom I had a very great Eſteem, yet, I never could allow myſelf to call that Oppoſition a Diviſion, or to think that it proceeded from any Party-Prejudice, or private Diſcontent: and, I am ſure, it cannot, with the leaſt Juſtice, be ſaid, that any late Oppoſition has, in this Houſe, been carried on with Heat or Animoſity. I have been always ſo candid as to think, that if any Lord oppoſed what I approved, he did it, becauſe he thought it was wrong; and, if he propoſed any Thing in which I could not join, I have always ſuppoſed, he did it, becauſe he thought it was right. This has always been my Way of Thinking, about the Conduct of thoſe who differed from me in Opinion, and I hope it has been their Way of Thinking, about mine. Therefore, I cannot think there has been lately any Thing amongſt us that could properly be called a Diviſion, and I am ſure, there has of late no Heat or Animoſity appeared in any of our Debates. I have, indeed, obſerved great Heats and Animoſities expreſſed, both within Doors and without, againſt the inſulting Treatment we have, for many Years, received from *Spain*; but I was ſo far from diſapproving, that I have always joined in ſuch Heats and Animoſities: I have always reflected upon the Inſults offered us by *Spain*, with as great Indignation as any Man in the Kingdom, tho' I differed perhaps with ſome, as to the Method, or rather as to the Time of ſhewing our Reſentment in a proper Manner, againſt the Conduct of that inſolent and impotent Nation.

It is long ſince their Conduct deſerved the higheſt and moſt immediate Reſentment: It is long ſince we might, with Juſtice, have made them feel the moſt fatal Effects of our Vengeance; and whatever the natural Haughtineſs of that Nation may make them ſuppoſe, the reſt of *Europe* muſt be convinced, that our Forbearance has been owing to a Compaſſion for their Weakneſs, and not to any Dread of their Power. It was this, that made his Majeſty reſolve, by accepting of the late Convention, to give them a freſh Opportunity, for ſeeing the Fooliſhneſs of their Conduct towards us, and for preventing, by a Submiſſion, that ſevere Correction it deſerved to meet with. But I am ſurprized to hear ſome Lords inſiſt ſo ſtrongly, and as it were triumphantly, upon that Convention's meeting with the Approbation of both Houſes of Parliament. I believe, there were a great many, who approved of the Addreſs propoſed upon that Occaſion, tho' they were very far from approving of the Convention. I remember, one of the chief Arguments inſiſted on in favour of that Addreſs, was, that it did not imply an Approbation of the Convention. If ſuch a Thing had been propoſed, I believe, inſtead of meeting with the Concurrence of both Houſes of Parliament, it would have been rejected by both, with Diſdain.

I am convinced, that ſeveral Lords gave their Conſent to the Addreſs propoſed upon that Occaſion, becauſe they thought it did not imply an Approbation of the Convention; and as I had the Honour to be ſo well acquainted with the Meaſures his Majeſty had reſolved on, that, if *Spain* did not ſoon yield to a great deal more than

was

was expreſly ſtipulated by the Convention, I was thoroughly convinced, that a War would ſpeedily enſue; therefore, tho' I did not approve of the Convention, nor of the Addreſs that was propoſed upon that Occaſion, yet, I was againſt our doing any Thing in this Houſe that might hurry our Miniſters into a War, before they had ſufficiently provided for proſecuting it with Vigour; and, as a Reſolution propoſed in this Houſe, towards the End of laſt Seſſion, would have been a Sort of Parliamentary Declaration of War againſt *Spain*, and conſequently would have precipitated the Nation into a War, before we were ſufficiently prepared, either for defending ourſelves, or offending the Enemy, therefore, I was againſt that Reſolution, tho' it was propoſed and ſupported by ſeveral Lords for whom I ſhall always have the greateſt Regard.

So much I thought neceſſary to trouble your Lordſhips with, for explaining my Conduct laſt Seſſion, leſt it ſhould be inferred from what has been ſaid in this, that, if *Spain* had made the Payment ſtipulated by that Covention, I ſhould have been for continuing to negotiate with them for *eight* Months, or *one* Month longer, and allowing them, in the mean Time, to ſearch and ſeize our Ships in the *American* Seas. This, my Lords, I ſhould have been againſt, notwithſtanding my having been againſt the Reſolution propoſed at the End of laſt Seſſion; and, if this had happened to be the Caſe, it would, indeed, have made a Diviſion amongſt us; but then, it would have been ſuch a Diviſion as a noble Lord has repreſented: It would have been a Diviſion between the whole People of the Nation on one Side, and a very few of his Majeſty's Miniſters of the other. About the Time the Convention was concluded, there was, I ſhall grant, ſome Sort of Diſpute, tho' not properly a Diviſion, about the moſt proper Time for declaring War againſt *Spain*. Some thought that it ought then immediately to be declared, whilſt others thought that it was prudent to wait *four* Months longer. But no Man thought, at leaſt, no Man, Miniſter or other, dared to ſay, that, if *Spain* refuſed to make the ſtipulated Payment within the Time limited, or pretended to evade any longer ſettling the chief Point in Diſpute between the two Nations, we ought not, even in that Caſe, to declare War, or begin Repriſals againſt them. About this, there never was any Diſpute, much leſs a Diviſion amongſt us, and therefore, upon their failing to perform what they had promiſed, Hoſtilities were begun, and War at laſt declared, as I expected, with as great Unanimity among all Ranks and Degrees of Men, as any publick Meaſure ever met with. For this Reaſon, I cannot but diſapprove of that Paragraph in his Majeſty's Speech, which relates to Diviſions, Heats, and Animoſities; and much more muſt I diſapprove of the Return propoſed to be made to it in our Addreſs. The former, in my Opinion, bears, and the latter confirms, an Inſinuation, that is evidently and abſolutely falſe. They both tend to inſinuate, as if there were a Party amongſt us that, with Heat and Animoſity, oppoſed and condemned our having declared War againſt *Spain*. If a Foreigner, who knew nothing of the Diſpoſition of the People of this Nation, were to read his Majeſty's Speech, this, I am convinced, would be the Conſtruction he would put upon the Paragraph found fault with; and, in this Opinion he would be confirmed, by reading in our Addreſs, the Anſwer propoſed to be made to that Part of his Majeſty's Speech.

This, I ſay, my Lords, will be the Opinion of every Foreigner that reads his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne, and our Addreſs by way of Return; and as it is not only a falſe Opinion, but likewiſe an Opinion that may be of great Prejudice to this Nation, I ſhall be againſt our ſaying any Thing in our Addreſs that may tend towards eſtabliſhing, among Foreigners, a Belief in an Opinion ſo injurious to the People of this Kingdom, and ſo miſchievous with regard to its Conſequences in the preſent War.

I have, my Lords, the Satisfaction to think, that no Man doubts of my Eſteem for his Majeſty's Perſon, or my Zeal for his Service; but I ſhall always be for ſhewing that Eſteem, and teſtifying that Zeal, by declaring my Sentiments freely in every Place, and upon all Occaſions, where my Duty calls upon me to do ſo; and, upon the preſent Occaſion, I think, I am called upon to do ſo, by all the Ties of Honour, Loyalty, and Friendſhip; becauſe, I am convinced, his Majeſty would not, in his Speech, have made uſe of any ſuch Words as thoſe now complained of, if ſome malicious Inſinuations had not been made to him againſt thoſe who have, with great Calmneſs and Decency, oppoſed ſome late Meaſures, for no other Reaſon, I believe, but becauſe they thought them inconſiſtent with the Honour or Intereſt of their Country. As ſuch Inſinuations muſt tend towards giving his Majeſty an ill Impreſſion of thoſe, whom I ſhall always look on as good Subjects, tho' they may ſometimes differ with me in Opinion, therefore, I ſhall be againſt our doing any Thing in this Houſe, that may confirm ſuch Inſinuations; and for this Reaſon, I muſt be againſt inſerting in our Addreſs the Words or Expreſſions objected to, by ſome of the noble Lords who have ſpoke before me in this Debate.

As ſoon as C. Mucius Scævola *had ended his Diſcourſe,* C. Plinius Cæcilius *got up, and ſpoke in Subſtance as follows,* viz.

My Lords,

AS nothing is more neceſſary at the Beginning of a War, than Concord and Unanimity amongſt ourſelves; and as our Unanimity at preſent ſeems to be interrupted by a Miſapprehenſion of what his Majeſty has ſaid in his Speech from the Throne, and likewiſe of what the noble Lord has been pleaſed to propoſe by way of Anſwer; I hope your Lordſhips will excuſe my riſing up, to endeavour to reſtore that Unanimity which I wiſh to ſee eſtabliſhed, by explaining and removing that Miſtake which, I think, has occaſioned the preſent Interruption.

The Objections that have been made to ſome Part of the Addreſs propoſed, have, in my Opinion, my Lords, been occaſioned by ſuppoſing, that the Heats and Animoſities there mentioned, relate to the preſent Time, and to the late particular Meaſure, of declaring War againſt *Spain*. Now, if your Lordſhips will but conſider the Expreſſions themſelves, which the noble Lord was pleaſed to make uſe of, in that Part of the Propoſition he has made to you, which has been objected to, and the Expreſſions in that Part of his Majeſty's Speech to which they refer, you will ſee, that neither the one nor the other can be ſuppoſed to relate to the preſent Time, or to any particular Meaſure. The Expreſſions made uſe of by his Majeſty in his Speech from the Throne, and by his Lordſhip in the Propoſition he has made for an Addreſs by way of Anſwer thereto, plainly refer to the Time paſt, and to Heats and Animoſities in general, without the leaſt Application

to

to any particular Meaſure; and when this is maturely conſidered, I am of Opinion, no reaſonable Objection can be made, either to his Majeſty's Speech, or to any Part of the Propoſition now before you.

Upon the preſent Occaſion, my Lords, I do not think it neceſſary for me to ſhew, what Sort of Heats and Animoſities have been amongſt us, or how, or between whom, our late Diviſions have ariſen. It is acknowledged by all, that there have been Diviſions, Heats, and Animoſities, amongſt us: Nay, they became ſo notorious, that even our Enemies took Notice of them, as appears by the *Spaniſh* Manifeſto; and I am convinced they were, as his Majeſty has told us, the chief Cauſe of that Obſtinacy which *Spain* has of late Years ſhewn in all her Negotiations with us. Therefore, whatever theſe Diviſions were, they muſt be allowed to be a good Foundation for that fatherly and tender Exhortation to Peace and Unity, which his Majeſty has moſt graciouſly given us in his Speech from the Throne. Suppoſe our late Diviſions had been between the People of one Side, and his Majeſty's Miniſters or Servants on the other; and that thoſe Diviſions had occaſioned Heats and Animoſities in the Kingdom, even ſuch a Diviſion, if any ſuch could be, would be unhappy for the Nation; and as his Majeſty is the political Father of us all, as he is the Father of his Servants, as well as of his Subjects, it became, in that Caſe, neceſſary for him, eſpecially at the Beginning of a foreign War, to endeavour to reconcile them to each other, by recommending Peace and Unity to both; at leaſt it muſt, I think, be acknowledged, that it was gracious in him to do ſo, and that it ſhewed his Concern for the general Welfare of his Kingdoms.

But, my Lords, I am far from being of Opinion, that any ſuch Diviſion can ever exiſt, in which the whole People are of one Side, and the King's Miniſters, or a few of them only, of the other. I believe, the moſt hated or deſpiſed Adminiſtration that ever was in this Kingdom, had a great many Friends among the People, and a great Party that approved of their Meaſures; and therefore, I cannot approve of the Cuſtom mentioned by a noble Lord in this Debate, of making uſe of the Words People and Adminiſtration as two oppoſite Terms: I think it is an invidious Sort of Diſtinction; and therefore I muſt think, that the Cuſtom is at all Times ſomewhat ſeditious. If any one has of late made uſe of this Diſtinction, and endeavoured to recommend the Uſe of it to others, the doing ſo, could proceed from nothing but Heat and Animoſity; for none of his preſent Majeſty's Miniſters have done, or adviſed any Thing, that could give the leaſt Room for thinking, that they were in any Intereſt oppoſite to that of the People. Gentlemen may differ in their Opinions; and thoſe who have the Honour to ſerve his Majeſty, may think that for the Good of their Country, which others think not to be ſo; but thoſe who differ from them, ought to judge of their Conduct with that Candour and Charity, which the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt has recommended, and which, I am convinced, is a Way of Judging practiſed by him upon all Occaſions. If every Man, both within Doors and without, wou'd follow his Lordſhip's Example, we ſhould have no Heats or Animoſities in the Kingdom, nor would any one ſuppoſe ſuch a Diviſion, as that of the whole Body of the People upon one Side, and a few of his Majeſty's Miniſters upon the other.

Such a Diviſion, my Lords, can never, as I have ſaid, exiſt in any Country, and much leſs in this than any other, unleſs our Conſtitution ſhould be firſt overturned, or at leaſt ſuſpended; and I am ſure we have lately had nothing like it. We had, indeed, a very great Diviſion amongſt us, but laſt Seſſion of Parliament: Some were for an immediate War againſt *Spain*, notwithſtanding the Convention they had agreed to, and others were for waiting a few Months longer, to ſee if we could obtain Juſtice by peaceable Means. His Majeſty's Servants knowing the great Regard he had for the Trade and Welfare of his Subjects, were very generally, I believe, of the latter Party, which was ſo far from conſiſting of his Majeſty's Miniſters only, that it had a Majority in both Houſes of Parliament, and conſequently, by our Conſtitution, we are obliged to ſuppoſe, that it had a Majority among the People. Notwithſtanding this Majority, they ſupported their Opinion, both within Doors and without, with great Moderation and Tranquillity; but I cannot ſay ſo of the other Party. In this Houſe, I ſhall grant, there was no Heat or Animoſity appeared; but the Party without Doors did break out into Heats and Animoſities, and endeavoured, as is uſual upon all ſuch Occaſions, to ſupport by Noiſe and Clamour without Doors, what they could not ſupport by Reaſon and Argument within. This Diviſion, and theſe Heats and Animoſities, are now, 'tis true, at an End; but others may ariſe, and therefore it was very natural, and even neceſſary, I think, for his Majeſty, the next Time he met his Parliament, to recommend Unity and Concord, and to exhort us to avoid Heats and Animoſities. He does not ſo much as ſuppoſe there are any at preſent ſubſiſting: He gives us only a gracious Exhortation to avoid ſuch in Time to come: This ſurely can never be taken amiſs in any Country, or at any Time; and much leſs in a free Country, where Diviſions, Heats and Animoſities are apt to ariſe, notwithſtanding the utmoſt Caution; and at the Beginning of a heavy and dangerous War, when they may be of more pernicious Conſequence than at any other Time.

Having thus explained to your Lordſhips, what is meant by that Paragraph in his Majeſty's Speech, in which Diviſions, Heats, and Animoſities are mentioned, I hope it will appear, that no reaſonable Objection can be made to it: I hope it will appear, that it is only a general Exhortation to Peace and Unity; and ſhall we ſo much neglect, or rather, in my Opinion, contemn ſuch a kind, ſuch a gracious, and ſuch a fatherly Exhortation, as not to make the leaſt Return to it in our Addreſs? What the noble Lord has propoſed, is, I think, the leaſt Return we can make: His Lordſhip's Propoſition, like what his Majeſty has ſaid in his Speech, does not relate to the preſent Time, nor to any particular Diviſion that has been amongſt us. It is only a general Declaration, that we will promote Harmony and Unanimity in Time to come. This is, I hope, what every Lord in this Houſe is reſolved on, and therefore, I hope, no Lord will oppoſe our giving his Majeſty and his Allies the Satisfaction, and his and our Enemies the Mortification, to declare it in the Terms propoſed, or in more expreſs Terms, if ſuch could be contrived and were thought neceſſary.

C. Claudius Nero *was the next that ſpoke, the Purport of whoſe Speech was as follows*, viz.

My Lords,

IF I were to conſider his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne, as a Speech really framed by himſelf, and without the Advice of any of his Mini-

Miniſters, I ſhould be apt to join with the noble Lord that ſpoke laſt, in looking upon it as a fatherly and tender Exhortation; but it is well known, that in this Houſe we always do, nay, we ought to conſider his Majeſty's Speech as the Speech of his Miniſter; and, when I conſider it in that Light, I cannot look upon that Part of it, which relates to Diviſions, Heats and Animoſities, as a friendly Exhortation: I muſt look upon it as a deſigned Reflection upon thoſe, who, not only laſt Year, but for many Years preceding, took the Liberty to condemn his tame Submiſſions and pacifick Negotiations, which have, as was long ſince foretold, at laſt ended in an open and declared War; and that at a Seaſon, which, if we conſider the preſent Situation of Affairs in *Europe*, we muſt allow to be the moſt unlucky for this Nation, of any we could have choſen, ever ſince *Spain* began to inſult and plunder, and he to negotiate and ſubmit.

In this Light, I ſay, my Lords, I muſt conſider it, and I conſider it in this Light, becauſe we have of late Years had no Appearance of any Diviſion, much leſs of any Heat or Animoſity, but what has been occaſioned by his Meaſures. We have lately had none of thoſe Party Diviſions amongſt us, with which this Nation uſed formerly to be perplexed: The *Jacobite* Party is now, thank God! entirely broke: Whig and Tory, High Church and Low, have been many Years ago quite forgot: We are all united in a Reſolution to ſupport and preſerve our Conſtitution under the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment: Nothing like a Diviſion has for many Years appeared amongſt us, but what was occaſioned by ſome Miniſterial Meaſure, which was thought ruinous to the Trade, or inconſiſtent with the Honour of the Nation; and in ſuch Circumſtances, when the Miniſter comes and tells us, That Heats and Animoſities have been, with the greateſt Induſtry, fomented throughout the Kingdom; that our Diviſions have encouraged our Neighbours to uſe us ill; and that we ought to avoid all ſuch for the future; I muſt look upon it as a deſigned Reflection upon thoſe, who have found fault with any of his Meaſures in Time paſt, and as an imperious Sort of Exhortation to approve and ſubmit blindly, in Time to come, to every Thing he may vouchſafe to propoſe to us, and to every Meaſure he may think fit to purſue.

This, my Lords, is the Conſtruction that muſt be put upon what is ſaid in his Majeſty's Speech about Diviſions, Heats, and Animoſities, by every Lord who conſiders the Speech in that Light, in which alone it ought to be conſidered in this Houſe. This is what could not but be foreſeen by thoſe who adviſed the Speech; and therefore, if they have this Day heard any unwelcome and galling Truths relating to their paſt Conduct; if their paſt Meaſures have not been allowed to ſink into that Oblivion they deſerve; thoſe who adviſed the Speech have themſelves only to blame; for when an Oppoſition, that Experience as well as Reaſon has juſtify'd, is called Animoſity, and is aſſigned as the Cauſe of that Misfortune, which evidently proceeded, not from the Oppoſition, but from the Meaſures that were oppoſed, it became neceſſary for thoſe who had joined in that Oppoſition, to juſtify their Oppoſition, by expoſing and again demonſtrating the Weakneſs of thoſe Meaſures they had oppoſed. The Diſagreement therefore that has this Day happened amongſt us, and which ought, certainly, by all Means to have been prevented, is not owing to thoſe who have this Day found fault with paſt Meaſures, but to thoſe who moſt unneceſſarily, I ſhall not ſay arrogantly,

revived

revived the Memory of them, by giving the invidious Names of Diviſion, Heat, and Animoſity, to the Oppoſition that was made to them.

From this Conſideration, every Lord that has this Day found fault with any of our late Meaſures, muſt be juſtified, and from this likewiſe, I hope, I ſhall be juſtified, in taking ſome Notice of what has been this Day ſaid in favour of our late Convention with *Spain*. The Diſadvantages and Diſhonour of that Treaty were laſt Seſſion ſo fully expoſed, that I ſhould not have given your Lordſhips the Pain to hear that Treaty again mentioned, if ſome Arguments had not been now advanced in its Vindication, that neither were, nor could be made uſe of, when it was laſt Year under our Conſideration. We have been told, my Lords, that this Treaty now appears to have been an honourable and advantageous Treaty for this Nation, becauſe *Spain* refuſed to perform it on their Part. So far otherwiſe, that their refuſing to pay the 95,000*l.* confirms what was ſaid laſt Year by thoſe that oppoſed our Approving of the Treaty. They then foretold, that *Spain* would not pay a Shilling of that Money, unleſs our *South-Sea* Company firſt paid them the 68,000*l.* they demanded; and the Event has confirmed what was then propheſied; which ſhews, that the Treaty was really more diſhonourable, than what upon the Face of it appeared; tho' even this pretty clearly appeared, by the King of *Spain*'s Declaration, which our Negotiators had, it ſeems, accepted of as the Condition upon which his very Signing, and much more his Performing of that Treaty, was to be proceeded on. Their inſiſting upon our receiving that Declaration, ſhewed the Contempt they had of our Conduct, and their adhering ſo cloſely to what they thereby declared, was only a farther and a ſtronger Manifeſtation of that Contempt.

Another new Argument this Day made uſe of in favour of that Convention, is, that it was neceſſary for us to prepare for War before we declared it; and that the Convention gave us Time to be prepared for War, and to ſend Notice to our Merchants to remove their Ships and Effects out of the *Spaniſh* Dominions, which we could not otherwiſe have had. This Argument, my Lords, is built upon the Suppoſition of a Fact, which every one knows to be falſe. Did we make the leaſt Preparation for War during the *four* Months the Convention held us in Suſpence? Did we in all that Time give the leaſt Hint to our Merchants to withdraw their Effects? It is well known, that we did not begin to prepare for War till the Month of *June* laſt, nor did we ſend Notice to our Merchants to withdraw their Effects, till the Month of *July*; and might not this have been done in the Month of *June* or *July* was a Twelve-month, as well as in the Month of *June* or *July* laſt? Certainly it might. Nay, we can always, in a Month's Time, prepare ſufficiently for commencing a War againſt *Spain* alone, and therefore have no Occaſion for entering into a diſhonourable Negotiation, much leſs for concluding a diſhonourable Treaty with them for ſuch a Purpoſe.

As theſe, my Lords, are the only new Arguments I have this Day heard in favour of that moſt diſhonourable Treaty, I ſhall give your Lordſhips no farther Trouble upon a Subject, that I ſhall always mention with Reluctance, becauſe the leaſt Mention of it muſt, I think, be grating to every Man that hears it, if he has any Regard for the Honour or Intereſt of this Kingdom. What I have ſaid, when added to what has been before ſaid upon the ſame Subject, will ſufficiently juſtify the Oppoſition that was made to it; therefore, I muſt think, it was wrong to adviſe the Inſerting of any Thing in his Majeſty's Speech, that might ſeem to caſt a Reflection upon that Oppoſition; and conſequently, I muſt be againſt our enforcing, and, as it were, redoubling that Reflection, by any Words in our Addreſs. I know, that the Cuſtom of *ecchoing* back (I muſt, my Lords, make uſe of the Word *Eccho*; if I knew a more burleſque Word, or a Word that more ſtrongly ſhewed my Contempt, I would certainly uſe it) I ſay, my Lords, I know that the Cuſtom of *ecchoing* back his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne, in the Addreſs of this Houſe, is of ſome Standing; but I likewiſe know, that Miniſters have, ever ſince that Cuſtom began, had more Influence in Parliament, than they had in former Reigns, and more, perhaps, than they ought to have in any Reign. Such a Cuſtom is rather a Sign of Complaiſance to the Miniſter, than of Reſpect to the Sovereign. The greateſt and beſt Sign of Reſpect we can ſhew to the Sovereign, is Sincerity; and, if this Cuſtom continues for any Time longer, our Sincerity to our Sovereign will, I am afraid, be loſt in a fawning Complaiſance to his Miniſter.

Let us therefore, my Lords, take this Opportunity, which I think a good one, to interrupt the Cuſtom, leſt it ſhould, as other Cuſtoms have done, become Common Law, which the Lawyers ſay is Common Reaſon, even tho' it be inconſiſtent with the Reaſon of every Man but a Lawyer. But, if your Lordſhips are reſolved, that your Addreſs ſhall be a compleat and faithful *Eccho* to the Speech, I think, you ſhould go farther than has yet been propoſed: I think you ſhould take ſpecial Care to declare it as your Opinion, that the Heats and Animoſities fomented amongſt us, has been one of the chief Encouragements to the Court of *Spain*, to hold ſuch a Conduct towards this Nation, as to make

make it neceſſary to have Recourſe to Arms; becauſe, this I take to be, with Regard to the Miniſter, the moſt important Sentence in the whole Speech; and therefore ought not, ſurely, to be neglected by thoſe, who think that every material Sentence in his Majeſty's Speech ought to be moſt dutifully *eccboed* back to the Throne by the Addreſs of this Houſe.

L. Æmilius Paullus *roſe up next, and ſpoke to this Effect*, viz.

My Lords,

I Muſt begin what I have to ſay to your Lordſhips upon this Occcaſion, with obſerving, that I am very much diſappointed in the Hopes, I with Pleaſure entertained for ſome Time, before we met in this Houſe. Our Situation before this Seſſion opened, was very different from what it was before the Opening of the laſt. We had then juſt received the ſorrowful Tidings of a new Convention between us and *Spain*, which, before we ſaw it, had great Encomiums beſtowed upon it, by thoſe who had been concerned in the Negotiation. This new Treaty was to put a happy and an honourable End to all our Differences with *Spain*. It was to give Reparation to our injured Merchants, and to procure Satisfaction to the Nation, and Security to our Trade in Time to come. In ſhort, it was to give us all we wanted, and more than we could have expected. But theſe Encomiums I could put no Faith in. I knew the Haughtineſs of thoſe we had been treating with; I knew the contemptible Opinion they had of the Perſons they treated with; and therefore, I expected, that this new Treaty would reſemble ſome former Treaties we have lately made, in nothing ſo much as in Diſhonour and Diſgrace. This made me expect to ſee, during that Seſſion, great Contention within Doors, and great Murmurings and Diſcontents without; and in this I was not diſappointed.

But before the Opening of this Seſſion, my Lords, we were in a very different Situation. Our Negotiations, with *Spain* at leaſt, were, thank God! at an End. A War was actually declared, which was what all, but a very few amongſt us, had long and ardently wiſhed for; and this Nation was in a Way, by which we have never failed doing ourſelves Juſtice, when our Arms were prudently and vigorouſly conducted. From this Situation, I expected to ſee nothing, during this Seſſion of Parliament, but Concord and Unanimity within Doors, and Joy and Acclamations without. I expected to hear nothing of paſt Meaſures, eſpecially from thoſe who could not be inſenſible of the Diſcontents their paſt Meaſures had occaſioned. I expected nothing but a moſt cordial and unanimous Concurrence in proper Meaſures for enabling his Majeſty to convince our Enemies, that we are better Fighters than Negotiators; and that tho' they had for many Years eluded the Force of our Rhetorick, they ſhould be unable to elude, for as many Months, the Force of our Arms.

A These, my Lords, I ſay, were my Expectations before the Opening of this Seſſion of Parliament, and in theſe, I can aſſure your Lordſhips, I took great Delight. But thoſe who had the Adviſing and Drawing up of this Speech now under our Conſideration, have, I find, taken the very firſt Opportunity to diſappoint me in my Hopes. Inſtead of applying to us in a modeſt, prudent, and conciliating Manner, for thoſe Supplies that may be neceſſary for carrying on the War; they have begun with throwing unjuſt and ill-grounded B Reflections upon their Country, and upon all thoſe that oppoſed the fruitleſs and deſtructive Meaſures they took for preventing it: Meaſures, which every one foreſaw would be fruitleſs, before the Event ſhewed them to be ſo; and Meaſures, which, in the mean Time, ruined the Trade, exhauſted the Treaſure, and expoſed the Character of their Country.

This, my Lords, to me looks as if they C were more ſollicitous about juſtifying their Pacifick Meaſures, than they are about meriting the Approbation of their Country as to their Warlike; and this, I muſt ſay, is but a bad Omen of our future Succeſs, if they be intruſted with the Conduct of the War; for nothing can contribute more to the Juſtification of their late Pacifick Schemes, than an D unfortunate Iſſue of the War we are now engaged in.

I ſhall grant, my Lords, that an Advice or Caution againſt Diviſions, Heats, and Animoſities, has been often repeated to us in Speeches from the Throne; and I do not at all wonder at it, for nothing is ſo like one Miniſter as another Miniſter. Miniſters muſt always be, they ought to be, the Adviſers of E the King's Speech to his Parliament. As great a Man, and as good a Judge of our Conſtitution, as ever ſat in this Houſe, often gave it as his Opinion, that if Miniſters were not, they ought to be the Adviſers of every Speech the King makes from the Throne, and were anſwerable for every Expreſſion made uſe of upon ſuch Occaſions; therefore we are not to F be ſurprized at the frequent Repetition we find of this Caution againſt Heats and Animoſities; for Miniſters are apt to look upon every Oppoſition to their Meaſures as an Animoſity; and peeviſh Miniſters often prevail with their Maſter to declare it ſo from the Throne; but however this may ſerve the Peeviſhneſs of a Miniſter, it is of great Diſadvantage to the Crown, becauſe it engages the G King in the Party with his Miniſter, which is very ſeldom either the honeſteſt or moſt numerous Party in the Kingdom.

For this Reaſon, my Lords, I ſhall never think it very dutiful in a Miniſter to put

ſuch a Caution in the Mouth of his Sovereign; and to put ſuch a Caution or Advice into the King's Speech, at a Time when there neither is, nor has been, any Diviſion, Heat, or Animoſity, in the Kingdom, but ſuch as have been occaſioned by his Meaſures, I ſhall always think, in ſome Degree, criminal. In former Reigns, particularly in King *William*'s Reign, there was ſome Reaſon for the Sovereign's giving a Caution to his Parliament againſt Diviſions, Heats, and Animoſities, becauſe there were contending Parties in the Kingdom, which no way proceeded from any publick Meaſures purſued by the Miniſters; but, in this Reign there have been no ſuch Parties; and yet, theſe Exhortations have been oftner made uſe of in this Reign, than in any former: I think they have been in the Speech at the Opening of every Seſſion ſince the famous *Exciſe Scheme*, except the firſt Seſſion of this Parliament, when the Complexion of the other Houſe was not perhaps ſo well known as it was ſoon after.

Who was the Author or Drawer-up of the Speech now under our Conſideration, I do not pretend to know; but in this Houſe, my Lords, it is certain, we are not to ſay, the King was: We muſt ſuppoſe it was ſome of his Majeſty's Miniſters; and conſidering there is now the greateſt Unanimity that, I believe, ever was in this Nation, conſidering there has not lately been any Diviſion, Heat, or Animoſity in the Kingdom, unleſs that Oppoſition be called ſo, which was made to their late pacifick Schemes, I cannot think it was right or modeſt in them, to put thoſe Expreſſions in his Majeſty's Speech, which are now found fault with. The noble Lord who ſpoke laſt but one ſays, they do not relate to the preſent Time, or to any particular Meaſure. I muſt beg Pardon to differ from him, tho' I am far from pretending to be ſo good a Judge of Language as he is. The Expreſſions both in the Speech, and in the Addreſs propoſed, plainly relate to the preſent Time. His Majeſty ſays, *the unhappy Diviſions amongſt my Subjects*, are *the only Hopes of the Enemies to my Government*: Do not theſe Words, does not the Word, *are*, in particular, relate to the preſent Time? Again, with regard to the Addreſs propoſed, can we with any Propriety ſay, that nothing ſhall be wanting on our Part to heal up our Diviſions, if there are none ſuch now ſubſiſting in the Kingdom? Can we ſay, that his Majeſty had *any Occaſion* to repeat his Admonitions, if our Diviſions are all entirely healed up, and no ſuch Thing as any Heats or Animoſities in the Kingdom? As to the Meaſures, my Lords, which thoſe Expreſſions were deſigned to relate to, I ſhall not pretend to determine; but I know of no publick Meaſure that has been lately oppoſed with any Sort of Warmth, but our Negotiations with *Spain*, and the Convention, that was the unhappy Iſſue of thoſe Negotiations; and I cannot think it right to ſay, that thoſe who oppoſed theſe Meaſures, or indeed any Meaſures, were induſtrious Fomenters of Heats and Animoſities, which is expreſly ſaid both in the Speech, and in what the noble Lord has propoſed to be our Addreſs by way of Anſwer to that Speech. In this Country, and by our Conſtitution, whoever thinks any publick Meaſure inconſiſtent with the Happineſs of his Country, has a Right, nay, he is in Duty bound, to take every legal Method he can think of, to warn the People of their Danger: He is not, for that Reaſon, to be called a Fomenter of Heats and Animoſities: No Man will call him ſo, but a peeviſh aſſuming Miniſter, who, by a long Poſſeſſion of too much Power, begins to think, that no Man in the Kingdom ought to oppoſe his good Will and Pleaſure.

I muſt likewiſe obſerve, my Lords, that I differ from the ſame noble Lord in another Thing he was pleaſed to advance. I muſt think, that a Diviſion between the People of one Side, and the Miniſters of the other, is ſuch a Diviſion as may exiſt, even in this Country. I ſhall grant, that Miniſters muſt always have a Party for their Support; but when that Party conſiſts of Men that liſt themſelves in the Miniſter's Party, not becauſe they approve his Meaſures, but becauſe they receive his Pay, I cannot look upon them as any Part of the People: I muſt look upon them, as well as him, as the Enemies of the People; and the more of them he has in his Pay, the more criminal he muſt always be. If ſuch a Miniſter and ſuch a Party ſhould ever happen, to our Misfortune, to exiſt in this Kingdom, they would, it is true, be the King's Subjects; but, like other Criminals, they would be ſuch Subjects as ought to be hanged. I ſhall alſo grant that, whilſt our Conſtitution remains entire, no ſuch Miniſter can long ſtand his Ground in this Kingdom; becauſe, if our Parliament ſhould be allowed to ſit, and if both Houſes ſhould continue as incorrupt as, I hope, they are at preſent, ſuch a Miniſter would ſoon, by a Parliamentary Proſecution, be brought to what he deſerved: But we know that ſome Miniſters have found Means to govern, or rather to oppreſs the Nation for ſeveral Years, without any Parliament at all; and others have done the ſame Thing, by means of a penſionary Parliament. Therefore, ſuch a Diviſion may exiſt even in this Country, tho' it has never yet long exiſted: Theſe over-grown Miniſters have, generally hitherto, fallen a Sacrifice to their own Inſolence and Ambition, ſoon after the Body of the People declared againſt them; but the Misfortune is, that the Sovereign has ſometimes been overwhelmed in the Ruins.

I

I ſhall always, my Lords, be ready to judge charitably of other Mens Conduct, either in publick or private Life. I ſhall always be ready to ſuppoſe that Men act from right Principles, and that they at leaſt think they are doing what is right; but this Rule can take place only in Caſes of a diſputable Nature. If a Highway-man or Pick-pocket ſhould tell me, that he thought he did People a Service by robbing them or picking their Pockets, or by holding their Hands and preventing their being able to defend themſelves, or ſecure the Villains that plundered them, I believe no Charity would oblige me to believe ſuch a one to be an honeſt Man; and much leſs would Complaiſance prevail with me, or a Reward induce me, to call him ſo. In publick Life, it is the ſame: When a Miniſter engages in no Meaſures but what may be ſuppoſed to be for the publick Good, Charity may induce me to believe, that he thinks he is doing right, tho' I differ from him in Opinion; and ſuch a Miniſter, tho' his Meaſures be found fault with by ſome, yet he may depend upon having always a great Part of the People of his Side; but when a Miniſter engages in ſuch Meaſures as evidently tend to the Ruin of his Country, there is no Room for Charity, one muſt believe him to be either an egregious Fool, or an arrant Knave.

This, my Lords, muſt be every honeſt Man's Way of judging, in Caſes that admit of no Diſpute; but, even in Caſes that are diſputable, tho' Charity obliges me to believe that Miniſters think their Meaſures calculated for the Good of their Country, yet, if I think otherwiſe, I am obliged to oppoſe them, and may take ſuch legal Methods as I think fit, to prevent or defeat them, without deſerving to be called a Fomenter of Heats or Animoſities. This was the Caſe, with regard to the late Convention: It was thought, by many, to be a moſt ſcandalous and deſtructive Treaty: I thought ſo as ſoon as I ſaw it: I think ſo ſtill; for I do not think myſelf in the leaſt concluded by the ſide-wind Approbation it met with. A Treaty's being approved by a Majority in Parliament, does not oblige the Minority to approve of it. Your Lordſhips have all a Right to ſhew that you diſapprove of what meets with the Approbation of the Majority, and to leave a Teſtimony of your Diſapprobation upon Record. Nay, even a future Parliament is not obliged to approve of what, perhaps, met with a very general Approbation in the preceding. The Treaty of *Utrecht* was approved of by a Majority in both Houſes of Parliament. I remember, I then diſapproved of it, and gave my Sentiments very freely in this Houſe againſt it; and I remember the Reward I met with for ſo doing. That very Treaty was, in a future Parliament, ſo highly diſapproved of, that ſome of thoſe who had the chief Hand in making it, were puniſhed by Parliament; and others had, perhaps, been more ſeverely puniſhed, if they had not fled from Juſtice. This, my Lords, may perhaps be the Fate of the Convention in ſome future Parliament, tho' the Father of it ſeems now extremely fond of his Child; for I cannot but look upon his Majeſty's Speech, and the Addreſs now propoſed, as a ſecond Approbation of that Convention: I muſt think them deſigned as a new Triumph over thoſe that oppoſed it, which can give no great Joy to the Nation, whatever it may do to the Father of the Convention; and therefore I wiſh that, in order to make his Country rejoice as well as himſelf, he would hereafter take as much care to triumph over thoſe that broke it, as he now takes to triumph over thoſe that oppoſed it.

This ſecond Approbation, this new Triumph, I ſhould have been eaſy about, I ſhould have given myſelf no Trouble in oppoſing it, if I had not thought it an Encroachment upon the Conſtitution of my Country, and an Impoſition upon my Royal Maſter. I think it a moſt dangerous Encroachment upon the Freedom of our Conſtitution, to have the legal Oppoſers of any publick Meaſure repreſented as Fomenters of Heats and Animoſities, and Promoters of Diviſions among the People. If they had been guilty of any illegal or violent Practices, there might have been ſome Room for giving them ſuch hard Names; but, as no ſuch Practices have been lately attempted, it muſt be allowed, by every one who underſtands our Conſtitution, to be a downright Miſrepreſentation; and it is a moſt dangerous Impoſition upon our Sovereign, to make him the Author of ſuch a Miſrepreſentation. I muſt likewiſe look upon it as a moſt dangerous Impoſition, to make him believe, that there are unhappy Diviſions, or any Diviſions, amongſt his Subjects, from whence his Enemies can have the leaſt Room to hope for Succeſs. I wiſh they may have no other Foundation to build their Hopes on; for, if they have not, they will ſoon ſee that they have nothing to hope for, but from his Majeſty's Juſtice and Moderation.

Whatever Diſputes our late pacifick Meaſures occaſioned, and theſe were the only Diſputes that can be ſaid to have produced any Diviſions, or any Thing like Heats or Animoſities amongſt us, they are all now happily ended by his Majeſty's Declaration of War. That Declaration, my Lords, I muſt join with a noble Lord that ſpoke ſome Time ago, in applauding. I think it is extreme'y right: It is well and ſtrong'y worded: The Facts are well choſen, and the Thoughts expreſſed with great Energy; but I muſt obſerve, that it is a Sort of Summary of the Arguments made uſe of laſt Year againſt the Convention, and Part of it, I believe, expreſſed almoſt in the very

very Words of the Proteſt ſigned by many of your Lordſhips upon that Occaſion, and entered upon the Journals of this Houſe, as a Teſtimony to Poſterity, of your having diſapproved of what was then agreed to by a Majority. This Declaration, my Lords, has given full Satisfaction to every Man that was diſpleaſed with our former pacifick Meaſures; and ſurely, no Man can ſuppoſe, that it is diſagreeable to thoſe that adviſed it. It is therefore unjuſt to ſay, that there are any Diviſions in this Nation: It was wrong to ſay ſo to his Majeſty: It was more wrong to adviſe him to ſay ſo in his Speech from the Throne; and it would be ſtill more wrong in us to confirm that Miſrepreſentation, by any Sort of Inſinuation in our Addreſs.

War, my Lords, was what the whole Nation, except a very few, long ſince deſired. The Few that were againſt it have done what was their Duty: They have yielded to the general Voice of their Country; and the War is now declared. I have already ſaid, and I muſt again ſay, that I thank God for it; for I think it a moſt providential War for this Nation. It could be nothing but Providence that could ſo harden the Hearts, or rather blind the Underſtandings of the *Spaniards*, as to make them refuſe or neglect to perform, on their Part, a Treaty which was both honourable and advantageous for them, but moſt inglorious and deſtructive for us. To us it would have been moſt unlucky, if they had paid the Sum ſtipulated by that Treaty. It was a Providence moſt propitious to this Nation, that put them into a Humour to hold us in ſuch Contempt as to refuſe making that Payment, which they had ſo ſolemnly promiſed; and as Providence has been favourable to us in forcing us into the War, I hope it will be as favourable to us in the Proſecution. It is hardly poſſible the Event ſhould be unfortunate for this Nation, unleſs we render it ſo by our own Conduct; and as an uncorrupt and independent Parliament is the beſt Check upon a Miniſter's Conduct, I ſhall look on it as a bad Omen of our future Conduct, if we ſhould, in this firſt Seſſion, after the Commencement of the War, ſhew ſo much Complaiſance to any Miniſter, as to confirm a Miſrepreſentation made by him to the Crown, eſpecially as that Miſrepreſentation is of ſuch a Nature, that if it be believed, it muſt render our Enemies more obſtinate, and our Friends leſs ready to join in any Alliance with us.

L. *Æmilius Paullus having thus ended his Diſcourſe*, C. Plinius Cæcilius *again roſe up and obſerved*, That although an Objection had been made to ſome Part of the noble Lord's Propoſition for an Addreſs, and a long Debate had enſued, yet no Motion had been regularly made for an Amendment; therefore, he thought it his Duty to take Notice, that if they inſiſted upon their Objection, it would be neceſſary to mention the Words to be left out, and to think of ſome Words to be put in their Stead; after which the Queſtion he was to put, would be, Whether the Words propoſed to be left out ſhould ſtand Part of the Motion.

Upon this Q. Fabius Maximus *ſtood up, and ſpoke to this Effect*, viz.

My Lords,

THE Words objected to, have been already mentioned, and I do not think it neceſſary to propoſe any Words to be put in their Stead, till the Queſtion be firſt put, Whether or no they ſhall ſtand Part of the Motion. If that Queſtion be carried in the Negative, it will then be Time enough to think, whether any, and what Words ought to be inſerted in the Room of thoſe left out. This, I think, my Lords, is the Parliamentary Way of Proceeding; and the Objections have been already ſo fully explained, and the Reaſonableneſs of them ſo ſtrongly enforced, that I think it unneceſſary for me to add any Thing further upon the Subject. What the next Queſtion may be, I ſhall not pretend to ſay, nor is it neceſſary I ſhould. Perhaps it may be, To Addreſs his Majeſty to know who adviſed him to put into his Speech that Paragraph, which has been found fault with in this Debate. Even this would be Parliamentary; but whether your Lordſhips will think proper to go ſo far, I do not know. However, my Lords, to obviate the preſent ſeeming Difficulty, I ſhall make you the Motion for an Amendment, in Form, thus: That the Motion made by the noble Lord, ſhould be amended by leaving out the Words, *That it gives us inexpreſſible Concern*, &c. as far as the Words, *That we are determined*———

L. Icilius *ſtood up and ſpoke next, whoſe Speech, which is the laſt I ſhall give you upon this Subject, was in Subſtance thus*:

My Lords,

THE noble Lord upon the Wool-Sack did not find fault with your Lordſhips Manner of Proceeding: He only mentioned what was proper to be done; and when there is any Defect or Omiſſion as to the Form of your Proceedings, it is his Duty to acquaint you with it, and to inform you of what ought to be done. I ſhall grant, it is not abſolutely neceſſary to mention before-hand, whether any, and what Words are to be put inſtead of thoſe propoſed to be left out; but it is uſual, and even Candor ſeems to require it, becauſe from thence, ſeveral Lords may determine how to vote upon the firſt Queſtion.

As to the Words objected to, I cannot, for my

any Part, ſee the leaſt Occaſion for leaving them out: I even think it neceſſary to keep them in. I ſhall admit, my Lords, that the late Conduct of *Spain*, eſpecially their Non-performance of what they promiſed by the late Convention, has rendered us unanimous for War. But War or no War, was not the only Diſpute or Diviſion amongſt us. There have been many others, ſome of which ſtill ſubſiſt; and whatever there may be within Doors, I am certain there are ſtill great Heats and Animoſities without. Are there not ſeditious Libels now printed and diſperſed? Are there not malicious Stories ſpread againſt the Government daily? Sometimes it is ſaid, That we are not yet in earneſt as to the War: At other Times it is ſaid, That, notwithſtanding our Declaration of War, we dare not ſtrike a Stroke. Many ſuch falſe and ſcandalous Opinions are with great Induſtry propagated. All the Meaſures of our Government are miſrepreſented to this very Day. Even the Proceedings of this Houſe are libelled, not only in Converſation, but in Print. Is not every Lord ſenſible of this? Do not your Lordſhips all know it? And in ſuch Circumſtances, was it not extremely proper for his Majeſty to caution us againſt Diviſions, Heats, and Animoſities? Will it not be neceſſary for us to declare in our Addreſs, That we ſhall endeavour to avoid adding Fuel to the Heats and Animoſities without Doors, by our Diſputes and Diviſions within?

[*This* JOURNAL *to be continued in our next.*]

T. Quintius, in the Character of the Right Honourable the Lord *Talbot*.

C. Claudius Nero, in the Character of the Right Hon. the Earl of *Wincheſea* and *Nottingham*. (See p. 219.)

Craftſman, May 24. N° 725.

The HIERARCHY *of a* PRINTING-OFFICE.

THE firſt *Printing-Preſs* in *England* was ſet up in a Chapel in *Weſtminſter-Abbey*, or ſome other *religious Houſe*; from whence that Part of the Houſe, which is aſſign'd for *Printing*, hath been ever ſince call'd a *Chapel*, and conſtituted in an *eccleſiaſtical Manner*, with divers Rites and Ceremonies.

When a *Printer* firſt ſets up, if it is an Houſe that was never uſed for *Printing* before, the Part deſign'd for that Purpoſe is *conſecrated*, which is perform'd by the *ſenior Freeman* the *Maſter* employs, who is the *Father or Dean of the Chapel*; and the chief Ceremony is drinking Succeſs to the *Maſter*, ſprinkling the Walls with ſtrong Beer, and ſinging the Cuz's Anthem; at the Concluſion of which there is a Supper given by the *Maſter*.

All the Workmen are call'd *Chapellonians*, who are obliged to ſubmit to *certain Laws*, all of which are calculated for the Good of the whole Body, and for the well-carrying on of the *Maſter*'s Buſineſs. To the Breach of *theſe Laws* is annex'd a Penalty, which an obſtinate Member ſometimes refuſes to pay; upon which it is left to the Majority of the *Chapel*, in Convocation aſſembled, whether he ſhall be continued any longer a *Chapellonian*; and if his Sentence is to be diſcontinued, he is then declared a *Brimſtone*; that is, an *excommunicated Perſon*, and deprived of all Share of the Money given by Gentlemen, Authors, Bookſellers and others, to make them drink, eſpecially that great annual Solemnity, commonly call'd the *Way-Gooſe Feaſt*.

Whilſt he continues in this State, he can have no Redreſs for any Miſchief that is done him; ſo that, in a ſhort Time, he is glad to pay the *Penalty*, which he had incurr'd, and a *diſcretionary Fine* beſides, to reconcile himſelf to the *Chapel*.

When a Boy is to be bound Apprentice, before he is admitted a *Chapellonian*, it is neceſſary for him to be made a *Cuz*, or *Deacon*; in the Performance of which there are a great many Ceremonies. The *Chapellonians* walk three Times round the Room, their right Arms being put thro' the Lappets of their Coats; the Boy who is to be made a *Cuz*, carrying a wooden Sword before them. Then the Boy kneels, and the *Father of the Chapel*, after exhorting him to be obſervant of his Buſineſs, and not to betray the Secrets of the *Workmen*, ſqueezes a Spunge of ſtrong Beer over his Head, and gives him a *Title*, which is generally that of *Duke* of ſome Place of the leaſt Reputation near which he lives, or did live before; ſuch as thoſe of *Rag-Fair*, *Thieving-Lane*, *Puddle-Dock*, *Piſſing-Alley*, and the like. This being done, the *Father of the Chapel* gives the Boy an Account of the Safety he will enjoy by being made a *Cuz*; which is, that whatever Accident may happen to him, no ill Conſequence will attend it, ſuch as the *Falling from an Houſe*, or into the *Thames*, &c.

Whilſt the Boy is upon his Knees, all the *Chapellonians*, with their right Arms put thro' the Lappets of their Coats, as before, walk round him, ſinging the *Cuz*'s Anthem, which is done by adding all the *Vowels* to the *Conſonants* in the following Manner.

Ba ba; *Be be*; *Bi bi*; *Ba-be-bi*; *Bo bo*; *Ba-be-bi-bo*; *Bu bu*; *Ba-be-bi-bo-bu*: And ſo thro' the reſt of the Conſonants.

There are ſeveral other Solemnities of the ſame Kind, belonging to a *Printing-Chapel*; but theſe are ſufficient to ſhew the ſacred Inſtitution of it, and the Reverence that is due to it. Yet how often have its Walls been prophaned, and its Immunities violated, with Impunity, by a Parcel of Ruffians, who have made no Scruple to break open the *Sanctum Sanctorum* by mere Force and Violence, to deſtroy the ſacred Utenſils, and to drag away

the Prieſts officiating at their Altars, even with Piſtols cock'd at their Heads?

I am very far from diſputing the Authority of the *Lay-Power* over *eccleſiaſtical Perſons:* But, if the *Chapellonians* ſhould continue to be perſecuted and harraſs'd, as they have lately been, it may be truly ſaid, *That the* CHAPEL *itſelf is in Danger.*

There ſeems, indeed, to be a Sort of *Proteſtant Inquiſition* erected againſt the *Preſs*, under the Direction of an *Inquiſitor General*, with a Multitude of *mercenary Familiars*; and as the moſt cruel *Inquiſitors* in *Spain* and *Portugal* are ſuppoſed to be *Jews*, *Atheiſts*, or *Infidels*, ſo our *Proteſtant Inquiſitors* are known to be *falſe Brethren*, and *Enemies to all Liberty.* The Buſineſs of our *Inquiſitor General*, like thoſe abroad, is firſt of all to retain a competent Number of *Informers*, ſuborn *Evidence*, and then proſecute, *ex Virtute Officii*, without giving the Perſon accuſed any Opportunity of *juſtifying* what he hath written, according to the laudable Doctrines of the *Star-Chamber*; but to lay it down as an invariable Maxim, that expoſing the moſt notorious Facts may be a *Libel*; that is, every Thing is a *Libel*, whether true or falſe, which may be conſtrued by *Innuendo* to bear the leaſt Reflection upon any Man, or Body of Men, in publick Employments.

Of *Familiars* there are ſeveral different Kinds, ſuch as *Counſellors*, *Sollicitors*, *Meſſengers*, *Bum-Meſſengers*, and a whole Tribe of *Informers* and *Witneſſes.*

There is likewiſe another Sort of *Familiars*; ſuch as *Hackney Scribblers*, *Printers*, and *Publiſhers*, who are always ready to ſave themſelves by giving Evidence againſt the *Author.* The moſt eminent *ſcribbling Familiars* at preſent, are *Ralph Freeman*, Eſq; commonly called the *Baſtard Organiſt*, and *Pſeudo Sydney.*

Common-Senſe, May 31. N° 173.

To the Author of COMMON-SENSE.

SIR,

I Am a Man of little Ceremony, and muſt take the Freedom to tell you, that you are a Villain, a Raſcal, and a Lyar, and a Son of a Wh——; I wear no Cockade, Sir; but I have ſuch to ſtand by me as do. I will prove what I ſay, Sir, that you are a Lyar, and an impudent Traducer of our moſt excellent M———r.

You ſay, Sir, that the Nation is diſſatisfied with the Conduct of a certain great Perſon employ'd, and who makes ſo ſhining a Figure in State Affairs. Now firſt I ſay, Sir, what of that, Sir? What of that? Are we bound to take Notice of the Mob, or their fine Thoughts?

But then, Sir, I affirm that you lye; for the Nation is on our Side. The Majority of the Nation is the Nation, and this Majority I ſhall prove to be with us.

I ſcorn to take Advantage by ſaying, that we have a Majority in the moſt critical Place: And yet I don't care; make your beſt of it: I do ſay ſo. There's a Majority for us upon the whole.

But where is the Majority that you falſely brag of? ——— Let us ſuppoſe, that in *Great Britain* there are 12 Millions of Souls. Dare you ſay, that you have one Soul under the Age of 12? No; they are ſilent, and conſequently give Conſent to what we do. As I take it, the Number of Perſons under that Age ſurpaſſes that of thoſe that are older. There's another plain Majority.

Well, for once I will count Noſes with you, to convince the World, and, if poſſible, yourſelf, that you are an impudent lying Rogue, Villain, Raſcal, Son of a W———, *&c. &c. &c.*

You cannot deny us 350 Gentlemen, or of higher Degree. Theſe, you feel, we have. Now call their Eſtates, at an Average, 1000*l.* *per Annum* each. Is that too much?

It is no Stretch, I am ſure, to ſay, that on an Eſtate of 1000 *l.* Yearly Rent there ſhould be ten Tenants, who will take their Maſter's Word for the Juſtification of their Conduct, as in Duty they are bound to do.

Each of theſe Tenants muſt have a Family; but I ſhall only reckon that, one with another, they have each a Son grown up; and one married Servant, whoſe Son may alſo be ſuppoſed to be of Man's Eſtate.

To ſuch Gentleman I would allow a Servant for each Tenant; but as it is to be conſidered that they live for the moſt Part in Town, which is a polite Place, and that they have more Money to ſpend than what ariſes from their Eſtates, which you would laugh, if I ſhould compute at leſs than 350,000 *l.* Yearly; I cannot but double the Numbers of their Servants; and as moſt of their Servants make Money as faſt as their Maſters ſpend it, I might alſo allow a Servant to each, but ſhall content myſelf with allowing each a Son.

Their Tradeſmen muſt be a very numerous Body, who will be obſequious for the Honour of their Cuſtom, and that their courtly Behaviour may ſome Time or other procure Payment of their Bills. To each of theſe I allot a Son, and one obliging Journeyman. The Tradeſmen, at a moderate Rate of ten to each Gentleman, amount to ſo ſcandalouſly ſmall a Number as but 7000, with double that Number of Sons and Servants.

The Civil Liſt we ſhall only eſtimate at 5000 Men, tho' you know it is more. To each may be allow'd a Son, a Servant, and a Servant's Son, beſides one Creditor (it is too low) with a Son and a Journeyman to each.

As for the Militia, we have at preſent an Eſtabliſhment for 18,000 Men; you ſee I don't reckon about 18,000 more, rais'd with-

in this last Year; but then there are the Pensioners of *Chelsea-College* without and within, which amount to 4000 more. Giving to each common Sentinel, Trooper, and Dragoon, only six Wives (which is unconscionably little) we cannot value their Offspring, including acknowledg'd Bastards, at less than two to each Father. I will admit that the common Men will have no great Influence over their Creditors, but those of the Officers cannot well be less with their Sons and Servants than 10,000. A

Next, we come to the Army of Taxgatherers, who may be modestly computed to amount to 10,000 Men, with a Son and a Servant to each. Every one has his Province, and his faithful Slaves, consisting of those whom he allows, as every Body believes, to cheat the Crown, and such as he can detect when he will. I shall only ask four to each Man, in Fear or Favour, and these with their Sons and Servants will amount to 90,000 grown Men. B

But as Salaries are sometimes too large for the humble Desires of the Incumbents, this gives Birth to a Sort of Animal called a Rider, who (not to aggravate Matters) we shall only say are in equal Number to the others. These then must be added, with their Sons and Servants. It is true, many are too low to keep Servants; but those that are higher keep the more, which makes up the Average. C

And again, there is the formidable Host of Expectants. I cannot reckon a Man to be an Expectant of an Office, unless he has an actual Promise for it: Allowing but three Promises of each Place (and whoever knows the World, will agree to the Computation) this Tribe will be found to consist of 30,000 good Men and true, with 60,000 more of Sons and Servants. D

Next, let us survey the modern Converts to Whiggism, the Papists in *Great Britain*. These (abstracting from Women and Children) are about 200,000; and let me suppose then, one with another, each Man can persuade a Protestant Tenant or Dependant, they and their Sons and Servants, as before, will amount to 800,000 Men in all. That the Papists are with us to a Man, appear'd a few Years ago; and to them may be added about 100 Protestant Jacobites, who constantly pray for the M——r next to some Body else; their Sons, Servants, and Influence, may make them up a round thousand Men. E

The Dissenters must not be forgotten. Sons, Servants, and Servants Sons included, let us call them 200,000 Men. F

Dr. *Codex*'s black Squadron come next, whose Assistance was most seasonable and cordial at a remarkable Occasion, a few Years ago. Say they are but 5000, with 5000 more of Grave-diggers, Parish-Clerks, and Sextons; 5000 Expectants, and, to speak within Bounds, four Sots to each Man: All this runs very high. G

The Battalion of Informers is likewise a numerous Corps, I shall call them only 2000, besides Sons, without Servants; tho' it is well known some of them keep Servants, and Coaches too: Each of these may well be stil'd a Decurion or Commander of ten, over whom he holds the Rod.

The Articles of Pardons and Noli-prosequi's for Revenue Offences, and Penalties, may fetch a Body of about 20,000 Men more.

Country Post-Masters and Keepers of Excise Offices are scarcely worth mentioning. But Spies, secret Service-Men, Gazetteers, and Pensioners at large, being added to them, with Sons and Servants, may make up at least 10,000 in all.

The last Article I shall mention, is that of Directors, Stock-jobbers, and Exchange-Brokers. These I shall but reckon at 500, and their Sons at as much: But here I have no Room for an Average; because these Gains being unmeasurable, and their Estates over-grown, I cannot in Conscience allow fewer Servants, Tenants, and Retainers to each Man, than 100, including Sons, Under-Servants, *&c.* which will figure pretty well in an Article. The Dependents of the great Companies themselves I shall not state at above——.

And thus I have gone thro' the Account, except one Article, of the Navy and Shipping of *England*, where, I own, we have but slender Footing; and another of the Sturdy Beggars, who surely must be inconsiderable.

The Account then stands thus:

To Number of Souls in *Great Britain*	12000000
Of which Children	6000000
And of the Remainder, Women	3000000
Total of grown Men	3000000
Of which we have, according to the Calculations above-mentioned,	
By the 350 Gentlemen, *&c.*	43850
By the Civil List,	35000
By the Army in Red,	76000
By the Army of Publicans, Riders, and Expectants,	240000
By Papists and their Influence,	800000
By Protestant Jacobites,	1000
By Dissenters,	200000
By the Army in Black,	35000
By Informers,	22000
By Penalties and Offences,	20000
By Spies, Pensioners, Post-Masters, Gazetteers, *&c.*	10000
By Directors, Stock-jobbers, and Exchange Brokers,	50200
By Dependents on the great Companies	*****
In all	1533050
Remains in the Opposition only	1466950
Balance on our Side	66100

If

If this undeniable Majority makes you bluſh, I have my End. If not, I have bid you Defiance and thrown down my Gage. Take it up if you dare.

Yours, as you behave,
PETER PLUNDER.

Craſtſman, May 31. N° 726.

Mr. D'Anvers,

WE were told ſome Time ago, by a *certain Hon. Gentleman*, in a *certain publick Aſſembly*, that notwithſtanding all the Oppoſition and Attempts of his Adverſaries, he ſhould have the making of *another Convention*.

If we may give any Credit to thoſe authentick Hiſtorians, the *Daily Advertiſer*, and the *Daily Gazetteer*, this deſirable Work is already in great Forwardneſs, and nothing ſeems wanting to compleat it but the Choice of *proper Mediators*; for you muſt conſider, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that tho' we had the Dexterity and Addreſs to obtain the *laſt Convention* by the Negotiation of *our own incomparable Miniſters*, without any Aſſiſtance from our *Allies*; yet Matters being now brought to Extremities between *Great Britain* and *Spain*, the nice Punctilio of the *latter* will oblige us to make uſe of *Mediation*.—This was very plainly inſinuated by the *miniſterial Advocates* as ſoon as the War was proclaim'd, and before it was known that any Blow had been ſtruck.—At firſt, they aſſur'd us that Cardinal *Fleury*, the preſent great Arbiter of *Europe*, would employ his good Offices for accommodating our Difference with *Spain*; but ſeveral wrong-headed People having rais'd a great Out-cry againſt any *Mediation* of *France*, the King of *Portugal* was next pitch'd upon for that Purpoſe, as a leſs obnoxious Prince; and yet even this Propoſal, was not much better reliſh'd by the *Male-contents*; becauſe his *Portugueſe* Majeſty happens to be pretty nearly ally'd to the King of *Spain*, and therefore could not be look'd upon as an impartial Mediator. Our Eyes were next turn'd upon the Courts of *Pruſſia* and *Denmark*, and afterwards upon his *Imperial Majeſty*, the *Czarina*, and the *States General*; to which, it was thought, no reaſonable Objection could be made, four of theſe Powers being *good Proteſtants*, and the *other* our *old natural Ally*.—But nothing will ſatisfy *theſe bloody-minded Patriots*, except Fire, and Sword, and Slaughter; nor will they conſent to any *Mediators*, but ſuch *rough old Tars* as *Vernon*, *Haddock*, and *Ogle*, who may behave themſelves well enough upon *their own boiſterous Element*, but would I fear make but *indifferent Peace-makers*.

Nay, if I don't miſtake, ſome of *theſe Deſperadoes* have carry'd their Revenge to ſuch an implacable Height, as to recommend *Oliver Cromwell's* Inſcription upon his Cannon, *viz. Open thou our Lips, and our Mouth ſhall ſhew forth thy Praiſe.*

How chriſtian, candid, and humane, in Compariſon to all this outrageous Malice, hath been the Conduct of the *miniſterial Writers*? They have proved themſelves to be *generous Enemies*, at leaſt, and left no Stone unturn'd to put a Stop to the further Effuſion of Blood, leſt a little more Succeſs, on *our Side*, ſhould widen the Breach, and render a friendly Accommodation impracticable.—I make no Doubt that their Brains are ſtill indefatigably at Work upon the ſame glorious Scheme, and that they will even, in Caſe of Neceſſity, apply to the Courts of *Conſtantinople* and *Morocco* for Help, rather than not bring it to Perfection.

I am credibly inform'd, that *theſe ingenious Pen-Stateſmen* have already form'd a *Plan of Pacification*, which was intended to be publiſh'd in the *Gazetteer*, but happen'd to drop out of Mr. *Freeman's* Pocket, as he was going into *Downing-ſtreet*, and unluckily fell into bad Hands.—*This Plan* is ſaid to conſiſt, amongſt other curious Particulars, of the following Heads.

1*ſt*, That there ſhall be an *Armiſtice*, or *Ceſſation of Hoſtilities*, between the *two Crowns*, till the *next general Election* is over.

2*dly*, That during this *Suſpenſion of Arms*, no Pains ſhall be ſpared, either by Mediation or otherwiſe, to obtain *another Convention*, upon the Model of the *former*, for adjuſting all our Differences in an amicable Manner.

3*dly*, If the Court of *Spain* ſhould inſiſt upon our putting *Porto Bello*, with all its *Caſtles* and *Fortifications*, in *ſtatu quo*, or upon an Equivalent in Money for that Service, as well as the Reſtitution of their Ships, particularly, the St. *Joſeph*, and the *Princeſſa*; in ſuch Caſe, they ought certainly to be obliged to pay us a liquidated Sum of 20 or 30,000*l.* towards repairing *all our Damages*, for ſeveral Years paſt, and defraying the *Expences of the preſent War*.

4*thly*, That immediately after the Signing of *this Convention*, poſitive Orders ſhall be ſent to recal all our Ships of War upon the Coaſts of *Old* and *New Spain*; and that a Commiſſion ſhall be appointed to enquire into the Conduct of Admiral *Vernon*, and the Officers under his Command.

At the Bottom of this Paper, Mr. *Freeman* gives his *Patron* a modeſt Hint, that if his Project meets with Approbation, and there ſhould remain any little Diſputes about *Limits*, either by *Sea* or *Land*, to be adjuſted by *Commiſſaries* or *Plenipotentiaries*, no Man in *England* is better qualified for ſuch an Employment than himſelf, having been born a *Son of Harmony*, and bred up an *Enemy to Diſcord*, as he lately aſſured the Publick. (See p. 228.) If I may preſume to meddle in ſuch arduous Affairs of State, I would humbly recommend the

the Hon. Mr. *Sydney*, and the important Mr. *Samuel Export* Merchant, to be join'd with the illuſtrious Mr. *Freeman* in this Commiſſion, having long been his Coadjutors in the Cauſe of *miniſterial Government*, and diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by the ſame wonderful Abilities, and unſpotted Integrity.

Theſe Gentlemen will certainly be very acceptable to the Court of *Spain*, having for many Years juſtify'd *all their Depredations*, and laid the whole Blame of the War upon *their own Countrymen*, who inſolently diſputed the *Spaniſh* Empire in the *American* Seas.

Yet notwithſtanding all this, I will venture to propheſy, that they will do the Nation full as much Service, in 6 or 7 *Years*, as their *immortal Predeceſſors*; and perhaps might be induced to make ſome Abatement in their *Salaries*, for the Sake of their Country, in theſe expenſive and calamitous Times.

What a Bleſſing is it to a *M——r*, to have *Gentlemen* in his Service of ſuch extenſive Abilities, who are not only qualify'd to write *daily Panegyricks on his Meaſures*, and *Invectives againſt all* that preſume to oppoſe him, but likewiſe to form *Expedients*, and *put them in Execution?* In this triple Capacity of *Writers*, *Projectors*, and *Negotiators*, they very much reſemble the celebrated *Duns Scotus*, of whom it is reported that he often uſed to *read*, *write*, and *dictate*, at the ſame individual Point of Time.

I ſuppoſe, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that the Subject of this Letter will not prove very agreeable to you; becauſe it contains a juſt Encomium upon 3 *worthy Gentlemen*, who have long employ'd their Pens in Vindication of our *excellent M——r*, and are now endeavouring to extricate him out of a *War*, which the *Male-contents* brought upon him, and of which no Body can foreſee the Conſequences, if it ſhould be much longer purſu'd with *Vigour* and *Reſolution*. But let me tell you, *Sir*, that however you may happen to differ from *theſe Gentlemen*, you ought to carry on the Controverſy with Decency, and treat them like *Scholars* and *Philoſophers*, as old 'Squire *Bickerſtaff* did Doctor *Partridge*, the famous Almanack-Maker, and not turn Things of a *ſerious Nature* into *Ridicule*. You ſee that Mr. *Freeman* is perpetually complaining of *you* and *Common-Senſe*, upon that Account, and I muſt needs ſay with too much Reaſon; for it is certainly foul Play to attack a Man with *Weapons*, which he does not pretend to underſtand. But he hath made you ſeveral Overtures, that if you will but engage him fairly, without any Daſhes of *Wit* or *Raillery*, he is ready to mount the Stage, and fight a Bout or two with you at *Blunts*; for as to *ſharp Swords* and *no Favour*, they are unbecomig of *Gentlemen*, and fit only for *common Prize-Fighters*.—Pray, Mr. *D'Anvers*, condeſcend to have *one Trial of Skill* with him, in his own Way, which will give him ſome Credit with his *Patron*, and perhaps with the *Publick*, whether he ſhould happen to be defeated or not.

I am, Sir, &c.

Univerſal Spectator. N° 610.

Philalethes *makes ſeveral Obſervations on human Life. We ſhall give our Readers ſome of them, as follows.*

MAN is become a ſtrange Contradiction to himſelf; he wou'd have others obey him, yet will not obey that Power who gave him Being; he will loſe none of his Authority; he is imperious to his Wife, beats his Children, is angry with his Servants, ſtrict with his Neighbours, revenges all Affronts to Extremity, but forgets all the while that he is *Man*, and is more in Arrears to the *Supreme Being* that is ſo very patient with him, than they are to him, with whom he is ſo ſtrict and impatient.

The Unhappineſs which a great Part of Mankind complain of, they bring upon themſelves for want of due Conſideration; for our ſecond Thoughts rarely agree with our firſt, which paſs not without a conſiderable Retrenchment and Correction; and yet that ſenſible Warning is too frequently not Precaution enough for our future Conduct: We may well ſay then, our Infelicity is chiefly occaſion'd by ourſelves, ſince there is nothing we do that we ſhou'd not do, but we *know* it, and yet *do* it.

When the Actions of a Neighbour are upon the Stage, we can have all our Wits about us, and find out every Failure and Infirmity; but are without Feeling, or have but very little Senſe of our own.

Much of this ariſes from *Ill-Nature*, as well as from an inordinate Value of ourſelves: We love blaming the Unhappy, rather than relieving or pitying them. On ſuch Occaſions ſome ſhew their *Malice*, and are witty on their *Misfortunes*; others their Judgment, by ſage Reflexions on their Conduct; but few their Charity: They only have a Right to cenſure, who have a Heart to aſſiſt; the reſt is Cruelty, and not Juſtice.

A Huſband and Wife, who love and value one another, ſhew their Children and Servants that they ſhou'd do ſo too: Others viſibly loſe their Authority in their Families by their Contempt of one another, and teach their Children to be unnatural by their own Example.

To conduct himſelf thro' the *Affairs* of the World with tolerable Decency and Advantage, a Man muſt be *reſerv'd*, but not *ſour*; *grave*, but not *formal*; *bold*, but not *raſh*; *humble*, but not *ſervile*; *patient*, not *inſenſible*; *conſtant*, not *obſtinate*; *chearful*, not *light*; rather *ſweet* than *familiar*; *familiar*, than *intimate*; and

intimate

intimate with very few, and upon very good Grounds: Mindful to return Civilities, and grateful for Favours receiv'd.

Believe nothing againſt another but upon good Authority; nor report what may hurt another, unleſs it be a greater Hurt to others to conceal it.

It is wiſe not to ſeek a Secret, and honeſt not to reveal it.

Let your Converſation and Actions be founded on *Propriety*: Some are witty, kind, cold, angry, eaſy, ſtiff, jealous, careleſs, cautious, confident, cloſe, open, but all in the *wrong Place*.

To be happy, bring your Mind to your Condition, and have an Indifferency for more than what is ſufficient: The Generality of Mankind are the worſe for their Plenty; the *Voluptuous* conſumes it, the *Miſer* hides it; 'tis the *good Man* that uſes it, and uſes it to good Purpoſes: But ſuch are hardly found among the *Proſperous*.

Amuſe not yourſelf with the numerous Opinions Men now have about *Religion*, nor value yourſelf upon verbal Orthodoxy, Philoſophy, or Skill in Tongues, and Knowledge of the Fathers; but rejoice in this, *That thou ſerveſt God, that is the Lord, who exerciſeth Loving-kindneſs and Judgment and Righteouſneſs in the Earth.*

Common-Senſe, June 7. N° 174.

This Paper contains ſome farther Extracts from The Inſtitution of a Prince, *&c. (See p. 70.) among which are the following.*

PRINCES rarely come at Truth, becauſe they do not ſeek it with Care. Thoſe about them conſpire to hide it from them, becauſe their Intereſt lies in their Miſtakes, and they are combined with thoſe who find their Profit in blinding their Eyes; or that they are afraid of truſting a Secret to his Prudence, upon which they cannot rely; — theſe laſt Conſiderations reſtrain the Tongues of Men of Senſe. Thus Princes rarely hear any Thing profitable, right, or ſalutary: All the Ideas which are preſented to them are falſe, Good and Evil change their Names in their Preſence; the moſt ſeducing Diſcourſes are fortified with the moſt ſeducing Examples; all the Avenues leading to Truth are ſhut up, the Prince contributes to deceiving himſelf, and others are obliged to leave him in his Error.

How ſhould a Prince, who conſults none but his Miniſters and Courtiers, avoid thoſe Snares laid for him, by a Kind of Conſpiracy of thoſe in the firſt Employments, who are obliged to keep Terms with one another, in order to conceal from him what he ought to know? In Spight of their private Jealouſies, their ſecret Hatreds, and little Intereſt, they will unite to engroſs Affairs, and confine all Favours to themſelves; ſo that they keep him a Kind of Priſoner within that narrow Circle where they have encloſed him.

A Man of Honour might, perhaps, be able to break this Plot againſt the Liberty of his Maſter; but Princes, whoſe Heads are full of nothing but high Ideas of their own Majeſty, fancy it is below them to make Friendſhips among their own Subjects: They require Reſpect, and will diſpenſe with every Thing elſe. They little think how much they loſe by being intrench'd within their Grandeur, and cut off from all Communication with the reſt of Mankind. They ſometimes do not know that they want Friends; the Pomp which ſurrounds them covers this ſecret Want: They take thoſe for their Friends who are only ſo to their Fortune; and they fancy themſelves to be the Object of that Croud of Sycophants about them, who love nothing but themſelves, who can adore Grandeur while they deſpiſe the Man that wears it. Thoſe Princes who have beſt underſtood the Nature of true Grandeur, have known that nothing is of ſo much Value as the Poſſeſſion of a true Friend, ſincere when he commends, reſpectful when he finds Fault, —— the ſame under all Changes.

Craftſman, June 7. N° 727.

Mr. D'Anvers,

I AM very much pleaſed to find that the Contents of my Letter, dated *May* 17, have been corroborated and even authenticated by the *Daily Advertiſer* of *May* 29, which runs in the following Terms.

An Extract of a Letter from the Hague.

" Some People here pretend to be certain of having diſcover'd the Reaſon, that hath hitherto hinder'd the Court of *France* from declaring itſelf on the Side of *Spain*, which they ſay is, becauſe it hath been conſtantly in Expectation of the Concluſion of a *certain Alliance*, which it hath been negotiating a conſiderable Time, and hath not yet been able to ſucceed in. — On the other Hand, if Credit may be given to Letters from *London*, the principal Motive, which induced his *Britannick Majeſty* to make a Tour at this Time into *Germany* is the Concluſion of an *important Alliance*, which is actually upon the *Tapis*, that may counterbalance the Power of the Houſe of *Bourbon*. The moſt earneſt Endeavours have for ſome Time paſt been uſed to effect this great Work at *Berlin* and *Dreſden*. It is known, upon the whole, that conſiderable Offers have been made to the King of *Pruſſia*, with Regard to his Pretenſions upon the Succeſſion to *Juliers* and *Bergue*; and, at the ſame Time, Aſſurance given, that ſuch Care ſhall be taken to ſatisfy the Claim of the Houſe of *Saxony*, as ſhall prevent the kindling a War in

in the Empire. It is manifeſt that theſe Propoſitions are not diſagreeable to the *two Houſes*; both which ſeem to be well pleaſed that the Intereſt of the King of *Great Britain* requires him to unite ſtrictly with them; into which Union that of *Heſſe-Caſſel* will eaſily be brought. If *this Alliance* ſhould be concluded, there would not be ſo abſolute a Neceſſity for making a dearer Purchaſe of the Friendſhip of the King of *Denmark*, whom it was neceſſary at one Time to prevent from augmenting the Power of *France* in the *North*. The ſame Letters add, that another Cauſe of his *Britannick Majeſty*'s viſiting his *German Dominions* is to forward, and, as he will be *nearer*, the more conveniently put the laſt Hand to the Alliance concluded with *Ruſſia*."

This I ſay, Mr. *D'Anvers*, is exactly conformable to what I ſaid in my Letter to you of *May* 17, concerning the Reaſons of *his Majeſty*'s Journey to *Hanover*, the principal of which I conjectured, and I find very juſtly, was to reunite the *grand Alliance*, in order to counterbalance the Power of the Houſe of *Bourbon*, and adjuſt the Differences at preſent ſubſiſting in the *North*, which Nothing can facilitate ſo much as his Majeſty's perſonal Reſidence in *Germany* this Summer, where he will be *nearer*, as the *Advertiſer* ſagaciouſly obſerves, to put a finiſhing Hand to that deſirable Work.

I was in Hopes, indeed, that his Majeſty would have been able to reach *Germany* before the Death of the late King of *Pruſſia*, who might certainly have been prevail'd upon to enter into *this Alliance*, by ſupporting his Pretenſions to the Dutchies of *Juliers* and *Bergue*; but the greateſt Monarch in the Univerſe hath it not in his Power to command the *Winds* and *Tides*, which deprived his Majeſty of that favourable Opportunity. However, we have no Reaſon to doubt that the preſent King of *Pruſſia* is in the ſame amicable Diſpoſition towards us, and will come into any reaſonable Meaſures for ſupporting the Intereſt of his *Royal Uncle* againſt all his Enemies.— Hopes are likewiſe given us that the King of *Poland*, as Elector of *Saxony*, will concur in this Scheme; and we may ſurely depend upon the Houſe of *Heſſe-Caſſel* for their Aſſiſtance, notwithſtanding the preſent Alliance between the Courts of *France* and *Sweden*.

But I cannot poſſibly gueſs at the *Adverſer*'s Reaſon for inſinuating, that we lately purchaſed the Friendſhip of the King of *Denmark* at too dear a Rate. As we were then left, in a Manner, without any Ally, how could we pay too dear for one? I remember the Time, when the Friendſhip of *Denmark* was eſteem'd ſo valuable to us, that we generouſly paid a conſiderable Sum to make up the Deficiency of a *French* Subſidy to *that Crown*, occaſion'd by ſome Diſputes between *thoſe two Courts*, concerning the Difference of *Daniſh* and *Hamburgh* Money, which we made up ourſelves, in order to prevent the bad Conſequences of any Miſunderſtanding between them. But *our Miniſters* have at length had the Dexterity to out-wit the *Cardinal*, notwithſtanding all his boaſted Skill in Politicks, and ſecured the Court of *Denmark* entirely on our Side; tho' I hope upon much leſs expenſive Terms than the *miniſterial Writers* ſeem to ſuggeſt. If they ſhould have the ſame Succeſs in their Negotiations with his *Imperial* Majeſty, the *Czarina*, the King of *Poland*, the King of *Pruſſia* and the *States General*, we may bid Defiance to the whole Power of the Houſe of *Bourbon* put together.

But I am glad to find that Affairs are likely to take another Turn; and that, inſtead of a *bloody War*, ſeveral Powers of *Europe* are employing their good Offices to procure us a *pacifick Accommodation*.—You, Mr. *D'Anvers*, ſeem averſe to any ſuch *healing Meaſures*; and I muſt confeſs, I cannot approve of the Project form'd by your Correſpondent of laſt *Saturday*; becauſe I think the Court of *Spain* ought to make us a little more Recompence for all our Loſſes, and Depredations, as well as the Inſults, and Barbarities committed againſt us, than the Sum of 20 or 30,000 *l.* Neither can I agree to the propoſed Stipulation for our being at any Expence in putting *Porto-Bello*, with all its Caſtles and Fortifications, in *ſtatu quo*, and reſtoring it in that Condition to the *Spaniards*; for I humbly apprehend, that our Loſſes of *Ships*, *Officers*, *Seamen*, *Ammunition*, and *Proviſions* before *Porto-Bello*, under the Command of the late unfortunate Admiral *Hoſier*, did at leaſt compenſate for the Demolition of that Place by Admiral *Vernon*.

Upon the whole, if there ſhould be any Foundation for all theſe continued Rumours of an *approaching Peace*, it muſt be ſuppoſed that Notice of it hath been ſent to our *victorious Admiral*, with Inſtructions not to commit any farther Hoſtilities upon the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies*, which can have no other Effect than waſting Powder and Ball to no Purpoſe, and obſtructing the propoſed Accommodation; for all the *miniſterial Writers* agree, that the Court of *Spain* will never conſent to any *Negotiation of Peace*, without a preliminary Article for reſtoring all the *Poſſeſſions*, we have already taken, or may hereafter take from them; ſo that the more *Conqueſts* we obtain, the worſe will be our Condition. You may, perhaps, look upon this as an odd Way of Reaſoning, and quote ſome recent Examples to the contrary; particularly the Acquiſition of *Lorain* by *France*, and of the *two Sicilies* by another Branch of the Houſe of *Bourbon*. But why ſhould we imitate thoſe, whoſe Ambition we condemn? The Deſign of all *Wars* is to obtain *Peace*, as the *Court Writers* have often

often very juſtly obſerved; and therefore the ſooner we ſet about it, and the more reaſonable we are in our Demands, ſo much the better. Our bittereſt Enemies cannot help loving us for our Moderation, and *Love* is certainly a more laſting Cement than *Fear*.

I am, Sir, &c.

To the AUTHOR *of the* LONDON MAGAZINE.

Fleet-Ditch, Rainbow Coffee-House, June 11, 1740.

SIR,

I THINK it is univerſally allow'd, that it is the Intereſt of every Nation, to encourage Marriage amongſt its Inhabitants; and, we are told of a wiſe People in *Greece*, who had ſo great an Opinion of the Advantages of it, and of the Neceſſity of encouraging it, that their young Virgins were ordered to go abroad in Garments full of Slits and Openings, to give the young Men an Opportunity of diſcovering the Shape and Beauty of their Limbs, that ſo they might be the ſooner tempted to deſire them in Marriage, tho' after Matrimony they were enjoined the utmoſt Decency and Gravity of Garb. Now, Sir, you cannot but be ſenſible that Matrimony, at preſent, is at a very low Ebb in *England*, and that amongſt too many young Gentlemen of Fortune, it is as unfaſhionable to be married, as it is, not to keep a Miſtreſs. What Cauſe is to be aſſign'd for it, I will not pretend to ſay; but this I dare venture to inſiſt upon, that it is not owing to the Want of a ſufficient Diſcovery of our young Ladies Charms; for what with the Magnitude of their Hoops, and the Diſuſe of their Handkerchiefs, they diſcover as much as Men can in Conſcience deſire, unleſs they would have them ſhew all they have. I might here ſay a great deal in Praiſe of the preſent faſhionable Hoops, and of their great Uſe in diſcovering the Limb: An Inſtance hereof I lately ſaw in St. *James*'s Park, where two young Ladies walking together Arm in Arm in cloſe Converſation, with their Hoops preſſing hard on one Side againſt each other, the other Sides at the ſame Time flew up very high, to the great Information of the Spectators, while the poor young Ladies, to be ſure, knew nothing of the Matter. But I muſt not forget that the Deſign of my Letter is to tell you, that ſince Marriage is now at ſo low an Ebb, I ſhould think you would do great Service to the Publick, if you ſet up an Office of Intelligence for Marriage, where young Women might be informed where to find young Men diſpoſed to marry, and where young Men might meet with the like Information about young Women. I need not dwell on the Uſefulneſs of ſuch an Office, or ſhew how many Matches it will, in all Probability, ſpeedily produce, and how many Parties will, by theſe Means, be brought together, who would, perhaps, otherwiſe have for ever continued uſeleſs in their Generations. The greateſt Objection you can have to ſuch a Scheme, will, I preſume, be the great Trouble it muſt occaſion you; but I hope this will not diſcourage you from the Undertaking: Try the Experiment, if you find Buſineſs increaſe too faſt upon you, you may erect inferior Offices to yours; and I dare ſay, the Gratitude of your Correſpondents will be ſuch, that you will have no Cauſe to repent of your Care of them. Suppoſe you were to erect in ſome publick Place, a *large bleeding Heart*, as the Guardian did his *Lion*, for the Reception of your Correſpondents Letters, would not that be very proper? But I leave the Management of the whole Affair to yourſelf, you will know better how to tranſact it than I can direct you. I had almoſt forgot to tell you, that I myſelf want a Wife, but when your *Heart* is erected, I will be more explicit. In the mean Time I am,

SIR,

Your conſtant Reader and Admirer,

RALPH UNION.

If Marriage is at ſo low an Ebb, as our Correſpondent ſays, and we fear it is, and if it is become ſo unfaſhionable to marry, we doubt, if ſuch an Office were ſet up, inſtead of having too much Buſineſs, we ſhould have too little.

Common Senſe, June 14. N° 175.

To the Author of COMMON SENSE.

SIR,

I HAVE often wonder'd how Men that pretend to paſs for good Huſbands, good Fathers, and good Neighbours, ſhould become the Tools of a wicked Miniſter: I think it cannot be accounted for; but either by a corrupt Heart, or the Want of Common Senſe.

While I was thinking of this, I met with a Letter, written by Sir *Richard Steele* to the Lord Treaſurer *Oxford*, which I here ſend you, and beg you will publiſh it, for the Uſe of our preſent Set of Placemen.

To the Right Hon. the Lord High Treaſurer of Great Britain.

Bloomſbury-Square, June 4, 1713.

My Lord,

I Preſume to give your Lordſhip this Trouble, to acquaint you, that having an Ambition to ſerve in the enſuing Parliament, I humbly deſire your Lordſhip will pleaſe to accept of my Reſignation of my Office as Commiſſioner of the Stamp Revenue.

I ſhould have done this ſooner, but that I heard the Commiſſion was paſſing without my

my Name in it, and I would not be guilty of the Arrogance of reſigning what I could not hold: But having heard this ſince contradicted, I am oblig'd to give it up, as with great Humility I do by this preſent Writing. Give me Leave, on this Occaſion, to ſay ſomething as to my late Conduct, with relation to the late Men in Power, and to aſſure whatever I have done, ſaid or writ, has proceeded from no other Motive, but the Love of what I think Truth: For, merely as to my own Affairs, I could not wiſh any Man in the Adminiſtration rather than yourſelf, who favour thoſe that become your Dependants, with a greater Liberality of Heart than any Man I have ever before obſerv'd. When I had the Honour of a ſhort Converſation with you, you were pleaſed not only to ſignify to me, that I ſhould remain in this Office, but to add, that if I would name to you one of more Value, which would be more commodious to me, you would favour me in it. I am going out of any particular Dependence on your Lordſhip, and tell you with the Freedom of an indifferent Man, that it is impoſſible for any Man who thinks and has any publick Spirit, not to tremble at ſeeing his Country in its preſent Circumſtances in the Hands of ſo daring a Genius as yours. If Incidents ſhould ariſe that ſhould place your own Safety, and what ambitious Men call Greatneſs, in a Balance againſt the general Good, our All depends upon your Choice under ſuch a Temptation. You have my hearty and fervent Prayers to Heaven, to avert all ſuch Dangers from you. I thank your Lordſhip for the Regard and Diſtinction which you have at ſundry Times ſhew'd me, and wiſh you, while you ſtudy your Country's Safety, all Happineſs and Proſperity. Share, my Lord, your good Fortune with whom you will, while it laſts, you will want no Friends; but if any adverſe Day happens to you, and I live to ſee it, you will find I think myſelf obliged to be your Friend and Advocate. This is talking in a ſtrange Dialect from a private Man to the Firſt of the Nation; but to deſire only a little, exalts a Man's Condition to a Level with thoſe who want a great deal. But I beg your Lordſhip's Pardon, and am with great Reſpect,

My Lord,
Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient,
And moſt humble Servant,
RICHARD STEELE.

Craftſman, June 14. Nº 728.

A Letter of the Duke of Epernon, *with the Fate of the Mareſchal* d'Ancre.

SOvereigns muſt chiefly be inform'd of the Diſpoſition of publick Affairs, from the Miniſters immediately about them. If therefore any one ſhould aſſume a ſuperior Authority to the reſt, or obtain any coercive Influence above the others, it would be cutting off ſo many Avenues to Information, and robbing the Publick of the free and uninfluenced Capacities of ſo many Counſellors.

Perhaps, few Nations are ſo bleſs'd as to have Prudence and Integrity look'd upon as the neceſſary Requiſites to State-Preferments; but I may ſay without Offence, thoſe Nations are beſt govern'd, where ſuch Regulations are moſt attended to, and thoſe Nations are worſt govern'd, where ſuch Qualifications are ridiculed; for wherever other Paths lead to Preferment, than what Virtue guides, that People are loſing all thoſe Advantages, which Virtue would ſecure to them.

Were we to ſcrutinize into the Conduct of a *Miniſter*, who would advance his Authority in Prejudice to that Equilibrium, which ought to be preſerved amongſt Counſellors, it may perhaps appear that he doth not advance his own Authority ſo much as he debaſes the Authority of others; for allowing his Endeavours to be crown'd with Succeſs, will he be left a free Agent? Or ſhould it be poſſible for him to repent, and have it in his Inclinations to do Good, which is abſurd to ſuppoſe, can he have it in his Power? He may, indeed, borrow Power from his *Maſter*, to oppreſs, and miſlead him into arbitrary Meaſures; but let Deſtruction threaten in any Shape, durſt he diſpute againſt abſolute Commands? Durſt a *Wolſey*, or a *Mazarine*, provoke the Anger of their Monarch, by offering unpleaſing Counſels? Where would be the Men of Character, the high Officers of State, to aid and animate, to remonſtrate and enforce? Could ſervile Reptiles, which had lick'd the Duſt, think to reſtrain the Wills, or Pleaſures of a Prince? They might, indeed, cling round his Feet till they were ſpurn'd; but Authority and Dignity are Properties belonging to the Wiſe and Honourable.

I have been more immediately led into theſe Thoughts, by reading over ſome *French* Memoirs, written at the Beginning of the laſt Century, relating to the Cataſtrophe of that Creature of Power, the Duke of *Ancres*, but particularly a Letter written by the Duke of *Epernon* to *Lewis* XIII. a little before the other's Exit.

The Duke of *Epernon* was of the Houſe of *la Valette*, one of the moſt illuſtrious Families of *Gaſcony*; ſo antient that it was continued by a Train of Anceſtors in the Male-Line for 500 Years; many of which diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by their noble Atchievements.

As to his perſonal Endowments, he was temperate, wiſe, and brave even to an Extremity. He had a natural, and expreſſive Eloquence; ſo that in him were found all the Requiſites to form a great Man. He was early bred to Arms, and continued long in the

Uſe of them; for War was the Science, which beſt ſuited his high Genius. By Turns he was the Favourite, or rather, by Turns he was in Favour with ſeveral ſucceſſive Princes; and if we may give any Credit to the Author, who writes his Life, no Nobleman was ever more courted by different Adminiſtrations than he was. But his Nature was ill faſhion'd for the Fawnings of a Court; and no Miniſter could engage him in Meaſures derogatory to his Honour, or what he thought deſtructive to the real Intereſt of the Crown. The Regard he had to Truth will be manifeſt, from his open and undiſguiſed Sentiments, which he would ſcarce have expreſs'd in ſuch plain Terms to his Sovereign, had he not been well aſſured of his Facts. The Perſon alluded to in the Letter, was the Duke of *Ancre*, a Perſon widely different from the Duke of *Epernon*, in almoſt every Qualification; yet had *that Minion of Power*, by his Tricks and Cabals, ſo far prevail'd as to drive the Perſons of the higheſt Rank from the Royal Preſence, even the Princes of the Blood. —— I will now produce the Letter itſelf, as tranſlated by *Cotton*.

" I have hitherto, *Sir*, preſerved my Hands clean, my Conſcience uncorrupt, my Reputation entire, and my Fidelity without Reproach; I have never conſpired but to do you Service. Neither do I find myſelf guilty of the leaſt Thought diſconſonant to the Duty I owe to your Majeſty and your Crown; and altho' I am not uſed with that Equity, nor rewarded with that Gratitude, which (without Preſumption) I conceive, I have deſerved, and that every Day I find ſomething attempted upon my Offices, by the Diminution and Cutting off their juſt and lawful Privileges (which were ever preſerved inviolable to me, during the Reign of the *late King* your Father) yet nothing, *Sir*, can prevail with me above my Duty; neither is there any ſo ill Uſage, nor ſo ſenſible Unkindneſs, that can hinder me from perſevering to do well, being reſolved, to the laſt Hour of my Life, to conquer whatever juſt Reſentments I may have, to forget all thoſe Injuries, for which I can obtain no Satisfaction, but at the publick Expence; a Reſolution, *Sir*, in which I am infinitely fortify'd, by the firm Belief I have, that all the Diſgraces I receive, and all the foul Play that is continually practiſed againſt me, proceed from no Diſaffection, your Majeſty hath conceived againſt my Perſon. I know, *Sir*, that being naturally quick-ſighted, to diſtinguiſh between your falſe Servants, and your true, you have ever honour'd me with your Favour. But I have this Obligation to thoſe who are Enemies to your Crown, that they have upon all Occaſions diſcovered themſelves to be particularly ſo to me, and have endeavour'd by their Artifice, to repreſent Things otherwiſe to your Majeſty, than they really are, to reſtrain the Liberty of your own Royal Diſpoſition from obeying the natural Inclination you have to love and cheriſh good Men, that as much as in them lies, they may alienate your Majeſty's good Opinion from ſuch, as by their long and faithful Services have deſerved the beſt Room in your Heart. I hope, *Sir*, nevertheleſs, that Truth will one Day prevail in your Royal Breaſt over thoſe little Arts, and that your Majeſty will then be pleaſed to diſtinguiſh your true and faithful Servants from ſuch as, authorized by your Name and Preſence, oppreſs your People, invade your Authority, and continually diſturb your Majeſty's Peace, by their inordinate and unruly Ambition."

The Writer of the *Duke*'s Life, in the Paragraph following, ſays,

" I have the rather inſerted the expreſs Words of this Letter, that you may ſee after what Manner the *Duke* took his Diſgrace, and how he behaved himſelf towards his Enemies, notwithſtanding they carry'd the whole Favour and Sway of the Court; the Mareſchal *d'Ancre* being manifeſtly pointed at in the Diſpatch."

Perhaps it may be ſome Satisfaction to know how *theſe two Noblemen* ended their Days. The Mareſchal *d'Ancre* was not long after, by the King's Command, aſſaſſinated within the Gates of the *Louvre*; by which Fact, tho' the King relieved his Subjects from the Oppreſſion of that wicked and rapacious Miniſter, he denied them the Satisfaction, of calling him before a Tribunal of Juſtice; ſo that he died by as avow'd a Breach of Liberty as any, he himſelf had adviſed. His illegal Death could be of ſmall Conſolation to the Subject, tho' it is an admirable Leſſon to *thoſe Slaves of Power*, who are willing to make all Things bend to the Pleaſure of the *Prince*. The Duke of *Epernon* died in the 88th Year of his Age, in a Sort of honourable Impriſonment by *Richlieu*, and his Son baniſh'd the Kingdom.

Tho' I have already brought this noble Duke to his End, I can't leave him without relating another Circumſtance of his Life. He took an Opportunity of complaining to *Henry* IV. of *France*, of the partial Diſtribution of the *Finances*, with regard to ſome Stations and Gariſons under his Command, which provoked *the King* to the following ſevere Reproof *.

" You are perverſe and importunate, and ſeek all Occaſions to diſpleaſe me. And you would have done me a greater Kindneſs to have kept ſtill at the Diſtance you was at, than to come into my Preſence only to offend me, and I have long obſerved that you do not love me."

To which the *Duke* inſtantly reply'd,

" *Sir*, Your Majeſty hath not a more faithful

* *Life of D.* Epernon, *Book* V. *Fol. Ed. Page* 240.

faithful Subject than myſelf in your Kingdom; and I had rather die, than do any Thing, the leaſt Particle, contrary to my Duty. But, *Sir*, for what concerns Friendſhip, your Majeſty knows very well, that is a Thing not to be acquired but by *Friendſhip*."

Common Senſe, June 21. N° 176.

A STORY *from the* PERSIAN TALES *applied.*

I TOOK up the *Perſian Tales* the other Day, and met with a Story which entertain'd me agreeably: It is one of the Adventures of the Great Voyager, and is as follows.

"Having ſail'd almoſt round the Iſle of *Serendib*, we enter'd the Gulph of *Bengal*, at the lower End of which are the Kingdoms of *Bengal*, and *Golconda*; juſt as we enter'd it, there aroſe a violent Storm: We lower'd our Sails, and the Seamen did all they could to ſave the Ship, which they were forced at laſt to let drive at the Mercy of the Winds and Waves. The Storm laſted 15 Days, and blew ſo furiouſly, that we were driven 600 Leagues out of our Way. We left the long Iſles of *Sumatra* and *Java* to our Larboard, and the Ship drove to the Streight of the *Moluccas*, South of the *Philippines*. The Wind chang'd at laſt, and turn'd eaſterly, it blew gently, and great was the Joy of the Ship's Company; but their Joy was ſoon diſturb'd by an Adventure, which you will hardly believe, it being ſo extraordinary.

We were beginning merrily to reſume our Courſe, and were got to the Eaſt Point of *Java*, when we ſpied a Man quite naked ſtruggling with the Waves; he held faſt by a Plank which kept him up, and made a Signal to us to come to his Aſſiſtance: We ſent our Boat to him, and found by Experience, that, tho' Pity be a laudable Paſſion, it is ſometimes dangerous. The Seamen took up the Man, and brought him on board; he looked to be about 40 Years old, was of a monſtrous Shape, had a great Head, and ſhort, thick, briſtly Hair; his Mouth was exceſſive wide, his Teeth long and ſharp, his Arms nervous, his Hands large, with a long crooked Nail on each Finger; his Eyes were like thoſe of a Tyger, his Noſe flat, and his Noſtrils wide. We did not at all like his Phyſiognomy, and his Mien was ſuch that it ſoon changed our Pity into Terror.

When this Man, ſuch as I have deſcribed him, appear'd before *Debaouſch* our Maſter, he thus addreſs'd him: My Lord, I owe my Life to you: I was at the Point of Deſtruction when you came to my Aſſiſtance. Indeed, replied *Debaouſch*, it would not have been long before you would have gone to the Bottom. I am not afraid of the Sea, replied the Man, I could have lived whole Years in the Water without any Inconvenience; what torments me is Hunger, which hath devoured me above theſe 12 Hours, for ſo long it is ſince I have eat any Thing; therefore let me have ſomething as ſoon as poſſible, to repair my Spirits, half ſpent with ſo long a Faſt; you need not look for Niceties, I am not ſqueamiſh, I can eat any Thing.

We looked upon one another, very much ſurpriz'd at his Diſcourſe, and doubted not but the Peril he had been in had crack'd his Brain. *Debaouſch* was of the ſame Mind, and, imagining he might indeed want ſomething to eat, order'd Meat enough for ſix hungry Stomachs, and Cloaths to be brought him for his Covering. As for the Cloaths, ſays the Stranger, I ſhall not meddle with them; I always go naked. But, replied *Debaouſch*, Decency will not permit that you ſhould ſtay with us in that Condition. The Man took him up ſhort; Oh, ſays he, you will have Time enough to accuſtom yourſelf to it.

This brutal Anſwer confirm'd us in the Opinion that he had loſt his Senſes. Being ſharp ſet, he was very impatient that he was not ſerv'd to his Mind. He ſtamp'd with his Foot upon the Deck, ground his Teeth, and rolled his Eyes in ſo ghaſtly a Manner, that he looked both furious and menacing: At laſt, what he wanted appear'd. He fell upon it with a Greedineſs that ſurpriz'd us, and tho' there was ſufficient for any other ſix Men, he diſpatch'd it in a Moment.

When he had cleared the Table of all that had been laid upon it, with an Air of Authority he made us bring him more. *Debaouſch*, being reſolv'd to try how much this devouring Monſter could really ſwallow, order'd that as much ſhould be ſet before him as at firſt: This ſecond Service was alſo devour'd in a Moment.

We thought he would ſtop here; but we were miſtaken: He demanded more Meat ſtill. Upon which, one of the Sailors, going up to this Brute, was about to chaſtiſe him for his Inſolence, which the other obſerving prevented, by laying his two Paws upon his Shoulders, fixing his Nails in his Fleſh, and tearing him to Pieces. In an Inſtant there were 50 Sabres drawn to revenge this Murder. Every one preſs'd forward to ſtrike him; but they ſoon found, to their Terror, that the Skin of their Enemy was as impenetrable as Adamant; their Sabres broke, and their Edges turn'd without ſo much as raiſing the Skin. Tho' he receiv'd no Hurt by their Blows, they did not ſtrike him with Impunity: He ſeiz'd on one of the moſt forward of his Aſſailants, and, with amazing Strength, tore him to Bits before our Eyes.

When we found our Sabres were uſeleſs, and that we could not wound him, we threw ourſelves upon him to endeavour to fling him into

into the Sea; but we could not ſtir him. Beſides his huge Limbs, and prodigious Nerves, he ſtuck his crooked Nails in the Timber of the Deck, and ſtood as immoveable as a Rock in the Middle of the Waves. He was ſo far from being afraid of us, that he ſaid, with a ſullen Smile, You have taken the wrong Courſe, Friends; you will fare much better by obeying me; I declare, if you continue to oppoſe my Will, I will ſerve you all as your two Companions have been ſerv'd.

Theſe Words made our Blood freeze in our Veins: We a third Time ſet a large Quantity of Proviſions before him; he fell aboard it, and one would have thought, by his eating, that his Stomach rather encreas'd than diminiſh'd. When he ſaw we were determined to ſubmit, he grew better humour'd. He ſaid he was ſorry we had forced him to do what he did, and pretended he loved us for taking him out of the Sea, where he muſt have ſtarv'd, if he had remain'd a few Hours longer; that he wiſh'd he could meet with ſome other Veſſel loaden with good Proviſion, becauſe he would throw himſelf on board it, and leave us in Quiet. He talk'd thus all the while he was devouring; he laugh'd loud, and banter'd like other Men.

At the fourth Service he gave over, and was two Hours without eating at all. During this Exceſs of Sobriety he was very familiar in Diſcourſe. He aſk'd us, one after another, what Country we were of, what were our Cuſtoms, and what had been our Adventures?

We were in Hopes that the Fumes of what he had eaten would have got up into his Head, and have made him drowſy; we impatiently expected that Sleep would have ſeiz'd on him, and were reſolv'd to take him napping, and fling him into the Sea before he had Time to look about him. This Hope was our only Reſource, for tho' we had great Store of Proviſion on Board, yet, after his Rate of Eating, he would have devoured all in a very little Time; but, alas! in vain did we flatter ourſelves with theſe Hopes: The cruel Wretch, gueſſing our Deſign, told us he never ſlept; that the great Quantity he eat repaired the Weariſomeneſs of Nature, and ſupplied the Want of Sleep. To our Grief we found what he ſaid to be true. We told him long and tedious Stories, on Purpoſe to lull him aſleep; but the Monſter never ſhut his Eyes.

We then deplored our Misfortune, and the Maſter deſpaired of ever ſeeing *Golconda* more; when on a ſudden ſomething like a Cloud appear'd over our Heads; we thought at firſt it was a Storm that was gathering, and we rejoiced at it;—our Ship might be driven on Shore on ſome Iſland, we might ſave ourſelves by ſwimming, and by this Means be deliver'd from this Monſter, who doubtleſs intended to devour us when he had eat up all our Proviſions.

We wiſh'd therefore that a violent Storm would overtake us. However, we were deceiv'd; what we took for a Cloud was the greateſt Rook that ever was ſeen. This monſtrous Bird darted himſelf on our Enemy, who, miſtruſting nothing, had no Time to guard himſelf againſt ſuch an Attack. The Rook ſeiz'd him with his Claws, and flew up into the Air with his Prey.

We then were Witneſſes of a very extraordinary Combat: The Man recollecting himſelf, and finding himſelf hoiſted in the Air betwixt the Tallons of a winged Monſter, reſolved to defend himſelf. He ſtruck his crooked Nails into the Body of the Rook, and ſetting his Teeth in his Stomach, was devouring his Fleſh, Feathers and all; nay, he eat the very Heart of the Rook, who, recollecting all his Force, at the laſt Gaſp ſtruck his Beak ſo forcibly into his Enemy's Head, that they both fell dead into the Sea, not many Paces from the Ship.

Thus was it written in the Table of Predeſtination, that we ſhou'd be deliver'd from this dangerous Man. General was the Joy of all the Ship's Company, when they ſaw themſelves rid of ſuch a Monſter; we could not enough admire our good Fortune, and were ſorry for the Death of the Rook, to whom we were indebted for it."

As I conceive theſe Tales are to be taken in a figurative Senſe, I never read one of them, but I endeavoured to draw ſome Moral from it. By the Ship, therefore, I underſtand a Commonwealth: The naked Man ſtruggling with the Waves, I take to be ſome Perſon of ruin'd Fortunes, who, when he is ready to ſink, is reliev'd at the Expence of his Country; he is taken into the Ship, that is, he is taken into ſome Employment in the State out of Charity to give him Bread. He is no ſooner reliev'd, but he ſets about him to ruin his Benefactors: He devours as much at once as would ſatisfy ſix other reaſonable Men; he calls for more and more, is never ſatisfied; the more is given him, the more his Greedineſs encreaſes. The Ship's Company, that is to ſay, the People, begin to repent their having reliev'd ſuch a Monſter; they have Store of Proviſion on board, that is, the Nation is rich; but yet they plainly perceive they ſhall ſoon be beggar'd, if they cannot get rid of this inſatiable Wretch. It is the common Cauſe, one and all begin to ſtir in it; but he is grown ſo ſtrong by the Nouriſhment he has drawn from them, they are not able to ſtir him; he mocks, he inſults, and ſometimes threatens them; he tells them, if they will not ſubmit, and become his Slaves, he will deſtroy them all. They wiſh for a Tempeſt, that is, for War, or any Thing, that may give them a Chance to be freed from this Devourer. Now behold the Juſtice of Providence: Juſt at the Time he thinks himſelf

moſt

moſt ſecure, Deſtruction hangs over him, and they are reliev'd at once from their Dangers and their Fears. This gives a Leſſon of Inſtruction to the People, never to deſpair, tho' under Oppreſſion; for Providence will never ſuffer ſuch an inſatiable and ungrateful Monſter, as is here deſcribed, to go unpuniſhed.

Craftſman, June 21. N° 729.

A Paſſage in Homer *apply'd to Admiral* VERNON.

THERE are two Lines in *Homer's Iliad*, ſo applicable to Admiral *Vernon's* glorious Succeſs in the *Weſt-Indies*, that I flatter myſelf a little Comment upon them cannot be diſagreeable.

Theſe two Lines are contain'd in a Speech of *Tlepolemus*, a Deſcendant, or a Son of *Hercules*, to *Sarpedon*. He is ſpeaking of *Hercules*; who, ſays he, deſtroy'd the City of *Troy*, with SIX SHIPS ONLY.

Ἐξ δίης σὺν νηυσὶ, καὶ ἀνδράσι παυροτέροισιν
Ἰλίου ἐξαλάπαξε πόλιν, χήρωσε δ' ἀγυιὰς.

Which Mr. *Barnes* hath render'd thus into *Latin*.

Sex ſolis cum Navibus, & Viris paucioribus,
Ilii *vaſtavit Urbem, & deſolavit Compita.*

There is more Poetry, but leſs Exactneſs in Mr. *Pope's* Tranſlation; and therefore I hope *that Gentleman* will excuſe me for making a little Alteration in the following Lines, which I humbly think will bring them nearer to the Original; tho' I muſt do him the Juſtice to confeſs, that whilſt he was employ'd in that laborious Undertaking, he could not poſſibly foreſee, that the Words *with ſix Ships only* would make ſo great a Figure in our Language, as they do at preſent. After this ſhort Apology to *that great and inimitable Author*, I ſhall proceed to the Point, and give my Readers Mr. *Pope's Engliſh* Tranſlation of this Paſſage, with the ſmall Alteration I have begg'd Leave to make.

With ſix Ships only, *and a ſlender train,*
He left the town a wide deſerted plain.

When I did our *gallant Commander* the Juſtice to pay him my poor Mite of Praiſe for the great Service and Honour, which he had done to his King and Country, (ſee p. 177.) the *miniſterial Writers* immediately attempted to diveſt him of the whole Merit, and transferr'd it to their *Patron*, who projected the Plan of Operation, as they pretended, and gave the *Admiral* Orders to put it in Execution; but when the Affair was thoroughly canvaſs'd, and *theſe profligate Fellows* could no longer ſupport their Aſſertions, they tack'd about, and rack'd all their dull Brains to ridicule and condemn the Action itſelf, as an Obſtruction to their *Patron's* Scheme of a *Pacification, Accommodation, Mediation, Convention, Preliminaries*, or by whatever other Name he may be pleaſed to chriſten his next Treaty.

I need not produce any other Proof of this Fact than the *Gazetteer* of *Thurſday, June* 12. where the *infamous Author*, whoever he may be, (whether a *Prime-Miniſter*, or one of his *loweſt Hirelings*) makes an awkard Attempt not only to ridicule Admiral *Vernon*, but to abuſe the *Common Council of* London, for having addreſs'd *his Majeſty* upon that Head, and preſented the *Admiral* with the *Freedom of the City in a Gold Box*. I wonder he did not pay the ſame Compliment to *both Houſes of Parliament*, who had likewiſe the Inſolence to congratulate his Majeſty upon the ſame Occaſion. This ſcandalous Abuſe is founded upon a pretended Parallel between the Taking of *Porto Bello* with *ſix Ships only*, and a *Privateer's* plundering a little *Spaniſh* Town in *America* with *four Men only*. Whether the Fact is true, or whether there is any ſuch Man as Captain *Hall*, the *Gazetteer's* Hero, I know not; but it is evident that this idle Story, whether true or falſe, could be introduced with no other View than to depreciate Admiral *Vernon's* Expedition, and to caſt a ſcurrilous Reflexion upon the *City of* London, for congratulating his Majeſty upon it. For this Purpoſe, we are told that the *Common Council*, who are ironically call'd *that illuſtrious and auguſt Aſſembly*, deſign to do the *brave Captain* Hall the ſame Honours, by addreſſing his Majeſty on his glorious Succeſs, preſenting him with the *Freedom of the City in a Gold Box*, and putting him in Nomination for *one of their Repreſentatives*, at the enſuing Election.

It is likewiſe ſaid, with the ſame impudent Sneer, that Captain *Hall* is going upon ſome *other Expedition of great Importance*; but keeps the ſame a Secret, leſt Orders ſhould be ſent to countermand him; and the Whole concludes with a Piece of dull Drollery upon ſending none of our numerous *Land-Forces* to the Aſſiſtance of Admiral *Vernon*, or any of our *other Commanders at Sea*, notwithſtanding the Regiments tranſported from *Ireland*, and the *Marines* raiſed here were deſign'd, as it was pretended, for that Purpoſe.

Are not all theſe Facts a plain Proof that a *certain Gentleman* and his *Creatures* will never forgive our *Britiſh Hercules* for diſconcerting *their Schemes*, by the eminent Service he hath done *his Country*? Or will any of his *mercenary Scribblers* have the Front, for the future, to aſcribe the Succeſs of that Expedition to the Wiſdom and Inſtructions of *their Patron*?

There follows a humorous Letter from the politick Barber, (*whoſe Story ſee in p. 77, 78.*) *which muſt be deferr'd to our next.*

WIT

WIT *and* CONSTANCY: *Or, The* ART *to be* HAPPY *in* LOVE. *A* POEM, *found among the late celebrated Mr.* Addiſon's *Papers, and ſuppos'd to be a Compliment on his Marriage with the Counteſs of* Warwick.

Exſolvit promiſſa Venus. ———
Quare, ego quæ dico non fallax, accipe, Vates,
Quodque Deus vero Cynthius ore ferat.
TIBULL.

To a LADY.

SINCE from my muſe *Florelia* claims a lay,
Muſe, the claim'd tribute to *Florelia* pay. [ſound,
Fearleſs, when ſhe commands, I catch the
And ſlight the dangers of *poetick* ground.
The ſecret cauſe I haſten to explore,
And truths reveal, by none reveal'd before:
How wit ſhould never ſicken with deſpair,
But would, if conſtant, gain at laſt the *fair*.
While thus I rove amid th' *Aonian* throng,
Attend, my *charmer*, and adorn my ſong.
Still flow the verſe, like thy own thoughts, ſerene,
Sweet, as thy looks, and graceful, as thy mien.
Let thy bright eyes inſpire each happy line,
And all thy beauties in my numbers ſhine.
In *Cyprus*, o'er the foamleſs main was ſeen,
Convey'd by *Zephyrs*, *beauty*'s infant *queen*.
Thither firſt wafted in her pearly ſhell,
There ſtill the goddeſs moſt delights to dwell.
It chanc'd, that once to ſhun the ſultry day,
High on the *Paphian* mount embowr'd ſhe lay.
Her nymphs, in beauteous order rank'd around,
All ſtrove to pleaſe, and all ſome office found.
Theſe braid, while others with a fruitleſs care,
Fix various gemms amid the braided hair.
No various gemms, tho' bright, can there ſurprize; [eyes!
How dull the *brilliant*, when 'tis near ſuch
The buſy *Graces* too their fondneſs ſhow,
And ſtreams of nectar laviſhly beſtow.
The fanning *Loves* their little wings diſplay,
And to their mother the cool breeze convey.
Here ſparkl'd roſy *Youth* profuſely dreſt,
The cloudleſs brow the joyous mind confeſt;
'Round her *Perſuaſion* languiſhingly clung,
And *Harmony* thrill'd, melting from her tongue;
While next were ſeen with their enchanting pow'rs,
Array'd in whiteſt robes, the ſmiling *Hours*.
Cupid was only abſent from the throng,
Flown off in ſecret to revenge his wrong.
Enrag'd at *Phœbus*, he reſolv'd to ſhow
He bore, tho' ſmall, yet an unerring bow.
He ſped an arrow, and the *Delian* found
That arrow deeper, than his own, could wound.
At length bright *Venus* left her ſoft repoſe,
And on the mount a walk for pleaſure choſe.
Shaded ſhe walk'd, for ſudden myrtles ſprung,
And o'er her head in moving arches hung.
Her purple robe flow'd graceful on the ground,
And golden ſandals to her feet were bound.
Her locks part curl'd before, while part behind
In lovely error wanton'd in the wind.
Around, ſweet ſhrubs, and flow'rs of various hue,
Caſſia, and *roſes*, and *carnations* grew.
Such fragrancies the raviſh'd ſenſes fill,
Arabia ſeems all crowded in one hill.
The riſing flow'rs the goddeſs ſmil'd to ſee,
There roſe not yet her ſad *Anemoné*;
For yet *Adonis* liv'd; her ev'ry thought
Fix'd on *Adonis*, him alone ſhe ſought.
For him her wond'rous *Ceſtus* ſhe put on,
Nor wore the needleſs charm, if he was gone.
For him in penſive ſilence now ſhe ſtands,
And rouls her eyes around the *Cyprian* lands:
O'er meads, and fields, and furzy lawns they paſt,
Till her *Adonis* was deſcry'd at laſt.
His weary limbs nigh a cool fountain ſpread,
Beneath a *poplar* on a moſſy bed,
Supine he ſlept, and by him bleeding lay
A beamy ſtag, the triumph of the day.
This *Venus* ſaw, and could no more refrain
From words, and ſighing, thus diſcloſ'd her pain. [reſt,
Ah! fooliſh boy! who there canſt chooſe to
And not to ſlumber on this panting breaſt.
Have graſſy banks, or rocky pillows charms,
More ſoft, more tempting, than theſe circling arms?
Do I in hounds my glorious rivals meet?
Kiſs they as melting, or breathe they as ſweet?
O! ſhame to *Venus!* yet, where e'er I turn,
All nature owns me, and conſpires to burn.
At my approach, wild beaſts forget to roar,
And humbly couch, who rampant rag'd before.
Lions, and tigers, gentle as my doves,
Haſte to the coverts, and purſue their loves.
Loſt is my pow'r on thee, fair, cruel boy!
Scornful of love, or taſteleſs of the joy.
Thou ſeek'ſt the woods, e'er from *Aurora*'s eyes
The ruddy flame has yet bluſh'd o'er the ſkies.
Nor ceaſe thy ſavage ſports, till *Titan*'s beams
Declining, languiſh in *Heſperian* ſtreams.
Ev'n while thou ſleep'ſt, in my fond arms embrac'd,
The boar is hunted, or the ſtag is chac'd.
My form could never bend thy ſtubborn heart,
Did not *Perſuaſion* lend her ſoft'ning art.
Tranſporting thought! but to her tongue I know,
Not to my beauties, I thoſe tranſports owe. [ſu'd,
The ſweetly mournful theme had been pur-
But, near advancing, ſhe *Apollo* view'd.
On his right arm a ſilver bow was ſlung,
And on his left an iv'ry harp, unſtrung.
A golden mantle 'round his limbs he wore,
And at his back a ſounding quiver bore.
A laurel crown enclos'd his youthful head,
But o'er his face a gloomy care was ſpread.
Then thus began th' immortal *queen of love*,
Hail! god of verſe! hail! fair *increaſe of* Jove!
Now by thy preſence may my *Cyprus* boaſt
Herſelf as happy, as the *Delian* coaſt.
Say, for what cauſe was this kind viſit ſhown?
Why is thy brow diſhonour'd with a frown?

Where

Where ſprung that leafy wreath, that wond'rous green,
For ſuch was never in my gardens ſeen.
Goddeſs! (*Latona*'s progeny reply'd)
Of heav'n, and earth, and ſeas delightful pride!
Suppliant to thee I will reveal my grief,
Thou, who can'ſt only bring, oh! bring relief!
A melancholy tale of love ſhall ſhow, [brow.
Whence this new crown, and this uncomely
As from my *Cynthian* rites, with pleaſing thought,
Parnaſſus, and the ſacred choir I ſought,
A-while in air my hovering pinions play'd,
And all the *Grecian* regions I ſurvey'd.
Arcadia's winding vales, and lofty woods,
Her *Ladon* calm, *Heliſſos*' rapid floods,
Fix'd long my eyes: there flush'd with ſylvan chace
I ſpy'd a nymph, too bright for mortal race.
Daphne her name, from * *Ladon* ſprung, who ſhows
The yellow bottom, as he cryſtal flows.
Scarce could my ſiſter with ſuch looks compare,
Such looks were only, than thy own, leſs fair.
My throbbing heart ſwift admiration fir'd,
But the coy virgin was in vain admir'd.
True, with ſucceſs my rival I betray'd,
And ſhow'd † *Leucippus* in a figur'd maid.
I fear'd the quick completion of his joy,
For now a girl was thought the beardleſs boy.
His baſhful looks the fraud ſecurely kept,
And nigh my *Daphne*, unobſerv'd, he ſlept.
Till with her nymphs ſhe ſought the cooling ſtreams,
Refreſhment grateful from my ſcorching beams.
The royal youth by her command undreſt,
And the falſe huntreſs was too plain confeſt.
Her nymphs, enrag'd, to vengeance mov'd not ſlow, [bow.
Each ſhriek'd, but ſhrieking, bent a faithful
I ſaw my almoſt happy rival bleed,
The darts directed, and improv'd their ſpeed.
Yet what avail'd it, that he thus was gone,
If ſtill I liv'd deſpairing, when alone?
Leucippus ruin'd could ſmall pleaſure bring,
Unleſs *Apollo*'s triumph thence might ſpring.
Me with diſdain the fair *Arcadian* view'd,
And ſwifter fled, when ſwifter I purſu'd.
To touch her breaſt the well try'd harp I ſtrung,
And her ſweet form in as ſweet numbers ſung.
To numbers would not the proud nymph ſubmit;
I laviſh'd heav'nly ſtores of fruitleſs wit.
At laſt ſhe fainted in the tedious chace,
And mine I thought her, ſeiz'd in my embrace;
But chang'd ſhe vaniſh'd by her own decree:
My arms for *Daphne* claſp'd a verdant tree.
Her boughs for ever ſhall by me be worn,
And ſtill the youth, whom I inſpire, adorn.

But ah! what youth will dare, tho' I inſpire,
To ſtrike the fatal, unſucceſsful lyre?
Who can preſumptuous hope the fair to move,
When his own *Phœbus* was deſpis'd in love?
Pierian gardens will neglected grow,
And *Helicon* forget in verſe to flow.
But thou, propitious goddeſs, lend thy aid!
Teach *Harmony* to melt th'unliſt'ning maid.
Where e'er thy blooming daughters lead the way,
My tuneful ſons with pleaſure ſhall obey.
Oh! let them thy all-pow'rful influence find,
And *wit* for ever meet with *beauty* kind!
I ſee thy miſtreſs in that fadeleſs green,
And thy loſs pity, ſaid th' *Idalian* queen.
Nor ſhould *Apollo* e'er from *Venus* want
That aid, which *Venus* could with ſafety grant.
But ſure, to rove is thy delightful care,
To flutter round, and ſigh from fair to fair.
Couldſt thou not once in other nymphs allow
As num'rous charms, as in thy *Daphne* now?
Look'd young ‡ *Bolina* to thy early ſight
With face leſs lovely, or with eyes leſs bright?
Nor her thy moſt melodious ſtrains could pleaſe,
She fled, and plung'd into my parent ſeas.
A future city ſhall to ages tell,
Nam'd from *Bolina*, where *Bolina* fell.
Next, *Perſa* kindl'd raptures in thy breaſt,
Then *Clytie*'s faultleſs ſhape thy ſoul poſſeſt:
Nor long with *Clytie* was thy paſſion ſed,
But wildly wander'd to *Leucothoe*'s bed.
More might be number'd, nor yet durſt I blame
In thee, a god, variety of flame.
But ſhould thy ſons on earth example take,
And idols once, as loveleſs things, forſake;
Burn with a faithleſs, looſe, fantaſtick fire,
And ſafely for a hundred nymphs expire;
Were then the mighty boon, thou aſk'ſt, convey'd, [maid.
Did they but tempt, ſoon yields the tempted
To them what pow'r unbounded would belong,
To ſcatter ruin 'round each ſparkling throng?
Already vaſt their energy is felt, [melt.
And frozen virgins, warm'd by verſe, can
I know the female pride; a flatt'ring ſtrain
May ſometimes loſe, but oftner far will gain.
Love with deluſive haſte, by muſick's art,
Steals unperciev'd on a fond youthful heart.
My own weak ſex forbids me to comply,
And part I grant thy ſuit, and part deny.
'Tis then decreed, if ſons of thine appear,
In ſhort-breath'd vows, and raptur'd thoughts ſincere,
Who, ſpite of faſhion, dare one flame purſue,
Unweary'd, and inviolably true;
Perſuaſion ſuch ſhall faithfully attend, [friend:
Each word, each action, and each look be-

* *Pauſanias de Arcad.* & *Philoſtratus, L.* 1. *de Achaicis, L.* 7.

† *Pauſan. L.* 8.

‡ *Pauſanias*

The fair at laſt ſhall *Love*'s commands obey,
And all the lover's pangs with bliſs o'er-pay.
So ſpoke the goddeſs, and the god no more
Reply'd, but ſmiling, ſought the *Delian* ſhore.
Hence, hence, ye bards! who ſtill with varied pain
Die o'er and o'er in many a mournful ſtrain:
Who *Julia*'s eyes, this hour, to ſtars compare,
The next, *Almira* has a killing air!
Your changing folly, not your love is ſhown,
For to love truly, is to love but one.
Pleas'd was *Britannia* lately to behold
Confirm'd, what *Venus* had ordain'd of old.
Apollo's happy'ſt fav'rite ſon was own'd,
And heav'nly *wit* with heav'nly *beauty* crown'd.
Nor let the man, whoſe vaſt extended mind
Is for his country's ev'ry good deſign'd,
The muſe's laurel careleſsly diſclaim,
Nor bluſh the patriot at the poet's fame:
Think not that fame inglorious, which to gain,
Conſuls and ſcepter'd *Cæſars* ſtrove in vain.
All own your merit to thoſe bliſsful arms,
Which can have only, than your muſe, more charms.

Admiral HOSIER's GHOST. *To the Tune of,* Come and liſten to my Ditty.

AS, near *Porto Bello* lying,
On the gently ſwelling flood,
At midnight, with ſtreamers flying,
Our triumphant navy rode;
There, while *Vernon* ſate, all glorious
From the *Spaniards* late defeat,
And his crew, with ſhouts victorious,
Drank ſucceſs to *England*'s fleet,

On a ſudden, ſhrilly ſounding,
Hideous yells and ſhrieks were heard;
Then, each heart with fears confounding,
A ſad troop of ghoſts appear'd;
All in dreary hammocks ſhrouded,
Which for winding ſheets they wore;
And with looks by ſorrow clouded,
Frowning on that hoſtile ſhore.

On them gleam'd the moon's wan luſtre,
When the ſhade of *Hoſier* brave,
His pale band was ſeen to muſter,
Riſing from their wat'ry grave:
O'er the glimmering wave he hy'd him,
Where the *Burford* rear'd her ſail,
With three thouſand ghoſts beſide him,
And in groans did *Vernon* hail.

'Heed, oh heed! my fatal ſtory,
'I am *Hoſier*'s injur'd ghoſt;
'You who now have purchas'd glory
'At this place where I was loſt;
'Tho' in *Porto Bello*'s ruin
'You now triumph, free from fears,
'Yet to hear of my undoing,
'You will mix your joys with tears.

'See yon mournful ſpectres ſweeping,
'Ghaſtly, o'er this hated wave,
'Whoſe wan cheeks are ſtain'd with weeping;
'Theſe were *Engliſh* captains brave;
'And theſe numbers pale and horrid,
'Were my ſailors once ſo bold;
'Lo, each hangs his drooping forehead,
'While his diſmal fate is told.

'I, by twenty ſail attended,
'Did this *Spaniſh* town affright,
'Nothing then its wealth defended
'But my orders not to fight;
'Oh that, with my wrath complying,
'I had caſt them in the main,
'Then, no more unactive lying,
'I had low'red the pride of *Spain*.

'For reſiſtance I could fear none,
'But with twenty ſhips had done,
'What thou, brave and happy *Vernon*,
'Did'ſt atchieve with *ſix alone*.
'Then the *Baſtimento*'s never
'Had our foul diſhonour ſeen,
'Nor the ſea the ſad receiver
'Of theſe gallant men had been.

'Thus, like thee, proud *Spain* diſmaying,
'And her galleons leading home,
'Tho', condemn'd for diſobeying,
'I had met a traytor's doom;
'To have fall'n, my country crying,
'*He has play'd an* Engliſh *part*,
'Had been better far than dying
'Of a griev'd and broken heart.

'Unrepining at thy glory,
'Thy ſucceſsful arms we hail,
'But remember our ſad ſtory,
'When to *Britain* back you ſail!
'All your country's foes ſubduing,
'When your patriot friends you ſee,
'Think on vengeance for my ruin,
'And for *England* ſham'd in me.

SIR,

THO' the three laſt Lines of the following Stanza's may ſeem to have no Foundation in the Text, yet, I think, they bear ſo near an Affinity to the Senſe of it, as that they may be, without Scruple, admitted in a Paraphraſe.

I am, Sir,
Your conſtant Reader,
And Humble Servant,
THEOPHRASTUS.

DEUT. xxxii. to VERSE 6. *Paraphraſed.*

STAND ſtill, ye heavens, and with attention hear,
Thou liſt'ning earth, incline thine ear.
Doctrine ſalubrious as refreſhing ſhow'rs,
Or morning dew to riſing flow'rs,
Or rain, that in ſmall, pearly drops deſcends,
And to the tender graſs its cheering moiſture lends,
My opening lips ſhall utter; I'll adore
Jehovah's glorious name, his wondrous works explore.

Juſtice

Juſtice and truth, in bright array,
See round his throne their wings diſplay,
Stedfaſt, unſhaken, and ſecure:
As harden'd rocks amid the main,
Its ſwelling waves, and boiſt'rous ſtorms diſdain,
And all its laſhings, fix'd, endure.

His choſen offspring from his paths have ſtray'd,
By corrupt inclinations ſway'd.
No more his heavenly form they wear;
No more his ſacred image bear,
But all defil'd, degenerate appear.

Fond, fooliſh race, who thus requite
Th' Almighty Sov'reign of the earth,
Whoſe pow'rful hand firſt gave thee birth,
And from the fetters of a foreign land,
Redeem'd thee captive; whoſe command
Can ſend thee ſwift to ſhades of endleſs night;
Cloſe thy dim eyes, reſtrain thy panting breath,
And lock thee faſt within the gloomy realms of death.

An ODE *on reading the Sixth Metre of the firſt Book of* BOETIUS of the Conſolation of Philoſophy, *as tranſlated by* Richard *Lord Viſcount* Preſton.

WHEN ſummer's kindly heats ariſe,
And fragrant flowers perfume the ſkies;
'Who to the ground commits the ſeed?
Or drowns with ſtreams the ripening mead?

When cutting winds ſeverely blow,
With piercing froſts, and falling ſnow;
'Who to the grove or woodland goes,
'To crop the violet or roſe?

If you the yellow corn would mow,
In autumn ſee the ſeed you ſow:
'If you the purple grape would preſs,
Before the froſts, your vineyard dreſs.

'Thus God allots to every care,
'Of time a fit and proper ſhare;
And happy they, who wiſely chuſe
Of every ſtate the proper uſe.

'But he who leaving order, ſtrays,
'And wanders in untimely ways;
His labour fruit'leſs will be found,
'And never with ſucceſs be crown'd.

Then with the love of virtue fir'd,
With hopes of endleſs joys inſpir'd;
In this ſhort life with patience bear
Afflictions, ſufferings, toil and care.

Nay, part with life, and all that's dear,
From vice to keep your conſcience clear;
For thus the ſeeds of bliſs are ſown,
The labours of the juſt to crown.

Note, The Lines mark'd thus ' are taken from Lord *Preſton*'s Tranſlation of *Boetius*.

On DIVINE BEAUTY.

BEFORE the azure-vaulted ſkies,
Or pomp of ſolar light,
Beauty immortal and divine
Blaz'd out ſupremely bright.

Spaces unknown, illumin'd round,
With boundleſs glory ſhin'd,
The ſplendid temple of the God,
Who forms the human mind.

What art thou, beauty? from whoſe womb
Fair ſmiling nature came,
With God's idea newly ſtampt,
When charms o'erſpread this frame.

Thy parents are eternal thought,
And ever-beaming light,
Confuſion from thy preſence haſtes,
And horrour takes his flight.

But if a riv'let of thy rays
Tranſports the ſoul below,
What raptures muſt it dazled, loſt,
In thy full ocean know?

The WISH.

THINK, O my ſoul! in awful dread,
What thou of heav'n wou'd'ſt crave.
Thou wou'd'ſt not be a guilty lord,
Or a gay, dazling knave.

Nor by a roguiſh, ſordid ſcheme
Exhauſt a nation's ſtore;
Or the bright diadem profane
With anguiſh of the poor.

Let barb'rous nations, gull'd by bribes,
In tyranny delight,
Brave *Britain* public liberty
Aſſerts for public right.

But yet unequal to the cares,
That muſt ſurround the great,
What wou'd'ſt thou? only competence,
Content, and a retreat.

J. DINSDALE.

To FAVONIUS, *an* ODE.

FAVONIUS, come, and in thy train,
Enlivening warmth and verdure bring:
Breathe thy ſoft fragrance round the plain,
And o'er the woodland pour the ſpring.

Dire *Boreas*, with tyrannic laws,
Too long reſtrains thy genial powers:
Break then thy chain, aſſert thy cauſe;
Give us the ſun to wake the flowers.

But chief indulge thy favourite breeze,
To *Paean*'s, to the *muſes* ſhade *;
Give vigour to the ſhiv'ring trees;
With living tap'ſtry deck the glade.

* *Vaux-Hall Gardens.*

Sweet ſpot! where ſculpture, painting, join
With muſic, to improve the bowl;
Where art and nature both combine,
To raiſe the mind, and glad the ſoul.

O how I long to tread thy maze!
To wander thro' its fairy rounds;
On groops of gliding beauties gaze,
And liſten to the warbling ſounds.

To theſe bleſt bowers of vivid green,
If *Chloe* come, as ſnow-drops fair,
Her preſence will enrich the ſcene,
And all *Elyſium* open there.

EPIGRAM.

WOULD you to *Orcus'* ſhades deſcend,
To be exempt from care;
You need but *wench* and *tipple* well,
And you will ſoon be there.

M.

The preceding Anſwer'd.

NOT to thoſe dreary *ſhades* I'd go,
But to ſome place *above*;
Therefore I'll not a *tipler* be,
Nor ever think on *love*.

June 6th 1740. *R. W.*

An Epiſtle from a Country Parſon to a Country Squire.

EXil'd from *Claremont*, to dull home confin'd,
How ſhall I chaſe the ſpleen, that ſours my mind?
'Sure cordials ſage philoſophy preſcribes.'—
As ſoon the *ſenate* you may hire with bribes.
'The volumes of our grave divines explore,
'What caſuiſtick piles, an endleſs ſtore!'—
Endleſs indeed, their hours who thus miſpend,
Pore to no purpoſe, puzzle to no end.—
'Turn *politician*, curb the pride of *Spain*,
'A *mitre* merit, and a *mitre* gain,
'The *patriot*'s glorious prize.'—In troth as well
Sincerity might win a modern belle—
'Climb the tall ſummits of *Parnaſſus* hill,
'And quaff the ſtreams of *Aganippe*'s rill;
'Mount *Pegaſus*;'—Alas! too ſoon you'll find it,
The jade is miſerably broken-winded.
Come then, O come, and let the jocund bowl
Diſpel the vapours, and revive the ſoul.
The circling glaſs with lively vigour fires,
Warms the chill'd ſpirits, and gay mirth inſpires.
With nuptial fetters gall'd, thus hen-peck'd *Jove*
Seeks a retreat from jarring realms above;
He flies up-born, upon his eagle's back,
Stun'd by the din of an eternal clack,
At *Baucis'* peaceful hut deſcends to dine,
* There many a goblet fills with cheering wine,
On earth enjoys the bliſs, which heav'n deny'd,
His cares are drown'd, and he forgets his bride.

Imitation of ODE V. BOOK I. *of* HORACE.

WHAT youth, in roſy bowers laid,
His locks with liquid odours ſpread,
Now hugs thee to his panting breaſt,
And thinks no mortal half ſo bleſt?
For whom doſt thou, enchanting fair,
In ringlets wreathe thy flowing hair?
For whom, my *Pyrrha*, doſt thou deign
To deck thus elegantly plain?
Th' unwary wretch, who ſees no guile,
Drinks poiſon in, at ev'ry ſmile;
And figures to his flattering mind
Thee, always vacant, always kind:
Unwont to ſee, unwont to hear
One chiding word, or look ſevere;
How ſhall he view, with ſecret dread,
That heavenly face with clouds o'erſpread?
How often curſe his fatal love?
His gods? which ſo inconſtant prove.
Ah hapleſs they! who view thy face
Adorn'd with ev'ry winning grace;
Unknowing *Pyrrha*'s fickle heart,
Full-fraught with all deceiving art.
In yonder votive tablets read,
How I from dreadful ſhipwreck freed,
My dropping weeds hung up to thee,
Great *Neptune*, ruler of the ſea.

An Anſwer to an ENIGMA *in the* LONDON MAGAZINE *for* May 1740, *p.* 235.

E'ER, ſir, I'd read your riddle thro',
Your dark myſterious theme I knew:
For each reflecting line ſhew'd plain,
A LOOKING-GLASS was in your brain.
'Tis that, the ladies all admire,
'Tis that, all beaux and belles deſire;
'Tis that, each beauty will diſcloſe;
And that, the ſmalleſt blemiſh ſhows.
When *Silvia*'s told ſhe's all divine;
Her face does like an angel's ſhine;
Her eyes diffuſe enliv'ning rays,
And round her boſom *Cupid* plays;
Her voice is like the *Syrens*, ſweet;
And monarchs fall beneath her feet:
That ſhe with goddeſſes ſhould join,
And grace the bright celeſtial train:
A MIRROUR will the truth diſcover;
She'll know 'twas flatt'ry in her lover,
And be convinc'd, againſt her will,
She's but an earthly mortal ſtill.

J. C.

We aſk Pardon for omitting the Epiſtle to Myrtillo, *which ſhall be inſerted in our next, as alſo the* Father's Complaint, *the* Receipt to make a Maw-Wallop, *&c.*

* ——— *Hauſtum Cratera repleri*
Sponte ſua, per ſeque vident ſuccreſcere Vina.

THE

Monthly Chronologer.

ON the 30th of laſt Month an Expreſs arriv'd, with Advice, that on the 20th of the ſaid Month, O. S. died in the 52d Year of his Age, *Frederick William* King of *Pruſſia*, Margrave of *Brandenburg*, Arch-Chamberlain and Elector of the Holy *Roman* Empire, *&c.* He is ſucceeded by *Charles Frederick*, his eldeſt Son, born *Jan.* 24, 1712. The late King was Son of *Frederick* III. Elector of *Brandenburg*, who was made a Knight of the Garter by K. *William*, and in 1700 took upon himſelf the Title of King of *Pruſſia*, which was acknowledg'd by *France* and *Spain* in the Treaty of *Utrecht*. The late King's Mother was *Sophia Charlotta*, Princeſs of *Hanover*, Siſter of K. *George* I. and he married *Sophia Dorothea*, Princeſs of *Hanover*, his Couſin German, and only Siſter to our preſent moſt gracious Sovereign. Beſides his eldeſt Son and Succeſſor, he has left three Sons and five Daughters, four of whom are married. The Family of *Brandenburg* is reckon'd next in Strength to the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and their Dominions are large and fruitful.

SUNDAY, *June* 1.

His Majeſty's Ship the *Deptford*, Captain *Pocklington* Commander, came to *Portſmouth*, and brought in a *Spaniſh* Privateer, call'd the *St. Sebaſtian y las Animas*, commanded by Don *Pablo de Arbez*. She carried 12 Guns and 114 Men; but when taken had but 91. This is the Privateer that has ſo much annoy'd our Ships in the Channel, and off *St. Sebaſtians*: She has taken at leaſt 22 *Engliſh* Ships, and is the ſame that lately engag'd Capt. *Mackey* of the *Neſbit*. (See p. 245.)

TUESDAY, 3.

The Parliament was, by the Lords Juſtices, farther prorogu'd to *July* 8.

FRIDAY, 6.

Her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Heſſe* ſet out from St. *James*'s, embark'd at *Greenwich* on board the *Mary* Yatch, ſail'd about 7 in the Morning, arriv'd in *Holland* the next Day, and from thence proceeded for *Heſſe-Caſſel*.

SUNDAY, 8.

A Tender, call'd the *Lilliputian*, from being the ſmalleſt belonging to the Navy, took a *Spaniſh* Privateer off the Land's-End.

MONDAY, 9.

His Grace the Duke of *Argyle* arriv'd at *Edinburgh* at his Lodging in the *Abbey*, and was there attended by a great many Perſons of Diſtinction, as alſo by the Lord Provoſt, Magiſtrates and Town Council of *Edinburgh* in a Body.

Faro, May 17. N. S. Four Barca-longas put out of this Port to Sea on the 8th Inſtant, and the next Morning were taken by his *Britannick* Majeſty's Ship the *Superbe*: They were going to *Lagos*, to take in Ladings of Tobacco from the Regiſter Ship there, for *Cadiz*. Three others from *Seville* are here, laden with Artillery and Ammunition, and a Company of Gunners on board of each, bound for *Cadiz*: They are lying juſt within the Bar, but are afraid to proceed while the *Superbe* is upon the Coaſt.

WEDNESDAY, 18.

At a Court of Common Council at *Guildhall*, it was agreed to return the Thanks of that Court to the four worthy Repreſentatives of this City, in the following Manner:

"We the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and Commons of the City of *London*, in Common Council aſſembled, return you our Thanks for your faithful and diligent Attendance in Parliament, particularly while the Place-Bill was depending laſt Seſſions; and being ſollicitous, that the Rights and Liberties which this Nation has hitherto enjoy'd, ſhould be continued to lateſt Poſterity, and conſidering, that thoſe Bleſſings can alone be ſecured by the Independency of Parliament, do moſt earneſtly require of you to renew your Endeavours in procuring a proper Bill for reducing and limiting the Number of Placemen in the Houſe of Commons.

As we apprehend that our Expectations laſt Seſſions were in a great Meaſure diſappointed thro' the Abſence of a few Members from Parliament, we cannot but entertain the ſtrongeſt Hopes of Succeſs the next Year, not doubting but thoſe Gentlemen, being at length convinced that a diligent Attendance in the Houſe of Commons is of the utmoſt Conſequence to the Nation, will not hazard a ſecond Loſs of this ſalutary Law, ſo immediately neceſſary to preſerve the Freedom of our Conſtitution, to reſtore Unanimity among the People, and eſtabliſh that Confidence in his Majeſty's Meaſures as may effectually enable him, at this important Juncture, to aſſert the Honour of his Crown and Kingdom."

The ſecond and third Troops of Horſe-Guards, the firſt Troop of Horſe Grenadier Guards, and the three Regiments of Foot-Guards, were review'd in *Hyde-Park* by the

Lord

A PLAN of GIBRALTAR.

Explanation of the PLAN of GIBRALTAR. — A A Mediterranean *Sea.* — B B *Part of the Bay.* — a a *Entrance into the* Mediterranean. — C Little Europa. — D Great Europa. — E Salto Garrobo. — F *Signal Houſe.* — G *Middle Hill.* — H *The higheſt Part of the Mountain, above* 1300 *Feet higher than the Level of the Neck of Land.* — b *The King's* — c *The Prince's Lines, cut out of the Rock ſince the firſt Siege.* — d *A Line call'd the Breach.* — e *The old* Mooriſh *Caſtle.* — f *Devil's Tower.* — g *Moraſs.* — h *An Inundation made ſince the laſt Siege, which renders it utterly impoſſible for an Enemy to carry on any Approaches, as they did in the firſt Siege to the* Glacis, *ſo great a Quantity of Water being now let in, that the whole Front of the Gariſon next the Land is made inacceſſible.* — i *A Sluice to the ſaid Inundation, by which Means the Sea may be let in at Pleaſure, and all Attempts of an Enemy to drain it are impracticable.* — I *North Baſtion.* — K *Old Mole.* — k *The Hoſpital.* — l *The Governor's Garden.* — m *Powder Magazine.* — n *South Baſtion.* — o *Demi Baſtion.* — p *Flat Baſtion.* — L *An old* Mooriſh *Line.* — M Charles *Vth's Line.* — N *Aquæduct.* — O 8 *Gun Battery.* — q *New Chapel.* — r *New Barracks.* — P *New Mole.* — ſ *Fort of the New Mole.* — t Roſia *Bay.* — Q *Ruins of a noble Water Ciſtern, call'd the* Moors *Bagnio.* — R Noſtra Senhora de Europa. — v v v v v *The Enemy's Approaches and Batteries, now demoliſh'd.* — u u *The Enemy's main Battery in the firſt Siege.* — S Spaniſh *Commandant's Quarters.* — w w w *Sand Hills.* — x x x *The Line or Wall (with its Ditch or Moat) which the* Spaniards *have built croſs the Neck of Land, about a Mile from our Works, and* 2 *or* 3 *Miles from the anchoring Places near the New Mole, and therefore they cannot annoy our Ships, nor could they in the former Sieges prevent any Succours being convey'd into the Town, tho' their Batteries were then much nearer than now; beſides, our Batteries are ſo high, as to overlook and command theirs, and from whence we could in a few Hours deſtroy them, ſhould they make any ſuch Attempts: This Wall can, therefore, be of no other Uſe than to hinder a clandeſtine Trade, or at moſt to prevent any ſudden Excurſion of Soldiers or Sailors to rob and plunder the Country.* — T *St.* Michael's *Cave, able to contain* 1000 *Men, and where a Party of deſperate* Spaniards *hid themſelves two Days in the firſt Siege in* 1705, *they having enter'd into a ſolemn Combination, either to take the Place, or die in the Attempt; to which End they aſcended the back Part of the Mountain at Middle Hill and* Salto Garrobo, *with the greateſt Difficulty and Hazard, and were to have fallen on the Back of the Town, whilſt the Beſiegers made a general Aſſault on the Front; but being diſcover'd before their Deſign was ripe for Execution, were attack'd by a Detachment of the Gariſon, and, refuſing to take Quarter, all jump'd down the vaſt Precipice (their Commander leading the Way) and periſh'd, not one out of* 500 *Men eſcaping to tell with what Pains and miſerable Conſequence ſuch an Attempt was attended. The* French *and* Spaniards, *after this, rais'd the Siege, tho' the Works of the Beſieged lay all in Ruins, and only a Handful of about* 1200 *Men to defend the Place againſt a powerful Army of near* 30,000 French *and* Spaniards. *This fruitleſs Siege in* 1705 *by ſo numerous an Army, under an experienc'd* French *General, evinces how impracticable any future Attempts are like to be, when this Fortreſs has been ſtrengthen'd with ſo many new Fortifications, and a ſufficient Gariſon has the Defence of it.*

This important Place was taken by the Engliſh *in the Year* 1704, *and confirm'd to them by the Treaty of* Utrecht.

Lord Viſcount *Shannon*, and Sir *Charles Wills*, after which they march'd in a regular Form to their Camp on *Hounſlow* Heath.

TUESDAY, 24.

Came on the Election of Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex* for the enſuing Year, when the Choice, by a great Majority, fell on Mr. Alderman *Marſhall*, and Mr. Alderman *Hoare*. —The Election of a Bridge-Maſter alſo came on, when on holding up of Hands a great Majority appear'd in Favour of Mr. *Piddington*, Citizen and Diſtiller; but a Poll was demanded in favour of Mr. *Keynton*, Mr. *Naſh*, and Mr. *Marſland*; which the two former ſoon declin'd.

Sir *John Norris*, Knt. hoiſted his Flag on board the *Victory*, a Firſt Rate of 110 Guns.

WEDNESDAY, 25.

The following Gentlemen were elected Governors and Guardians of the Hoſpital for expos'd and deſerted young Children, *viz.* the Right Hon. Sir *John Salter*, Knt. Lord Mayor, the Hon. Sir *William Barker*, Bart. *John Brown*, Eſq; *Pleydell Goddard*, Eſq; Mr. *Thomas Lane*, *James Smyth*, Eſq; Mr. *John Wenham*, *James Weſt*, Eſq;

There have been ſeveral Reports concerning Admiral *Vernon* ſince our laſt, how true we cannot ſay; as, that he bombarded *Carthagena* for three Days, in which Time he threw 300 Bombs into the Town, and then return'd; and afterwards, that he was actually before *Carthagena*, and had taken the *Boca Checa* Caſtles. See the Plan in our *Magazine* for *April*, p. 194.

We had alſo an Account from *South Carolina*, of the *Shoreham* Man of War taking a conſiderable *Spaniſh* Privateer: And from *Port-Mahon*, of the *Garland* Man of War taking a Veſſel carrying Ammunition and Troops for *Majorca*. See the Plan of *Port-Mahon* in our laſt, p. 246.

Copy of a Letter from the brave Commander of the *Sea-Horſe*, of the Port of *Briſtol*, to his Owners there.

Civita-Vecchia, April 24, 1740, O. S.

SIRS,

SINCE our Misfortune of being taken by the barbarous *Spaniards*, I had not the Liberty to write to you; none from the Shore were ſuffer'd to ſee or hear from me. They uſed us in a moſt barbarous Manner, giving our People little to eat, and quite naked. God be praiſed we have got our Liberty with Ship and Cargo. The Privateer has been gone about 3 Weeks, and left nothing on board but the Maſts ſtanding and Sails to the Yards, with two Cables, one of which was new, they cut off it 30 Fathom, ſome of the Water Caſks, two Anchors, and two Guns. There is not the leaſt Thing of any Kind left on board. The *Mediterranean* Paſs is alſo taken away, and all my Things, ſo that I have not ſo much left, as will wrap round my Finger, and the Men naked. Having no Conſul or Envoy here to make our Application to, muſt be ſatisfy'd till we have a further Hearing, who muſt make good the Damage, for the *Spaniards* that robbed us are gone. We are in no Caſe fit to proceed from hence, and what to do I don't know, till I have your Orders; not having any Paſs or Colours, ſo ſhall be a Prize to the *Turk*.

It was on the 8th of *March* it happen'd; we were within two Miles of our Port; they were in the Mould when they ſaw us; two Sebecks belonging to *Majorca*, each 70 Men on board, with 4 Carriage Guns and 12 Swivels; one of them came out with both Crews on board, and their Launch; the Launch came firſt with 60 Men, and ordered me to ſtrike for the King of *Spain*, and if I offered to fire they would cut us in Pound Pieces. I told them I did not know the King of *Spain*, and if they wanted us to ſtrike they muſt come on board and do it; but they were not ſo good as to come; we ſoon gave them their Diſcharge and ſent them on board the Privateer, which was within Gun-ſhot of us; having a light Breeze of Wind, when we came within Piſtol-ſhot we fired into him, which did him ſome Hurt: They then laid us on board on our Larboard-ſide, but we ſoon clear'd them; and they boarded us a ſecond Time, but could not ſtay long, but went on board their own Veſſel, carrying their Wounded and Dead with them, which made them make a lamentable Outcry, ſo that half of them run down into the Hold. I could ſee them, but could not come at them. If I had had but 30 Men to have followed me with Sword in Hand, I am certain I could have taken them, for they did not know what to do. At laſt they began to fire their great Guns; they beat in our Dead-Lights, and damaged our Quarter very much. As we were drove out of the Cabbin, and having no Guns forward, and two of our People wounded out of 7, our whole Number, we called for Quarter, and they were ſoon on board like Lions, and demanded us on Deck. I went up firſt, and they met me and ſtript me naked, and fell on me as if I had been roaſt Beef, and quickly drove me that I was obliged to go Head foremoſt over-board, or be cut to Pieces; they fired a Piſtol at me as I was going into the Water, two Balls went thro' my left Foot, thro' the Calf of my Leg, and up into my Thigh, and there reſted till they were cut out. I have ſuffered a great deal, and ſtill obliged to keep my Bed, am afraid ſhall not have the Uſe of my Leg, for they cut my Wounds acroſs my Fleſh. The next Man that came on Deck they cut him all to Pieces, and he died in three Days. After the third that came up they attempted to cut his Head off, but miſſing their Stroke took his Shoulder and cut it almoſt off; the reſt ſeeing this hid themſelves. Whilſt I was in the Water I ſwam towards their Boat to take me in, one of them up with his Oar to knock me on the Head, I dived under, by which I avoided the Blow; at laſt they took me up into one of their Boats. I had ſeveral Wounds and Cuts on my Body, my left Hand cut open to the Wriſt, with a great Cut in my Head, the Water all about me was the Colour of Blood. The Battle laſted an Hour before we ſtruck. We killed 16 of them on the Spot, whom they hove directly over-board. Four we wounded, two of which died. The Doctor was aſhore, which obliged them to come in.

If it had not been for the Governor of this Place we ſhould have been carried away by thoſe Villains, and they would never have let me live to ſee Land. They have ſaid, if ever they catch me, they will cut me in Pound Pieces; I am not afraid of them.

There is only one Way to deſtroy theſe Privateers, and eaſily done, which is this; to have a ſmall Veſſel, like ours, with good Accommodations to mount 6 ſtreight Guns, and about 130 Men; not to ſhew above 7 or 8 Men on Deck, till the Privateer came along-ſide and grappled faſt, then every Man on Deck: The Surprize would take them, for they have no Souls. As for our Men of War, they are as fit to go after them, as a Cow after a Hare, and they as much mind them, for they ſail incomparable well, that nothing can touch them. God Almighty has granted me a little longer Time here: All my Deſire is to have another Knock at them before I die. Having much more to ſay, and not able to move out of Bed, I remain

Your moſt humble,
And moſt obedient Servant,
JOHN READ

Fal-

FRIDAY, 27.

The Poll for Bridge-Maſter ended, which ſtood thus; for Mr. *Piddington* 2217, for Mr. *Marſland* 1788; ſo that the former carry'd it by a Majority of 429.

On the three young LIONS *whelp'd this Month in the* Tower.

Whilſt at ſuch diſtance from their native lands,
From ſouthern climes, and hot *Getulia*'s ſands,
The captive lions join in love's embrace,
And propagate with *us* their tawny race;
We quit the prodigy, before unknown,
And claim the royal ſpecies for our own.
In this fair omen let *Britannia* ſee
The pledge of rule, and deſtin'd victory;
And whilſt ſhe meditates her dread alarms,
And fartheſt *India* trembles at her arms,
Let her triumphant navies, on the main,
From ſun to ſun aſſert her antient reign,
And check the *Gallic* pride, and humble haughty *Spain*.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

SIR *Edmund Thomas*, Bart. to Mrs. *Northey*.

Hon. *Heneage Legg*, Eſq; Son to the Earl of *Dartmouth*, to Miſs *Katherine Fogg*, Niece to Sir *John Barnard* and Sir *Robert Godſchall*.

John Crawley, Member of Parl. for *Marlborough*, to Miſs *Sambroke*, Siſter to Sir *Jeremy Vanacker Sambroke*, Bart.

Joſeph Smyth, Doctor of Laws, to Miſs *Lydia Barney*.

William Richardſon, Eſq; Agent in *Ireland*, for the City of *London*, to Mrs. *Mary Eyles*, Siſter of Sir *John Eyles*, Bart.

Joſiah Burchett, Eſq; Secretary of the Admiralty, to Mrs. *Wood*.

Sir *Robert Clifton*, Bart. Knight of the *Bath*, to Miſs *Lombe*, eldeſt Daughter of the late Sir *Thomas Lombe*, Knight and Alderman.

Rev. Mr. *Lloyd*, of St. *George in the Eaſt*, to Miſs *Petre*.

Adolphus Meerkerk, Eſq; to Miſs *Hoſkins*.

Rev. Dr. *Bateman*, Archdeacon of *Lewes*, to Miſs *Mary Smalbrook*, Daughter of the Bp. of *Litchfield and Coventry*.

Thomas Warwick, of *Stanley* in *Warwickſhire*, Eſq; to Miſs *Lettice*.

His Grace the Duke of *Leeds*, to the Lady *Mary Godolphin*, Daughter of the Right Hon. the Earl of *Godolphin*.

The Lady of the Right Hon. the Lord *Vere Beauclerk*, ſafely deliver'd of a Son.

The Lady of Sir *Cecil Biſhop*, Bart. of a Son.

Counteſs of *Gainſborough*, alſo of a Son.

DEATHS.

RIGHT Hon. the Counteſs of *Ailesford*.

Rt. Hon. the Earl of *Glaſgow*.

Leonard Smelt, Eſq; Memb. of Parl. for *Northallerton* in *Yorkſhire*, and Clerk of the Office of Ordnance.

Arthur Ackland, Eſq; an eminent *Portugal* Merchant of this City.

Rt. Hon. *Henry de Grey* Duke and Earl of *Kent*, Marquis *Grey*, Earl of *Harold*, Viſc. *Goodrick*, Baron *Grey*, and Baron *Lucas* of *Crudwell*, Lord Lieut. and Cuſtos Rotulorum of the County of *Bedford*, one of the Privy Council, and Knight of the Garter.

Rt. Hon. *Thomas Onſlow*, Lord *Onſlow* and Baronet, Lord Lieut. of the County of *Surrey*, one of the Tellers of the Exchequer, High Steward of *Guildford*, and Uncle to the Rt. Hon. the Speaker of the Hon. Houſe of Commons.

Lambert Blackwell, Eſq;

Mr. *Vandermeer*, an eminent *Dutch* Merchant.

Mrs. *Hallam*, a celebrated Actreſs.

Rev. Dr. *Robinſon*, Vicar of *Knotsford* in *Cheſhire*, aged 91.

At *Darking*, Dr. *Budgen*, a Phyſician of great Practice.

John Smith, Eſq; High Sheriff of *Kent*.

Major *Goſling*, of General *Anſtruther*'s Reg. of Foot.

Edward Ventris, Eſq; Maſter of the *King's Bench* Office.

Lord Viſc. *Wallingford*, Memb. of Parl. for *Banbury*.

John Lawton, of *Lawton* in *Cheſhire*, Eſq; Memb. of Parl. for *Newcaſtle under Line*.

Corbet Kynaſton, Eſq; Knight of the Shire for the County of *Salop*.

Sir *William Wyndham*, Bart. Knight of the Shire for the County of *Somerſet*, one of the beſt Speakers in the Houſe of Commons. He is ſucceeded in Dignity and Eſtate by his Son *Charles Wyndham*, Eſq; now Sir *Charles Wyndham*, Bart. Memb. of Parl. for *Bridgwater*.

George Liddell, Eſq; Memb. of Parliament for *Berwick upon Tweed*.

At his Chambers in the *Temple*, Mr. *John Bignall*, Filazer for the Counties of *Surrey*, *Suſſex*, and *Kent*.

John Crew, Eſq; a near Relation to the late *Nathaniel Crew*, Baron *Crew* of *Stene*, and Lord Biſhop of *Durham*.

Henry Luffingham, Eſq; formerly High Sheriff for the County of *Oxford*.

Hon. Mrs. *Farmer*, Aunt to the Earl of *Pomfret*.

Samuel Holden, Eſq; an eminent *Ruſſia* Merchant, Governor of the *Bank*, and Member of Parliament for *Eaſtlow* in *Cornwall*.

The Lady *Lucy*, Wife of Sir *Berkley Lucy*, Bart.

Rev. Mr. *Charles Wade*, M. A. Chaplain to the Duke of *Portland*.

Kendall Fynes, Eſq; a near Relation to the Earl of *Lincoln*, and Brother to Mr. *Henry Fynes*, an eminent Merchant of this City: As he was riding from *Horn-caſtle* to *Routon*, his Dwelling-houſe, his Horſe took Fright, and threw him with ſuch Violence on his Head, as fractur'd his Skull in ſo violent a Manner, that he inſtantly expired.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

NATHANIEL *Brite*, B. A. to the Rectory of *Stoke-Pero* in *Somerſetſhire*.

Mr. *Smallwood*, M. A. to the Rectory of *Ampleforth* in *Yorkſhire*.

Walter Walker Ward, B. A. to the Living of *Biddenden* in the Dioceſe of *Canterbury*.

John Stirling, M. A. Chaplain to the Duke of *Gordon*, to the Vicarage of *Great Gaddeſden* in *Hertfordſhire*.

Dean *Auchmuty* to the Prebendary and Rectory of *Carn Caſtle*, &c. in the County of *Antrim* in *Ireland*.

Rev. Dr. *Fowler* of *Norwich* appointed Chancellor of the Dioceſe of *Briſtol*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil and Military*.

CHARLES *Cotterell*, Eſq; made Maſter of the Ceremonies, in Caſes where the Maſter of the Ceremonies cannot be preſent; and alſo Marſhal of the Ceremonies in the Room of Dr. *Ingliſh*, deceas'd.

Mr. Serjeant *Singleton*, made Lord Chief Juſtice of the *Common Pleas* in *Ireland*.

William Strickland, Eſq; made a Commiſſioner of the Exciſe in *Ireland*.

Capt. *Eaton* appointed Major of the firſt Troop of Life Guards, in the Room of the Lord Viſcount *Wallingford*, deceas'd.

PERSONS *declar'd Bankrupts*.

THOMAS *Beates*, of the Parish of St. *Sepulchre*, *London*, Bricklayer.

William Adye, of *Cateaton-ſtreet*, *London*, Packer.

Joſeph Walcott, of *Seething-lane*, *London*, Wine-Merchant.

Edward Burchett, of *Foſter-lane*, *London*, Ironmonger.

William Barwell, of *Glemsford* in the County of *Suffolk*, Grocer.

John Gibbons, of *Hatherleigh* in the County of *Devon*, Serge-Maker.

John Cowden, of St. *Giles's in the Fields*, *Middleſex*, Carpenter.

James Frettwell, of *Shepperton*, in *Middleſex*, Rope-maker and Victualler.

William Weaver, of *Redcroſs-Street*, *London*, Broker.

Richard Brown, of *Fluſhing-Court* in the Precinct of St. *Catherine's*, *Middleſex*, Merchant, Dealer, and Chapman.

Francis Newton, late of *Darlington* in the County of *Durham*, Linen-Weaver and Flax-dreſſer.

John Snowden, of the Pariſh of St. *Sepulchre's*, *London*, Brewer.

John Halliſax, of *Fleet-ſtreet*, *London*, Watch and Clock-maker.

Anthony Druce, late of *Bradford*, in the County of *Wilts*, Clothier.

Joſiah Weare and *Thomas Weare*, of *Sodbury*, in the County of *Glouceſter*, Linen-Drapers, Grocers and Partners.

Thomas Hill, of *Tower-Hill*, *London*, Grocer.

Henry Atkinſon, of *Bradford*, in the County of *York*, Felt-maker.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 102 ⅛ a ¼	*African* 10
—*Ann.* 112 ⅛ a ½	*Royal Aſſ.* nothing
Bank 143 ¾	*Lon. ditto* 12
—*Circ.* 5*l* 15*s*	3 *p C. Ann.* no Tran.
M. Bank 116	*Salt Tallies* ¼ a ½
India no Transfer	*Emp. Loan* 111 ¼
—*Bonds* 5*l* 11*s* a 12*s*	*Equiv.* no Transfer

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt. 35 5 2 ½	*Bilboa* 41
D. Sight 35 2	*Leghorn* 49 ⅞ a 50
Rotter. 35 6 2 ½ a 2	*Genoa* 53 ½ a ⅝
Hamb. 34 3 2 ½	*Venice* 50 ⅜
Paris 32 1/16 a ¼	*Lisbon* 5*s* 5*d* ⅜ a ¼
Bourdx. 32 ¼	*Porto* 5*s* 4*d* ½
Cadiz 42 a ⅜	*Antw.* 35 11
Madrid 42	*Dublin* 8 ⅜

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	30 36	*Peaſe*	21 a 29
Rye	13 18	*H. Peaſe*	16 18
Barley	14 19	*H. Beans*	17 22
Oats	12 16	*B. Malt*	16 18
Tares	19 22	*P. Malt*	20 22

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *May* 27. to *June* 24.

Chriſtned	Males 546	Females 523	1069
Buried	Males 1059	Females 1166	2225
Died under 2 Years old			804
Between 2 and 5			232
5	10		81
10	20		66
20	30		158
30	40		184
40	50		204
50	60		196
60	70		134
70	80		108
80	90		53
90 and upwards			5
			2225

Hay 44 to 48*s*. a Load.

ALL our late Advices from *Paris* ſay, that his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty's Miniſters, and particularly, the Cardinal Prime Miniſter, have made ſtrong Remonſtrances to the Earl of *Waldegrave*, our Ambaſſador at that Court, againſt his Majeſty's Proclamation for encouraging private Companies to make Conqueſts upon the *Spaniards* in *America*, with a Promiſe to maintain them in the Poſſeſſion of ſuch as they ſhall be able to take Poſſeſſion of. It is ſaid, that before this Proclamation was iſſued, the Cardinal had made ſome Overtures of Peace, to be treated of between *Spain* and us, by the Mediation of the Courts of *Vienna*, *Liſbon*, and the *Hague*, and that the Preliminary to this Treaty was to be, a Stipulation to reſtore all Places conquered during the War, which this Proclamation might render impoſſible. But, if this be the only Obſtacle to a Treaty, Care ſeems to have been taken not to throw any ſuch Obſtacle in its Way, and therefore, the Negotiation may be commenced as ſoon as his Eminence pleaſes to preſcribe; for whoever are to be the *Mediators*, his Eminence will probably be the chief *Super-intendant*.

As the *French* take great Care not only to keep Poſſeſſion, but to make the beſt Uſe of every Conqueſt they make, they have now above 3000 Men at Work on the Fortifications of *Bicbe* in *Lorrain*; which is a Fort built on a ſteep Rock on the Confines of that Dutchy next *Germany*, and lies in a Plain between two Mountains, which makes the moſt convenient Paſſage or Communication between that Country and the Empire of *Germany*. For this Reaſon, a Town is to be built in this Place, which is to be divided into the Upper and Lower, and both to be ſtrongly fortified. They are taking the ſame Care to ſecure their Poſſeſſion of *Corſica*, by making High-ways for rendering the Communication eaſy between the ſeveral Towns and Provinces of the Iſland, and by fortifying all the Sea-Coaſt Towns and Villages; in order to render an Invaſion difficult, if not impracticable. If we had done the ſame in *Minorca*, we ſhould now have had very little Occaſion to be afraid of its being ſurprized.

Tho' the College of Commerce at *Cadiz* at firſt ſcrupled to comply with his Catholick Majeſty's Demand of the Loan of *a Million* of *Piaſtres*, as mentioned in our laſt, yet, they have at laſt ſo far yielded as to agree, to lend him the Sum of 800,000, which that Court ſtands in great Need of at preſent, their Finances being in very bad Order, and all their warlike Projects retarded, or entirely ſuſpended, for want of the ready Rhino, which is a Misfortune our Miniſters, thank God! cannot complain of.

The united Squadrons of *Cadiz* and *Ferrol* continue ſtill at the laſt mentioned Place, but with Orders to keep themſelves always ready to ſail at an Hour's Warning; and 'tis publickly given out at *Madrid*, that a Deſign is formed againſt *Scotland* or *Ireland*, which is a very good Reaſon for believing, that no ſuch was ever formed; and that this Bravado is made with no other View, but to oblige us to keep upon our own Coaſts, thoſe Squadrons that ought to be employed for infeſting the Coaſts of the Enemy.

'Tis computed at *Madrid*, that ſince the Beginning of the War, his Catholick Majeſty has, upon Applications from private Men, granted no leſs than 230 Commiſſions to Privateers for cruiſing upon our Merchants; and, by a Liſt publiſhed at the ſame Place it appears, that within the Months of *January*, *February*, and *March* laſt, they have taken 37 *Britiſh* Merchant Ships, the Cargoes of which are valued at above 140,000 *l.* Sterling. At this Rate, if the War be carried on for any Number of Years, in the ſame Manner it has been hitherto, both the Number and Skill of the *Spaniſh* Seamen will be greatly increaſed, at the Expence of this Nation.

The King of *Pruſſia* having died on the 20th of laſt Month, he was ſucceeded by the Prince his eldeſt Son, whoſe Acceſſion to the Throne of his Anceſtors was attended with great Acclamations, and with the univerſal Joy of the People, which ſoon appeared, not to be without a very good Foundation; for the young King began his Reign with making ſeveral Alterations which tended to ſecure the Liberties, and eſtabliſh the Happineſs of his People. As there was upon his Acceſſion a Scarcity of Corn in his Dominions, he immediately ordered, that all his Magazines and Granaries ſhould be opened for the Support of the Poor, and that the Commerce between his Dominions and other Countries, ſhould be entirely free. He likewiſe ordered, that all forcible Inliſtments of Soldiers ſhould be forbidden under ſevere Penalties; and he has ſince aboliſhed the Cuſtom, introduced by his Father, of regiſtering Children as ſoon as born, in order to make them ſerve in the Army when grown up. At the ſame Time, he charged the ſeveral Tribunals within his Territories, to enquire carefully into every Thing that wanted to be redreſſed; upon which Occaſion, he made this remarkable Declaration, which ought to be, tho' it ſeldom is, the Maxim of every King's Government, *viz. My Will is, that whenever my private Intereſt claſhes with the publick Good, the latter ſhall always prevail.*

It ſeems, the *Ruſſians* do not underſtand the modern, polite Method of endeavouring to get Satisfaction for Inſults, by tedious Negotiations; for, by late Accounts from *Conſtantinople*, we are told, that the *Ruſſian* Miniſter there demanded Satisfaction from the *Porte*, for a freſh Inſult committed by the *Tartars* upon the *Coſſacks*; and, at the ſame Time declared, that this (which was the firſt) ſhould be the laſt Time it would be demanded by the *Czarina* his Sovereign, *who, if it were not granted, would take her own Way to do herſelf Juſtice.*

The

HISTORICAL.

1. A Topographical Survey of the County of *Down* in *Ireland*. Printed for *T. Boreman*, price 1*s*.

2. A new Hiſtory of *Jamaica*. Printed for *J. Hodges*, 8vo, price 5*s*. 6*d*.

3. A Geographical Deſcription of the Coaſts, *&c.* of the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*. Printed for the Editor, *Caleb Smith*, price 3*s*.

4. The Hiſtory of the two famous Giants in *Guild Hall*, Vol. 2. Printed for *T. Boreman*, pr. 4*d*.

MISCELLANEOUS.

5. A Treatiſe upon Money, Coins, and Exchange. By Mr. *Hewit*. Printed for *T. Cox*, 8vo, pr. 3*s*.

6. A new Analyſis of the *Briſtol* Waters. Together with the Cauſe of the Diabetes and Hectick, and their Cure, as it reſults from thoſe Waters, experimentally conſider'd. By *John Sheebbere*, Chymiſt. Printed for *T. Cox*, price 1*s*.

* 7. Sir *John Gonſon*'s five Charges to ſeveral Grand-Juries. Printed at the Deſire of the Juſtices of the Peace in both Commiſſions, and of the reſpective Grand-Juries. The 4th Edit. Printed for *W. Meadows*, and *C. Ackers*, price 2*s*.

8. New Maxims concerning the Education of Youth. Sold by *T. Cooper*, price 2*s*.

9. Reflections on the Character of *Iapis* in *Virgil*. Printed for *T. Trye*, price 2*s*. See *London Magazine*, *January* 1738. page 1.

10. The People call'd Quakers defended. By *J. Forſter*. Printed for *T. Sowle*, &c. pr. 1*s*.

11. The Trial of Mrs. *Branch* and her Daughter. Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 6*d*.

* 12. A Treatiſe of the Operations of Surgery. By *S. Sharp*. The 3d Edit. 8vo, pr. 4*s*. 6*d*

13. Satan turn'd Moraliſt. Printed for *E. Curll*, price 1*s*.

14. The Anti-Logarithmic Canon. By *J. Dodſon*. Numb. 12. price 1*s*. each. Subſcriptions are taken by *J. Wilcox*, &c.

15. Conſiderations concerning the Trade of the *Britiſh* Colonies in *America*. By *J. Aſhley*, Eſq; Printed for *C. Corbet*, pr. 2*s*. 6*d*.

16. A ſeventh Letter, which finiſhes the Vindication of Mr. *Pope*'s Eſſay on Man. By Mr. *Warburton*. Printed for *J. Robinſon*, pr. 6*d*

17. The Art of Reading; or the *Engliſh* Tongue made familiar and eaſy to the meaneſt Capacity. By *P. Sproſon*. S. M. Printed for *J. Clarke* in *Duck-Lane*, and *C. Hitch*, price 1*s*.

18. The Quaker and Methodiſt compar'd. Sold by *C. Corbet*, price 1*s*.

19. The true Spirit of the Methodiſts fully laid open. Printed for *L. Gilliver*, price 1*s*.

20. An Account of God's Dealings with Mr. *Whitefield*. Printed for *J. Hutton*, price 1*s*.

21. An impartial Relation of the barbarous Murder committed by Mrs. *Branch* and her Daughter. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*.

* 22. A Practical *Engliſh* Grammar. By *J. Greenwood*. The 4th Edition. Printed for *J. Nourſe*, 12mo, price 2*s*. 6*d*.

23. Memorials and Characters of eminent and worthy Perſons. Numb. XVII. Printed for *J. Wilford*, price 1*s*.

24. A Letter from Mr. *Whitefield* to the Religious Societies. Printed for *J. Hutton*, pr. 4*d*

POETICAL.

25. *Merope*. A Tragedy. By Mr. *Ayre*. Printed for *J. Cricbley*, price 2*s*. 6*d*. *Italian* and *Engliſh*, and 1*s*. 6*d*. the *Engliſh*.

26. *Britannia* and *Batavia*. By the late Mr. *Lillo*. Printed for *J. Gray*, price 6*d*.

27. The *Gotham* Election. By Mrs. *Centlivre*. Printed for *W. Feales*, price 6*d*.

28. Woman unmaſk'd. Sold by *J. Bret*, and *M. Bartlett*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

POLITICAL.

29. A Letter from *Gallipoly* to his Friend *Severus*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*.

30. An Account of the Riſe of the War with *Spain* in 1718. Sold by *J. Roberts*, pr. 1*s*.

31. The Conſequences of his Majeſty's Journey to *Hanover*, conſider'd. Printed for *C. Sympſon*, price 6*d*.

32. A Letter on a Point of Conduct very material and concerning, price 6*d*.

SERMONS.

33. A Sermon preach'd before the Sons of the Clergy. By Dr. *Bateman*. Printed for *J. Pemberton*, price 6*d*.

34. Three Sermons by Mr. *Whitefield*. Printed for *J. Hutton*, price 4*d*. each.

35. Two Sermons on Original Sin. By *S. Hebden*. Printed for *R. Hett*, and *J. Oſwald*, price 6*d*.

36. A Sermon occaſion'd by the preſent Situation of publick Affairs. By *R. Maebin*. Sold by *J. Wilſon*, price 6*d*.

37. A funeral Sermon. By *R. Pearſall*. Printed for *J. Oſwald*, price 6*d*.

38. A funeral Sermon. By *T. Newman*. Printed for *R. Hett*. price 6*d*.

THEOLOGICAL.

39. Diſtinctions of Sacrifice. By Dr. *Waterland*. Printed for *W. Innys*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

40. The Chriſtian Doctrine concerning God, Providence, *&c.* By *G. Turnbull*, L. L. D. Printed for *J. Noon*, 8vo, price 6*s*. 6*d*.

41. Future Rewards and Puniſhments believ'd by the Antients. Printed for *M. Steen*, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

42. The Divine Authority of the Old and New Teſtament aſſerted. Vol. II. By *J. Leland*, D. D. Printed for *R. Hett*, 8vo, price 4*s*. 6*d*. Of whom may be had, a new Edition of Vol. I. price 6*s*.

43. A Vindication of the Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin. Printed for *R. Hett*, and *J. Oſwald*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

44. The Rule of Life ſet forth ſufficiently and compleatly in the Holy Scriptures. By *Chr. Robinſon*, M. A. Printed for *J. Pemberton*, price 2*s*.

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

JULY, 1740.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 279.

FRIDAY the 16th of *November* laſt being one of our Club Days, a Debate happened, which was occaſioned as follows: *M. Cato* ſtood up and took notice, That as the War was then declared againſt *Spain*, and all Negotiations with that Court, he hoped, at an End, it was high Time to think of bringing in and paſſing ſuch a Bill for encouraging Seamen, as he had two Years before preſented to that Houſe. I had not, 'tis true, Sir, ſays he, the good Fortune, at that Time, to obtain the Concurrence of this Houſe for paſſing that Bill into a Law; but, as the Reaſon that ſeemed then to be of greateſt Weight againſt the Paſſing of that Bill, is now at an End, I hope I ſhall now have better Luck. We were then told, that the Paſſing of ſuch a Bill might interrupt the Courſe of our Negotiations at the Court of *Spain*; and this ſeemed to be the chief Reaſon for putting a Negative upon it. I was at that Time, indeed, of Opinion, that the Paſſing of ſuch a Bill would rather have forwarded our Negotiations, becauſe it would have ſhewn the Court of *Spain* what they were to expect, in caſe they ſhould any longer refuſe to do us Juſtice. But whether I was then in the right or no: Whether this Reaſon was then a good or a bad one, againſt paſſing ſuch a Bill, I am ſure it is ſuch a one as will not be urged againſt it at this Time. This encourages me again to attempt what I then thought was reaſonable, and as the Reaſons for it were then fully explained, and are now much ſtronger than they were at that Time, I think it unneceſſary to repeat or enforce them, unleſs I find, which I do not expect, an Oppoſition made to my Motion. For this Reaſon, I ſhall at preſent trouble you no farther than to move, That the 6th and 8th Sections of an Act made in the 6th Year of the Reign of Queen *Anne*, intitled, *An Act for the better ſecuring the Trade of this Kingdom by Cruizers and Convoys*; and alſo the 2d Section of an Act made in the ſame Year, intitled, *An Act for the Encouragement of*

the Trade to America, may be read; and the ſame being accordingly read, he then moved, That Leave might be given to bring in *a Bill for the more effectual ſecuring and encouraging the Trade of his Majeſty's* Britiſh *Subjects in* America, *and for the Encouragement of Seamen to enter into his Majeſty's Service.*

Upon this, Servilius Priſcus *ſtood up, and ſpoke to the following Effect,* viz.

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

THE Encouragement of our Seamen is, in my Opinion, ſo neceſſary for preſerving the Tranquillity, and vindicating the Honour of this Nation, that I can with the greateſt Sincerity declare, that no Man has a greater Regard for that uſeful Part of his Majeſty's Subjects than I have. I ſhall always be for giving them all the Encouragement that is in our Power to beſtow, and therefore ſhall always be ready to agree to any reaſonable Propoſition that can be made for that Purpoſe. What the Hon. Gentleman intends by the Bill he propoſes to bring in, I cannot pretend to be thoroughly acquainted with; but, if it is to be ſuch a one as was brought in by him and ſome other Gentlemen about two Years ago, I muſt think his Motion a little too precipitate.

I am ſure, Sir, I have no Occaſion to inform any Gentleman of this Houſe, that by our Conſtitution, the Crown has the ſole and abſolute Property in every Ship and her Cargoe that is taken from an Enemy, by any of his Majeſty's Ships of War; and therefore, when any Share of a Prize is given or promiſed to the Captors, it ought to be conſidered as a gracious Condeſcenſion in the Crown, for the Encouragement of thoſe Officers and Seamen that are employed in the publick Service. This, Sir, is the true State of the Caſe, with regard to all Prizes taken by any of his Majeſty's Ships of War; and as all Acts of Grace and Favour ought to come originally from the Throne, I think, if any Law be neceſſary for regulating the Diſtribution of thoſe Prizes that may, in the preſent War, be taken from the Enemy, or for giving the Whole or any Share of them to the Captors, we ought to wait till we have a Meſſage from the Crown for that Purpoſe. If ſuch a Bill, as the Hon. Gentleman, I believe, intends, be brought into this Houſe, before we have any Meſſage from the Crown for that End, it will, in my Opinion, ſhew a Sort of Diſreſpect to his Majeſty, which, I am convinced, is very far from being the Intention of the Hon. Gentleman who has made you this Motion. It will be, in ſome Meaſure, a fore-ſtalling the Favours of the Crown, and transferring from his Majeſty to ſome of the Members of this Houſe, that Popularity which is to be gained by a Meaſure that has the Appearance of ſo much Generoſity and Bounty.

Whether it may be proper to give the Whole of every Prize, that ſhall be taken by any of his Majeſty's Ships of War, to the Officers and Seamen employed in taking her, is what I ſhall not at preſent determine; but if it is, 'tis what his Majeſty may do without the Authority of an Act of Parliament, and if any farther Powers are wanted for encouraging our Seamen to annoy the Enemy, I am convinced, his Majeſty will apply to us for that Purpoſe in a very ſhort Time. If we had ſat for any Number of Days, and no ſuch Meſſage had been ſent to us, any Gentleman who has the Honour to be a Member of this Houſe, might have

taken the Liberty to ſtand up in his Place, and propoſe what he thought was neceſſary for encouraging our Seamen, or any other Part of his Majeſty's Subjects, to attack and plunder the Enemy. In ſuch a Caſe, if we ſhould think the Propoſition reaſonable, and neceſſary for the publick Service, it would be incumbent upon us, as Repreſentatives of the People, to comply with it; and the Performing of our Duty as Members of this Houſe, can never be inconſiſtent with the Reſpect that is due to our Sovereign; but, however reaſonable the Propoſition now made to us may be, however neceſſary it may be for the publick Service, I am ſure, it is neither neceſſary, nor incumbent upon us, as Repreſentatives of the People, to enter into the Conſideration of it, the very *ſecond* Day of the Seſſion; and as it is a Propoſition that, in its own Nature, ought firſt to be brought before us, by Means of a Meſſage from the Crown, I think we ought to wait, at leaſt for a few Days, in order to give his Majeſty Time to conſider and communicate to us, by Meſſage or otherwiſe, what he thinks may be neceſſary for encouraging not only our Seamen, but every individual Perſon in his Majeſty's Dominions, to concur and aſſiſt in vigorouſly proſecuting the War now declared againſt *Spain*.

This, I think, Sir, is the leaſt we can do upon this Occaſion; and therefore, I muſt think the Motion now made to us a little precipitate. I muſt beg Leave to ſay, that I think it would be, in ſome Meaſure, taking Advantage of the Crown, to order ſuch a Bill to be brought in, the very *ſecond* Day of the Seſſion, and even before we have paid our Duty to his Majeſty in an Addreſs, by way of Anſwer to his moſt gracious Speech from the Throne. Therefore, I hope, the Hon. Gentleman will agree to have his Motion poſtponed for a few Days; becauſe the Conſideration of it may, in that Time, be recommended to us by his Majeſty, or if it ſhould not, we may reſume the Conſideration of it, without any Breach of that Duty which we owe to our Sovereign. I know that, during the late War againſt *France*, a Bill was brought in and paſſed into a Law, for giving all Prizes taken from the Enemy to the Captors. As I have not lately look'd upon that Part of our Journals, I cannot poſitively ſay, what it was that gave Riſe to that Bill; but, I am apt to believe, that it proceeded from ſome Meſſage, or ſome Intimation from the Crown, that the Paſſing of ſuch a Law was become neceſſary for the publick Service; and, as it cannot be more neceſſary in the preſent War, than it was in that, I can ſee no Reaſon for our being in ſuch a Hurry. The publick Service cannot ſuffer much by a few Days Delay, and by ſuch a Delay, we ſhall avoid doing that, which may be look'd on by many, as an evident Sign of Diſreſpect to our Sovereign.

At preſent, Sir, I do not think it at all neceſſary to enter into the Merits of the Queſtion; but, as I have the Honour to ſerve the Crown, and conſequently muſt know ſeveral Facts, which ſome Gentlemen in this Houſe may not be acquainted with, as I am at Liberty, I think myſelf obliged, upon this Occaſion, to inform the Houſe, that with regard to thoſe Prizes which Providence has already put into our Hands, different Applications have already been made to his Majeſty: One from the Captors, and another from the ſuffering Merchants. I hope it will be allowed, that both ought to be regarded. The former think they have, from Cuſtom, a Title to a very large Share of the Prizes, which have, by

them, been taken from the Enemy: The latter have ſuffered greatly by the Enemy, and as Reparation is one of the Ends propoſed, by our going to War, they think they have a Title to have ſome Part of their Loſſes made good, by appropriating to that Uſe, ſome Share of thoſe Prizes that ſhall be taken from the Enemy, by his Majeſty's Ships of War. Both theſe Petitions are founded on Juſtice, and, for this Reaſon, his Majeſty has already anſwered, that when a Value is put upon the Prizes, and the Ships and Cargoes diſpoſed of to the beſt Advantage, both ſhall be conſidered. With regard therefore to the Prizes that have already been taken, we neither can, conſiſtently with what his Majeſty has already promiſed, nor ought we to give the Whole to the Captors; and, with regard to thoſe that may hereafter be taken, I am in great Doubt, whether we ought to do ſo by an eſtabliſhed Law: His Majeſty will certainly do ſo, when he thinks they deſerve it, and as often as the Treaties now ſubſiſting between us and our Allies, and the Juſtice that is due to our injured Merchants, will admit of it; therefore, I believe, the beſt and the wiſeſt Thing we can do, is to leave the Law as it ſtands at preſent. I am ſure, his Majeſty will never deſire to make an Advantage to himſelf, by any Prize that ſhall be taken. The Captors will always be ſufficiently rewarded, and the Reſidue, ſo far as is conſiſtent with the Regard we ought to have for our Allies, will be applied either to the publick Service, or to make good the Loſſes of our Merchants. Thus, whilſt a diſcretionary Power remains in the Crown, our Seamen will have a proper Encouragement, without doing Injuſtice to any other Part of his Majeſty's Subjects, and without giving a juſt Offence to any of our Allies. Whereas, if by an eſtabliſhed and unalterable Law, we give the Whole to the Captors, they may often have more than ought, either in Juſtice or Prudence, to be given them; Injuſtice will, in my Opinion, be done to our ſuffering Merchants, and we may give ſome of thoſe who are now our Allies, or at leaſt our pretended Friends, a good Pretence for joining with *Spain* againſt us.

But as theſe are Objections, Sir, that will be beſt underſtood, when the Bill comes regularly before us, I ſhall inſiſt no farther upon them at preſent. The Ends propoſed by the Hon. Gentleman's Motion, are ſuch as I highly approve of, and if the Bill be calculated ſo as to anſwer thoſe Ends, I ſhall be ready to agree, not only to its being brought in, but to its being paſſed into a Law, as ſoon as is conſiſtent with the Reſpect we owe to the Crown, and with the Methods and Forms of Proceeding in this Houſe; but, as ſuch Bills ought to owe their Riſe to ſome Sort of Application from the Crown, and as it is a Bill of great Conſequence, I do not think it would be altogether conſiſtent, either with the Regard we ought to have for his Majeſty, or with the uſual Methods of Proceeding in this Houſe, to order ſuch a Bill to be brought in, the very ſecond Day of the Seſſion. This, Sir, is my Opinion, and I am convinced, there are many Gentlemen in this Houſe of the ſame Opinion; therefore, I hope the Hon. Gentleman will not, by inſiſting upon the Queſtion, lay us under a Neceſſity of giving a Negative to a Motion which we ſhould otherwiſe moſt heartily agree to, and which, if it be poſtponed but for a few Days, will, I believe, meet with an univerſal Approbation.

L

L. Junius Brutus *ſtood up next, and ſpoke in Subſtance thus:*

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

WHEN I heard the Motion which my Hon. Friend has been pleaſed to make, I little expected it would have been oppoſed by any Gentleman in this Houſe. To ſecure and encourage effectually the Trade of his Majeſty's Subjects in *America*, and to encourage Seamen to enter into his Majeſty's Service, are Topicks of ſuch great Conſequence to this Nation, and ſo neceſſary upon the preſent Occaſion, that I imagined every Gentleman would have been curious to ſee what Expedients had been thought of for theſe Purpoſes; and as this cannot be ſeen till the Bill be once brought in, I could not ſuppoſe, that any Gentleman would have oppoſed our giving Leave to bring in ſuch a Bill. Surely, it muſt be allowed, that the Trade of his Majeſty's Subjects in *America*, is of the utmoſt Conſequence to this Kingdom; and I am ſure, it has neither been ſecure, nor has it been encouraged for almoſt theſe *twenty* Years by paſt: It muſt certainly be allowed, that it is at all Times, but eſpecially in Time of War, of great Conſequence to the Nation to have our Seamen ready and willing to enter into his Majeſty's Service; and I am ſure, that for ſeveral Years paſt, they have been ſo far from being ready and willing, that many of them have moſt induſtriouſly, and often even perilouſly avoided being forced into his Majeſty's Service. Theſe, Sir, are our Circumſtances at preſent, and in theſe Circumſtances, which are known to the whole Nation, was it not moſt reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that every Gentleman would be fond of ſeeing what Expedients had been thought of for relieving us out of theſe unlucky Circumſtances? And as theſe Expedients cannot be ſeen, till the Bill now propoſed be actually brought in; could any one expect, that an Oppoſition would be made to the bringing in of ſuch a Bill?

Gentlemen may make Declarations of the Regard they have for our Seamen, and of their Readineſs to concur in any proper Meaſures for their Encouragement. I am perſuaded the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, was ſincere in the Declarations he made. I am perſuaded every Gentleman in this Houſe is ſincere in what he declares. But it is not from our Declarations, but from our Actions, that thoſe without Doors judge of our Intentions; and unleſs they feel the Effects of our Declarations, they will be apt to judge amiſs of our Sincerity. I have, in this Houſe, heard many ſanguine Declarations in favour of our Seamen; and yet I do not know by what Miſchance, our Conduct has of late Years very little correſponded with our Declarations. That uſeful Body of Men, our Sailors, have of late Years been very little regarded, whilſt an uſeleſs and dangerous Body of Men, I mean our mercenary Troops, have met with all poſſible Favour and Encouragement. The former have been, of late Years, ſo often preſſed into his Majeſty's Service, and diſmiſſed again, without ſuffering them to make the expected Advantages by the Service, that I do not at all wonder at ſeeing them now abſconding, and even venturing their Lives, to avoid being forced into the Service. As the Pay in his Majeſty's Navy, is not near equal to that in the Merchants Service, nothing can tempt them to enter on board the Navy, but the Hopes they have of making an extraordinary Advantage by the Prizes they may take: But theſe Hopes, they have been of late ſo often diſappointed of, that they began to deſpair of ever meeting again

with

with any ſuch Opportunity; and the Diſappointment the Bill now propoſed met with, two Years ago, added not a little to that Deſpair. Even when his Majeſty's Orders for Repriſal were iſſued and publiſhed, they doubted if they would be allowed to execute them as they ought, and they doubted if they would be allowed any Share of the Prizes they might take.

It has been chiefly owing to theſe Doubts, Sir, that we have found, and ſtill find ſuch a Difficulty to man our Fleet; and therefore, I wiſh the Bill that was propoſed two Years ago had paſſed into a Law. It could have been attended with no Inconvenience, and would have been of great Advantage, at the Commencement of a War. We have already ſeverely felt the Diſadvantage of not paſſing it at the Time it was propoſed, and therefore, in Duty to our Country, as well as our King, we ought to take the firſt Opportunity for rectifying that Miſtake. The beſt Method we can take for ſhewing our Reſpect to his Majeſty, is to do every Thing we can for his Service, and to do it as ſoon as we find that it is become neceſſary. To delay doing what we think neceſſary for his Majeſty's Service, till it be applied for, or till he be adviſed to apply for it, by his Miniſters, may be a Teſtimony of our Reſpect for them, but it is a Breach of that Duty we owe to him.

In all Caſes, we ought to diſtinguiſh carefully between the Reſpect that is due to the Crown, and the Regard that may be claimed by the Miniſters of the Crown. To the Crown we owe a great and a ſincere Regard, but to Miniſters, none but what they juſtly acquire by their Conduct. Nay, a Regard for the latter, may often be inconſiſtent with that Regard which is due to the former. I ſhall grant, that of late Years, Parliaments have ſhewn a much greater Reſpect to the Miniſters of the Crown, than was uſual in former Ages; and I am under ſome Apprehenſions, that by continuing to ſhew the ſame Reſpect for a few Years longer, we ſhall at laſt loſe all that Reſpect which the People of this Kingdom ought to have for their Parliaments. If this ſhould ever happen to be our Caſe, as God forbid it ſhould, our happy Conſtitution would be at an End: Our People could not then be governed by Parliaments, or by any Sort of Civil Government: They muſt be ruled by a ſtanding Army, and a military Sort of Government.

I ſhall admit, Sir, that ſome Acts of Grace and Favour, ſuch as Indemnities and the like, are uſually brought into Parliament by a Meſſage from the Crown; but it is a new Sort of Doctrine to pretend, that nothing of a popular Nature ought to be brought into Parliament, without a previous Meſſage or Intimation from the Crown. At this Rate, no Law for the publick Service, or for removing a publick Grievance, could be propoſed in Parliament, without a previous Meſſage from the Crown; for every ſuch Law muſt, in its own Nature, be attended with Popularity, and to introduce it without ſuch a Meſſage, might in every Caſe be called foreſtalling the Favours of the Crown, with as much Juſtice as in the Caſe now before us. Such a Doctrine would, indeed, make Parliaments very reſpectful to his Majeſty's Miniſters, but it would make them very uſeleſs to his Majeſty's Subjects, and of as little Uſe to his Majeſty himſelf; therefore, I hope, it will never gain a Prevalence in this Houſe. As ſoon as we are aſſembled here, we are in Duty bound to conſider what Laws are neceſſary for the publick Service, and we are in Duty bound to bring them in, and to paſs them as ſoon as we can. If they are ſuch as are popular, our So-

Sovereign will always have a great Share in that Popularity, by readily giving them the Royal Aſſent: Even his Miniſters may have a Share in the Popularity, by readily giving their Concurrence in paſſing them through the two Houſes of Parliament. But if the King ſhould, by the Advice of wicked Miniſters, refuſe his Aſſent, or if the Miniſters ſhould oppoſe them in Parliament, and thereby expoſe themſelves to the Hatred of the People, they meet with nothing but what they deſerve, and whatever may be the Conſequences, they have themſelves only to blame.

For this Reaſon, Sir, if there is any Popularity to be gained by what is now propoſed; I hope, thoſe who are concerned in the Adminiſtration, will take Care to have a Share of it, by giving us their Aſſiſtance, not only in bringing in the Bill, but in getting it paſſed into a Law. I am ſure no Gentleman will ſay, but that ſome ſuch Bill as my Hon. Friend intends by his Motion, is now become neceſſary for the publick Service; and therefore, as I have, I think, clearly ſhewn, we can ſhew our Reſpect to his Majeſty, no way better, than by bringing it in and paſſing it with all imaginable Diſpatch. I ſhall grant, that his Majeſty may, without the Authority of an Act of Parliament, give the Whole of every Prize that ſhall be taken, to the Captors; and I verily believe, his Majeſty is, of himſelf, extremely willing to do ſo. Where then is the Harm, or where is the Diſreſpect, in doing that by a Law, which his Majeſty is willing to do of his own Accord? It may, 'tis true, be promiſed by Proclamation: I think it ought to have been promiſed by Proclamation as ſoon as the Repriſals were publiſhed; but to do ſo by an Act of Parliament, is a more ſolemn Way of doing it, and will add to the Confidence and conſequently the Encouragement of our Seamen.

Beſides this, Sir, it will prevent that Grievance, which gave Occaſion to a Bill of the ſame Nature in the late Queen's Time. We all know, that before the Act of the 6th of *Q.* Anne, *for the Encouragement of the Trade to* America, we had a Prize-Office eſtabliſhed, which had the Diſpoſal and Diſtribution of all the Prizes that were taken by his Majeſty's Ships of War; and we likewiſe know, that a great deal of the Money produced by the Sale of any Prize, ſtuck to the Fingers of the Officers and Clerks employed in that Office. This was a Grievance then loudly complained of, and at laſt occaſioned the Paſſing of that Law. Now, as it is both better and eaſier to prevent than remedy a Grievance, and as ſome ſuch Office as this muſt be now revived, unleſs ſuch a Law be paſſed as is by this Motion intended, I hope the Bill now propoſed will be not only brought in, but paſſed into a Law, in order to prevent that, which has already been found to be an intolerable Grievance upon all Officers and Seamen employed in his Majeſty's Service.

From our Journals, Sir, it appears, that neither the Law, by which this Prize-Office was aboliſhed, nor any of the Regulations now propoſed to be revived, were owing to any previous Meſſage or Intimation from the Crown. Nay, I doubt much, if the Law for demoliſhing the Prize-Office was ſo much as adviſed, or ſincerely approved of, by thoſe who were at that Time the chief Miniſters of the Crown. The Miniſters in that Age were, I believe, ſomething like thoſe we have in this; and I have always found Miniſters extremely unwilling to demoliſh any Office where the Nomination of the Officers belonged to them. On the contrary, they have always

always been inventing new Offices of this Sort; and if at any Time they found themſelves under the Neceſſity of conſenting to the Demolition of ſuch an Office, they have generally taken the firſt Opportunity they could ſafely lay hold on, for reviving it. Therefore, when a Law becomes neceſſary for demoliſhing any ſuch Office, or for preventing the Eſtabliſhment or Revival of ſuch a one, I muſt think it would be very idle in us, to expect a Meſſage from the Crown for that Purpoſe: If we are at all Times to wait for ſuch a Meſſage, I believe no ſuch Law will ever be paſſed.

Having thus, I hope, fully anſwered the only Argument that has been made uſe of for poſtponing this Motion, I ſhall next beg Leave to ſay ſomething, by way of Anſwer to thoſe Objections that have been made againſt giving the Whole of the Prizes that ſhall be taken, to the Captors; and here, I find the Sufferings of our Merchants are to be made a Handle againſt our giving the ſame Encouragement to our Seamen, that was given in the laſt War. Sir, I am glad to find, that we now begin to ſhew ſome Regard to our ſuffering Merchants. I have always been for ſhewing them the utmoſt Regard, and if ſome other Gentlemen had been of the ſame Sentiments with me, I am ſure, they would not have ſuffered ſo much. No Man can more ſenſibly feel the Loſſes and Misfortunes our Merchants have met with, than I do, and for this very Reaſon, I am for giving the Whole of every Prize that ſhall be taken, to the Captors, becauſe, I think, it will be one of the beſt Methods we can take, for procuring full Reparation to our injured Merchants.

It is not from the Prizes that may be taken during the War, that our Merchants can expect full Reparation. If we reſolve to give them a large Share of every Prize, I am afraid very few will be taken; and, if we give them but a ſmall Share, the whole Amount would not near anſwer the great Damages which they have ſuffered, during the long Courſe of Time, they have been left expoſed to the Depredations and Inſults of *Spaniſh Guarda Coſta's*; therefore they ought, I am ſure every conſidering Man among them will deſpiſe any Reparation they can expect, by having a Share of ſuch Prizes as may be taken by his Majeſty's Ships of War. It is from a vigorous Proſecution and happy Iſſue of the War, and from thence alone, that they can expect a full Reparation; and, as nothing can contribute more towards a vigorous Proſecution and happy Iſſue of a naval War, than that of giving the ſame Encouragement to our Seamen, which they had in the laſt War, therefore I am convinced, that moſt of our ſuffering Merchants will frankly reſign the inſignificant and partial Reparation they can expect, by having a Share in ſuch Prizes as may be taken, in order to have not only a full Reparation for their paſt Sufferings, but an abſolute Security againſt any ſuch for the future, by a happy and glorious Iſſue of the War we are now engaged in.

I am convinced, Sir, that the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, has no indirect or bad Deſign, in pleading for our ſuffering Merchants having a Share in ſuch Prizes as may be taken during the War. I am convinced, it proceeds entirely from the Compaſſion he has for their Sufferings; but, I muſt beg Leave to ſay, that I think it a Sort of Compaſſion, which can do no Service either to them or their Country; becauſe it creates a Sort of Oppoſition between them and our Seamen, which is an Oppoſition that, I believe, very few of them will

deſire

deſire to propagate. It is ſomething extraordinary, that we ſhould now teſtify ſuch a Compaſſion for our ſuffering Merchants, when ſome few of them may, perhaps, by a Petition, have ſet themſelves in Oppoſition to our Seamen; and, that we were ſo ſlow in ſhewing a proper Compaſſion for their Sufferings, when the only Oppoſition was, between them and thoſe who plundered them, or tamely allowed them to be plundered.

For many Years, we ſhewed no Compaſſion to their Sufferings, but by fruitleſs Applications to the Court of *Spain*; and now we are engaged in War, we ſeem to be getting into as wrong a Method for ſhewing our Compaſſion, as we were in before the War was declared; for, 'tis certain, that the moſt proper and effectual Way of ſhewing our Compaſſion for thoſe that have ſuffered, is to take every Method we can think of, that may any way conduce towards bringing the War to a happy and ſpeedy Iſſue. But I muſt put Gentlemen in mind, that at the ſame Time, we are teſtifying our Compaſſion for thoſe that have ſuffered, we ſhould think of having a Compaſſion for thoſe that may ſuffer; for, if we do not, our future Sufferings may far exceed thoſe that are paſt.

For this Purpoſe, Sir, the Bill now propoſed to be brought in, is abſolutely neceſſary. In the preſent War, if proper Care be not taken, our Merchants may ſuffer vaſtly more by the Enemy's Privateers, than they have ever done by their *Guarda Coſta's*. To prevent this, we ought, by all poſſible Means, to encourage our Ships of War, both publick and private, to attack, and take or deſtroy the Enemy's. Every one knows, that there is very little to be got by taking a Privateer; and therefore, we can hardly ſuppoſe, that any of our Privateers will attack, or endeavour to take or deſtroy any one of the Enemy's, unleſs we give them a Reward for ſo doing. I know, that his Majeſty's Ships of War, are obliged to attack an Enemy's, when any one of them fall in their Way; but, I am afraid, that even ſome of his Majeſty's Ships of War, will not be very diligent in looking out for ſuch, or in cruiſing where ſuch only can be met with, unleſs we give them ſomething more than they can expect by the Capture. This we ſoon became ſenſible of in the late War, and therefore, by the Act of the 6th of *Queen* Anne, *for the better ſecuring the Trade of this Kingdom, by Cruiſers and Convoys*, a Reward of 5 *l.* for every Man on board any Ship of War or Privateer of the Enemy's, at the Beginning of the Engagement, that ſhould be taken by any of our Ships of War, publick or private, was given to the Captors, over and above what they could make by the Sale of the Prize.

This, Sir, was an Encouragement that was found abſolutely neceſſary in the late War, and after it was given, it was, by Experience, found to have a very good Effect. And as this is one of the Encouragements intended, by the Bill now propoſed to you, I am ſurprized to find a Delay propoſed by a Gentleman who, I am ſure, has a true and ſincere Regard for the Merchants and Trade of this Kingdom. To delay it but for a few Days, upon a pretended Punctilio of Reſpect to the Crown, may occaſion the Ruin of ſeveral honeſt Merchants, and a Ruin too, which might otherwiſe have been prevented. Sir, it has already been delayed *ſix Months* longer than it ought to have been. The War was certainly known to be unavoidable, at leaſt by our Miniſters, before the End of laſt Seſſion; and therefore, I muſt ſay,

that if they had done their Duty, they ſhould, before laſt Seſſion was at an End, have themſelves brought in that very Bill which they had ſo great a Hand in throwing out, but the preceding Seſſion. They had Time enough after the 24th of *May* to have brought it in, and to have had it paſſed into a Law, before the Concluſion of the Seſſion. I am ſure, thoſe who brought it in the Seſſion before, would have been ſo far from envying them the Glory or Popularity of bringing it in a ſecond Time, that they would have joined in getting it paſſed through both Houſes, with the utmoſt Diſpatch; and the Paſſing of ſuch a Bill could not have tended to alarm *Spain* ſo much, as the Vote of Credit did, which was paſſed towards the latter End of laſt Seſſion. If ſuch a Bill had been paſſed before the End of laſt Seſſion, I am convinced, our Merchants would not have ſuffered ſo much as they have already done by the War. I am convinced, the Enemy's Privateers would not have traverſed the Seas of *Europe* with ſo much Security and Impunity as they have done, ſince the Commencement of the War.

This Encouragement, Sir, which is ſo neceſſary for tempting our Ships of War to look out for and deſtroy the Enemy's Privateers, is what his Majeſty cannot give without the Authority of an Act of Parliament; at leaſt, he cannot appropriate to that Purpoſe, any of the Money given for the publick Service. He might, 'tis true, have given it out of the Civil Liſt Revenue, and in that Caſe, I ſhall grant, he might have promiſed it by Proclamation. To have adviſed him to have done ſo, would, I believe, have been one of the beſt and moſt faithful Advices that could have been given by his Miniſters, and I wonder that thoſe who now ſeem ſo jealous of depriving the Sovereign of that Popularity, that may be acquired by Acts of Grace and Favour, did not adviſe him to do ſo, eſpecially as they had neglected to provide for it, when it ought to have been done out of the publick Revenue of the Kingdom. I ſhall grant, that it might, by this Time, have amounted to a large Sum, conſidering the Number of Privateers the Enemy have fitted out againſt us, eſpecially if our Ships of War had been diſperſed, and properly ſtationed for intercepting them; but, the more it had amounted to, the more Eſteem and Affection would have been acquired, not only by his Majeſty, but by thoſe Counſellors who had adviſed him to ſuch a popular Meaſure; and, the higheſt Sum it could have amounted to might, I believe, have been compenſated, by aboliſhing or curtailing ſome of thoſe uſeleſs Penſions and Salaries, which are now paid out of the Civil Liſt Revenue, and which may add to the Number of his Majeſty's Servants and the Miniſter's Flatterers, but never can add to the Number of his Majeſty's faithful Subjects, nor to that of the Miniſter's ſincere Friends.

This, I ſay, Sir, his Majeſty might have done without the Authority of an Act of Parliament; but, as it has not been done, I little expect it will be done, and therefore, this Encouragement ought, as ſoon as poſſible, to be given and provided for out of the publick Revenue of the Kingdom, which can no way be done, but by ſuch a Bill as is now propoſed. Beſides this, Sir, there are ſeveral other Things intended to be done by this Bill, that can be done no Way but by Act of Parliament; and therefore, no Delay ought to be made, upon any Pretence whatſoever, in bringing in and paſſing ſuch a Bill. The very bring-

ing

ing in of ſuch a Bill, will give new Spirits to thoſe Seamen that have entered, or have been preſſed, into his Majeſty's Service, and will prevail with many, who are now abſconding, to appear and enter themſelves on board ſome of our Ships of War. We hear daily Complaints of the Difficulties we are under in getting Seamen to man our Fleet, and ſhall thoſe very Gentlemen who make theſe Complaints, out of a pretended Punctilio of Reſpect to the Crown, put off, but for a few Days, doing the moſt proper Thing we can do for removing thoſe Complaints? But, ſuppoſe we ſhould humour thoſe Gentlemen, in their imaginary Reſpect for the Crown, by poſtponing this Motion for a few Days, how are we ſure that any Meſſage will come from the Crown in that Time? And will not the Argument for putting off the Motion be as good then as it is now? In my Opinion, Sir, it will be much ſtronger; for, if we ſhould now poſtpone the Motion, upon the Pretence, that it would be diſreſpectful to the Crown, to order in ſuch a Bill without a Meſſage from the Crown, I think it would ſhew not only a Diſreſpect, but a Contempt of the Crown, if we ſhould, at any Time hereafter, order ſuch a Bill to be brought in without ſuch a Meſſage; therefore, I hope, my Hon. Friend will inſiſt upon his Motion; I am ſure, he ſhall have my hearty Concurrence.

The next that ſpoke was C. Duillius, *the Purport of whoſe Speech was as follows*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

I SHALL readily agree with the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, that it is our Duty, as Members of this Houſe, to conſider, contrive, and paſs ſuch Laws, as we think abſolutely neceſſary for the publick Service. When any preſent Grievance is felt, or any future Grievance apprehended, and when the one cannot be removed, nor the other prevented, without a new Law for that Purpoſe, it is our Duty to think of, and paſs ſuch a Law; but, as a Multitude of unneceſſary Laws is as great a Grievance to Society as any Grievance it can labour under, we ought to be extreamly cautious of introducing any new Law; for, if the Evil can be remedied by the Laws in being, we may remedy that Evil, but we bring another upon the Society, by introducing a new Law for that Purpoſe. This may, perhaps, be our Caſe at preſent: Our Seamen ought to be encouraged: Our Ships of War ought to be encouraged to do their Duty; but, whether a new Law be neceſſary for this Purpoſe, is a Queſtion, I at preſent very much doubt of; and therefore, I ſhall be againſt bringing in a Bill, till I am well convinced, that the Laws now in being are in this Reſpect deficient; for the Evils propoſed by this Bill to be remedied, cannot be ſaid to be preſent Evils; none of them have, as yet, been felt; and whether they may not be prevented by a due Exerciſe of that Power with which the Crown is now inveſted, is a Queſtion that, in my Opinion, admits of ſome Difficulty.

In the late Queen's Time, it was not ſo. The War we were then engaged in, had been carried on for ſeveral Years, and the Prize-Office had been found, by Experience, to be an intolerable Grievance upon the Officers and Seamen of her Majeſty's Navy. I had, at that Time, the Honour of being Commander of one of her Majeſty's Ships of War, and with regard to one of the Prizes I had the good Fortune to take, I remember, I was ſo far from

getting any Thing by the Prize I had taken, that I was brought in Debt to the Prize-Office. This was a convincing Proof that ſome new Regulation was neceſſary, with regard to the Prizes, that might be taken by her Majeſty's Ships of War; and it had likewiſe been found, by Experience, that our Ships of War had been a little negligent of their Duty in looking out for, and attacking thoſe of the Enemy, which at that Time made the Parliament, as well as the Government, think it neceſſary to give the Reward of 5*l.* a Man, mentioned by the Hon. Gentleman that ſpoke laſt. Theſe were Evils that were then preſent and ſeverely felt, and therefore it became neceſſary to make the new Regulations which are now propoſed to be revived; but the Parliament did not then think, that thoſe Evils would recur, or that thoſe Regulations would be neceſſary in every future War we might be engaged in. If they had, they would have made thoſe Laws perpetual: Whereas they were made temporary, and to continue no longer than during the War we were then engaged in. Nay, I believe, if they had then but thought it probable, that thoſe Evils would always recur, they would have made thoſe Regulations perpetual. Therefore, if we now form our Judgment upon the Opinion that then prevailed, we muſt ſuppoſe, that neither of theſe Evils will probably be felt in the preſent War; and ſurely, we are not to increaſe the Number of our Laws, which is already almoſt intolerable, by making new Laws for preventing Evils, that will probably never happen.

For my Part, Sir, I very much queſtion, if any of thoſe Evils will, or can happen during the preſent War; becauſe, I think, his Majeſty has it very much in his Power, by the Laws now in being, to prevent them. He has already reſolved, that, after having ſome Conſideration for our ſuffering Merchants, according to the Value of the Prize that ſhall be taken, he will give the Whole of the Reſidue to the Captors. This, I hope, will be a ſufficient Encouragement for our Seamen to enter into his Majeſty's Service; conſidering the rich Prizes that may fall into our Hands, it will encourage the Officers of his Majeſty's Ships of War, to be vigilant in looking out for the Enemy's Mercantile Ships; and, as the Preferments in the Navy are all at his Majeſty's Diſpoſal, I hope they will be diſpoſed of in ſuch a Manner, as muſt make it neceſſary for every Officer in our Navy to be diligent in their ſeveral Stations, in looking out for, and taking or deſtroying every Ship of War belonging to the Enemy, that they can meet with and overcome. Thus, I hope, Sir, all the Ends that can be anſwered by the Bill now propoſed to be brought in, may be attained by thoſe Powers, with which his Majeſty is inveſted by the Laws now in being; and, if this can be done, I am ſure it is unneceſſary, and conſequently would be wrong, to make any new Law for that Purpoſe.

But, whether the Evils, which now ſeem to be ſo much apprehended, are ſuch as may be prevented by the Laws now in being, is, in my Opinion, Sir, a Queſtion which his Majeſty muſt be allowed to be the beſt Judge of. If any new Powers be wanted, either for preventing thoſe Evils, or for contributing any Way to the vigorous Proſecution and happy Succeſs of the War, I am ſure, they will be applied for by his Majeſty, as ſoon as he thinks it proper and neceſſary to do ſo; and till then, we ought to ſuppoſe, either that none ſuch are wanted, or that it is not, as yet, proper to think of them;

them; ſo that even from the very Nature of the Caſe, we ought to wait for a Meſſage, or ſome other Sort of Intimation from the Crown, before we begin to think of Methods for encouraging our Seamen, or any other Part of his Majeſty's Subjects, to do their Duty, in the Proſecution of the preſent War. If we bring in a Bill for this Purpoſe, before we have any ſuch Meſſage, or any Information from the Crown, it may happen to be very imperfect and defective; and thus we may be obliged to bring in two Bills, for what might have been eaſily done by one, which is a Conſequence we ought as much as poſſible to avoid.

Whatever other Gentlemen may think, Sir, of the Reſpect that's due to the Crown, I ſhall always be againſt our doing what may in the leaſt look like a Diſreſpect, when it is any way poſſible to avoid it; and as his Majeſty has, by the Laws now in being, a Sort of Property in every Prize that ſhall be taken by his Ships of War, I cannot but think, that it will look very much like a Piece of Diſreſpect in us, to order in a Bill for diſpoſing of that Property, without having the previous Conſent of the Crown ſignify'd to us by Meſſage, or by ſome of thoſe other Methods, by which the Pleaſure of the Crown is uſually communicated to this Houſe. This, I think, may be avoided, by poſtponing the Motion but for a very few Days, which I ſhall grant will be a Delay with reſpect to the bringing in of the Bill, but I do not think it will be any Delay with reſpect to its being paſſed into a Law; becauſe, I believe, the Delay in bringing it in, will be made good by the Diſpatch in paſſing it through the two Houſes of Parliament; when a Bill is haſtily brought in, it is generally found to be very imperfect; and therefore requires mature Deliberation, and many Amendments, in its Progreſs through the two Houſes, which always takes up a great deal of Time: Whereas, when it is maturely conſidered, and fully concerted, before being brought in, the firſt Draught of the Bill is generally ſo perfect, that it requires but few Amendments; and the Rapidity of its Progreſs always bears a Proportion to the Maturity of its firſt Concoction. For this Reaſon, as the Paſſing of any Law, that may be neceſſary for the Purpoſes intended by the Bill now propoſed, will not be retarded by poſtponing the Motion now before us, I hope the Hon. Gentleman will agree to it.

The next Speaker was M. Bæbius Tamphilus, *whoſe Speech was in Subſtance as follows*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,

S I R,

ALTHO' I am far from ſuppoſing, that it is neceſſary for us to have a Meſſage, or any other Sort of Intimation from the Crown, in order to entitle us to Order in ſuch a Bill as is now propoſed; yet ſince thoſe Gentlemen who have ſpoke againſt the Motion, ſeem ſo very fond of having a Meſſage from the Crown, or of waiting till we have ſuch a one, as may warrant our agreeing to this Motion; I muſt obſerve, that his Majeſty's Speech is, in my Opinion, a Meſſage ſufficient for warranting our agreeing to this Motion, or to any other Meaſure, we think may contribute towards a vigorous Proſecution of the preſent War. His Majeſty, in the very Beginning of his Speech, has told us, that he called us together, at this Time, ſooner than has been uſual of late Years, that he might have the *immediate* Advice and Aſſiſtance of his Parliament, at this critical and important Conjuncture; and that he makes no Doubt, but he ſhould meet with a ready and vigorous Support

in

in this juſt and neceſſary War. Does not his Majeſty, by theſe Words, expreſly ſignify his Pleaſure, that we ſhould *immediately* enter upon the Conſideration of what may be neceſſary for his Support in the preſent War, in order to give him our Advice thereupon? And does not he ſhew, that he expects, we ſhould readily agree to whatever we may think neceſſary for that Support? The preſent Queſtion therefore is not, Whether we ſhall wait for a Meſſage relating to the Bill now propoſed; for if it be neceſſary, or may contribute to a vigorous and ſucceſsful Proſecution of the War, we have already, in his Majeſty's Speech, received a Meſſage; ſo that the only Queſtion now before us, is, Whether the Regulations intended by the Hon. Gentleman, who has made you this Motion, may be neceſſary, or may contribute to encourage our Seamen to do their Duty, in annoying the Enemy, and protecting the Trade of our Fellow-Subjects, both in *Europe* and *America*, as much as ſhall lie in their Power; and this, ſurely, no Gentleman can pretend to be a Judge of, till he ſees the Bill, which the Hon. Gentleman propoſes to bring in.

In my Opinion therefore, Sir, no Gentleman can be againſt this Motion, unleſs he be of Opinion, that we have no Occaſion for giving any new Encouragement to our Seamen to enter themſelves voluntarily on board our Ships of War, or to do their Duty when they are entered; and this is an Opinion which, I think, no Gentleman can be of, that conſiders the extreme Backwardneſs our Seamen ſhew, in entering themſelves on board his Majeſty's Navy; or that conſiders the Inconveniences we found ourſelves expoſed to, in the Beginning of Q. *Anne*'s War. The former of theſe Evils is what we now feel, and the latter we muſt certainly feel, from the very Nature of Things, unleſs we make the ſame Proviſion againſt it, that was made in the laſt War. If no ſuch Proviſion be made, a Prize-Office muſt be ſet up; for tho' his Majeſty ſhould give the Whole to the Captors, he cannot impower them to appoint their own Agents, for the Sale and Diſtribution of the Prize, without an Act of Parliament; and if a Prize-Office be ſet up, can any one expect that the Officers and Clerks of that Office will be more honeſt, or leſs rapacious in this Age, than they were in the laſt? I am far from thinking we have improved in publick Virtue ſince that Time: On the contrary, I believe, that a ſelfiſh and rapacious Spirit is now more general, than it was in thoſe Days; therefore, I am convinced, that a Prize-Office will be found to be a greater Oppreſſion upon our Seamen in this War, than it was found to be in that; and for this Reaſon, I think, we cannot provide too ſoon againſt it.

Then, with regard to the Encouragement to be given to our Ships of War, to attack thoſe of the Enemy, I ſhall grant, Sir, that if the Commanders of all our Ships of War were endued with a true heroick Spirit, they would be as ready to attack the Enemy where little elſe but hard Blows is to be got, as where the richeſt and moſt defenceleſs Prize may be acquired; but this Spirit of Heroiſm is now, I believe, no more prevalent than it was in the laſt Age; and will, I am convinced, be found equally ineffectual for the End propoſed. If Rewards and Puniſhments were duly and juſtly diſtributed: If Merit only were preferred, and Cowardice or Negligence ſeverely puniſhed, I muſt confeſs, it would, in this Reſpect, have a very good Effect upon the Officers of his Majeſty's Navy; but without derogating from our preſent excellent Miniſters, I believe,

lieve, I may ſay, that no greater Miracles can be expected from them, than were pretended to by thoſe great Men that were our Miniſters in the Beginning of the late Queen's Reign; and they, we find, were willing to take the Aid of an Act of Parliament, and a pecuniary Recompence, for encouraging the Officers even of his Majeſty's Navy to do their Duty. I hope our preſent Miniſters will follow their Example; for whatever Effect a juſt Diſtribution of Preferments may have upon the Officers of our publick Ships of War, it can have but very little Effect upon thoſe Ships of War that may be fitted out by private Men; and in order to deſtroy that Swarm of Privateers, that have been, and may be fitted out by the Enemy, I think it is worth our while to purchaſe the Aſſiſtance even of our private Ships of War.

Sir, the Laws now propoſed to be revived, were not made temporary, becauſe the Parliament then thought there would be no Occaſion for them in any future War, but becauſe they could be of no Uſe but in Time of War; and that Parliament, certainly, imagined, that after they had introduced the Precedent, the Parliament would never fail to revive them, as ſoon as any new War ſhould break out. But I muſt obſerve, that a Law's being at firſt made temporary, is no Argument againſt its being of perpetual Uſe. It is, I think, in a free Country, a very prudential Caution, never to make any Law at firſt perpetual. It is Time enough to make it perpetual, when it is found by Experience to be a good Law, and no Way hurtful to our Conſtitution. If this Caution had always been obſerved, I believe, we have now ſeveral perpetual Laws, that, if they had been made temporary at firſt, would never have met with the Honour of being revived, far leſs of being made perpetual.

The Hon. Gentlemen who oppoſe this Motion, are pleaſed to tell us, Sir, that his Majeſty is the beſt Judge of the Queſtion, Whether the Evils now apprehended, may be prevented by the Powers, with which the Crown, is already, by Law, inveſted. I wiſh theſe Gentlemen would leave his Majeſty's Name out of this Queſtion, as well as every other. It is not his Majeſty, but his Miniſters that we are to ſuppoſe Judges; and, I hope, his Miniſters will not take it amiſs, if I ſay, that I think this Houſe as good a Judge of this or any other Queſtion, as they are. There are ſeveral Gentlemen in this Houſe, that know the Powers, with which the Crown ſtands, by Law, inveſted, as well as Miniſters can do, and, I believe, they are more impartial Judges; for Miniſters are apt to be partial in Favour of the Powers and Prerogatives of the Crown, and to ſuppoſe them much more extenſive than they really are. One may eaſily gueſs from the expired Laws that have been read to us, that ſeveral Things are intended to be done by this Bill, which cannot be done by any of the Powers with which the Crown now ſtands inveſted, and yet they are ſuch Things as every Man muſt allow to be neceſſary for encouraging his Majeſty's Subjects, of all Ranks and Degrees, to aſſiſt and to do their Duty in the Proſecution of the preſent War.

For this Reaſon, Sir, ſuppoſe our Miniſters had done all that was in the Power of the Crown to do, for the Encouragement of our Seamen in the preſent War, yet, it could be no Argument againſt the Utility of the Bill now propoſed. But, when we conſider, that all has not been done that was in the Power of the Crown to do, it renders it not only neceſſary to bring in this Bill, but to bring it in as ſoon as poſſible. It was in the Power of the Crown, to

have

have promiſed to give the whole Value of every Prize that ſhould be taken, to the Captors. This is ſo far from having been done, that we are told, it is not to be done. I feel as ſenſibly as any Man, the Sufferings of our Merchants, but I am not for putting the Encouragement of our Seamen, and conſequently the Succeſs of the War, on a Balance with giving them a little immediate Reparation; and therefore, what the Hon. Gentleman, who ſpoke firſt againſt this Motion, has told us, is, in my Opinion, a ſtrong Argument for our bringing in and paſſing this Bill. His Majeſty has called us together ſooner than uſual, in order to have our Advice: If then, his Miniſters have committed a Miſtake, ought not we, in Duty to our Sovereign, to rectify that Miſtake as ſoon as poſſible? With regard to the Prizes already taken, no Gentleman, I believe, will be for altering any Thing of what his Majeſty has done; but, with regard to all future Prizes, I hope we ſhall give the Seamen the Whole, in order to encourage them to be vigilant and active in doing their Duty. No ſuffering Merchant, that has Prudence and a Regard for his Country, will repine at this; becauſe, if we puſh the War with Vigour, and Providence does not declare againſt us, we ſhall obtain full Reparation for them by an honourable Peace, before, perhaps, even the Prizes already taken ſhall be diſpoſed of and divided amongſt them.

But ſuppoſe, Sir, it were right to give the ſuffering Merchants a Share of every Prize, ought not this Share to have been aſcertained and publickly declared before now, that our Seamen might have known what they were to expect from the Prizes that were to be taken by their Conduct and Courage? Diſcretionary Powers are, I know, of all Powers, the greateſt Favourites with Miniſters; but thoſe Miniſters muſt have a moſt extravagant Love for diſcretionary Powers, who will not depart from them, or limit them, even by their own Act and Deed, in a Caſe where the Succeſs of their Country depends upon a Limitation of ſome Kind or other. At preſent our Seamen do not know, that they are to have any Share of the Prizes they take; and this may, probably, be one of the Reaſons that has made them appear ſo much averſe to his Majeſty's Service. If our Miniſters have reſolved, after reſerving a ſmall Share for our ſuffering Merchants, to give the whole Reſidue to the Captors, why reſerve this Reſolution in *Petto?* why not publiſh it by Proclamation? This is what they might have done, by Virtue of the Powers now lodged in the Crown: This would certainly have been more agreeable to our Seamen, than to remain in that Uncertainty, under which they labour at preſent; and, ſince it has not been done by Proclamation, I think we ought, as ſoon as poſſible, to endeavour to do it by Act of Parliament. In ſuch a Caſe, ſhall we wait till the Miniſters come and deſire us to rectify their Miſtakes? Surely, no Member of this Houſe will ſay, that ſuch a Delay would be conſiſtent with the Duty, or the Dignity of Parliament.

If the Bill now propoſed were a new Bill: If it were a Bill that had never been thought of before, there might be ſome Occaſion for mature Deliberation, and by conſidering it maturely, before moving for Leave to bring it in, the Time might be ſhortened, that would otherwiſe be neceſſary for drawing it up. But this is not the Caſe: The Bill moved for, is no new Bill. It is a Bill only for reviving a Law that was found neceſſary in the laſt War, and which, from the Nature of Things,

Things, muſt appear to be neceſſary in this. Beſides, the very Bill now propoſed, was fully conſidered, and actually brought in, two Years ago: I believe there will be Occaſion for very little Alteration, unleſs it be in the Preamble; and, if any of those concerned in the Adminiſtration think, that there were any Faults or Deficiencies in the former Bill, it is to be hoped they will aſſiſt in the drawing up of this Bill, in order to have thoſe Faults or Deficiencies rectified; therefore, I can ſee no Reaſon for poſtponing the Motion, nor do I think that the Delay thereby occaſioned, can be made good by any Diſpatch that can afterwards be given in paſſing it through the ſeveral Branches of our Legiſlature; for which Reaſon, if the Queſtion be put upon my Hon. Friend's Motion, and I hope he will not part with it, I ſhall certainly give my Affirmative to the Queſtion.

L. Hortenſius *then roſe up, and ſpoke to this Effect.*

Mr. Preſident,

S I R,

I HAVE read over and conſidered his Majeſty's Speech with as much Care as I ever did any Thing, and if I may be allowed to underſtand the *Engliſh* Language, I am ſure, there is not a Word in the whole Speech that can be ſuppoſed to relate to the Bill now moved for. With regard to the Supplies neceſſary for the Service of the enſuing Year, the Speech may, indeed, be allowed to be ſome Sort of Meſſage, and I hope we ſhall comply with it both readily and unanimouſly; but with regard to any Thing elſe, we may, I think, as well call it a Prayer, or a Command, as a Meſſage. His Majeſty has, 'tis true, told us, that he has called us together ſooner than uſual, in order to have our Advice at this important Juncture; but, if we have any Thing to offer by way of Advice, we ought to do it by way of an Addreſs, which is the uſual Way of communicating our Thoughts to the Crown, with regard to any Thing we think ought to be done. I muſt think, that it is a pretty odd, and a new way of offering Advice to the Crown, to do it by way of Bill, and by a Sort of Bill too, that makes a direct Incroachment upon the Prerogative Royal; for if it be intended by the Bill now propoſed, to give the Whole of every Prize that ſhall be taken, to the Captors, I muſt ſay, the Bill will, in my Opinion, be a direct Incroachment upon the Prerogatives of the Crown, among which, that of having the Diſpoſition and Diſtribution of every Thing taken from the Enemy, is certainly one.

By our preſent Conſtitution, Sir, the Crown may diſpoſe of what is taken from the Enemy, as a Reward to the Captors, and to encourage others to take as much as they can from the Enemy; in which Caſe, the Crown has the Power of proportioning that Reward to the Behaviour of each Man concerned in the Capture, which will always have a great Effect upon the Behaviour of private Men; whereas, if you give the Whole, thus by the Lump, to the Captors, you put it out of the Power of the Publick to reward the Bravery, or puniſh the Indolence, of any Officer or Seaman concerned in his Majeſty's Navy. The Whole will depend upon the Chance of War, which, in every Sort of War, muſt be allowed to be very whimſical, but in a Naval War it is more whimſical than in any other. A rich *Gallebn*, or *Spaniſh* Regiſter Ship may eſcape a moſt diligent Admiral or Captain in the *Weſt-Indies*, or about the *Canaries*, and, by mere Accident, may

fall into the Hands of a moſt ſlothful and negligent Commander upon the Coaſts of *Spain*. In this Caſe, ſurely, it would be Juſtice to give ſome Part of the Prize to thoſe who had been diligent in looking out for her, and but a very ſmall Part to thoſe who, perhaps, by their Sloth, and not by their Diligence, had met with her; but if the Bill now propoſed, ſhould paſs into a Law, the Slothful muſt have the Whole, and thoſe who were diligent, and perhaps by that Diligence, threw the Prize in the other's Way, muſt have nothing. What an Effect this may have upon the Behaviour, both of our Officers and Seamen, I ſhall leave to thoſe that hear me, to conſider.

In all other limited Governments, Sir, the Power of the ſupreme Magiſtrate is always made more extenſive in Time of War than in Time of Peace; and the more dangerous the War, the more extenſive the Power of the ſupreme Magiſtrate is rendered. Amongſt the *Romans*, who were as jealous of their Liberties as any People ought in Reaſon to be, a moſt abſolute and arbitrary Government always took Place, when they found themſelves engaged in a dangerous War. What the preſent War may be to this Nation, no one can as yet tell: I ſhall grant, we have as yet, no great Reaſon to be much afraid of its Conſequences: As long as *Spain* ſtands ſingle, and alone againſt us, I believe we never ſhall; but who knows what other Powers may engage? and, if ſome of the other Powers of *Europe* ſhould engage againſt us, they may render the War not only burthenſome, but dangerous to this Nation; in which Caſe, I ſhould not think it very prudent, to put Reſtraints upon the Power of our Sovereign, which our Conſtitution is very little acquainted with, and whoſe Conſequences we had no Opportunity of knowing in the late War, both becauſe it did not laſt but for a few Years after the Regulations, now propoſed to be revived, were made, and becauſe, from the Time they were made, it was rather a Land than a Naval War, the Enemy having been, in ſome Meaſure, drove quite out of the Seas, ſome Time before the 6th of Queen *Anne*.

But, Sir, ſuppoſe there were no Objection to be made againſt any of the Regulations intended by the Bill, now moved for, what Occaſion have we to be in ſuch a Hurry, as to order the Bill to be brought in the very 2d Day of the Seſſion? Let the Bill be brought in and paſſed when we will, we cannot make it commence till after *Chriſtmas*; becauſe, by Treaties long ſince entered into, we are engaged to reſtore all Goods and Effects, found on board the Ships of any Nation we are at War with, if, upon Examination, it ſhall appear, that they belonged to any of our Allies, and that the Ship was taken within ſo many Weeks, in the Seas of *Europe*, or ſo many Months, in the Seas of *Africa* or the *Indies*, after the Declaration of War. Now, as the War againſt *Spain* was declared but the 23d of *October* laſt, we cannot pretend to give to the Captors, the Goods or Effects of our Allies, which may be taken even in the Seas of *Europe*, before *Chriſtmas* next; therefore, if we were now to paſs the Bill, as well as order it to be brought in, we could not make it begin to take Effect before ſome Day in *January* next; and, before that Time, it may be paſſed into a Law, even though it ſhould not be brought in, or ordered to be brought in, for this Week or ten Days to come. For this Reaſon, Sir, I can ſee no Occaſion for being in a Hurry about ordering this Bill to be brought in, eſpecially as ſome Gentlemen ſeem to think it incon-

inconſiſtent with that Reſpect which is due to the Crown; for ſince the Paſſing of the Bill can have no Effect till the Day of its Commencement, and ſince the Poſtponing of the Motion will not poſtpone the Day of its Commencement, I think we ought to have ſo much Complaiſance for one another, as to poſtpone a Motion which may, in a few Days hence, be unanimouſly agreed to, even by thoſe who this Day find fault with its having been made.

Sir, I ſhall always be againſt our ſhewing a Reſpect, either to the Crown or to Miniſters, that is inconſiſtent with the Dignity of this Houſe; but in the preſent Caſe, I muſt think the Delay deſired, ſo far from being inconſiſtent with our Dignity, that I think it would be inconſiſtent with the Reſpect we owe to the Crown, not to comply with it. I even wiſh the Motion had not been made, till ſome Meſſage for that Purpoſe had been ſent to us from the Crown. The Bill is certainly in its own Nature, a Bill of Grace and Favour: Our Seamen will look upon it as ſuch, and will think themſelves highly obliged to thoſe who were the Authors of it. For this Reaſon I wiſh, the firſt Step towards its Introduction had been made by the Crown: I think we are in Duty, as well as out of Reſpect to his Majeſty, bound to allow ſuch a Bill to owe its Birth to him. If the Motion be poſtponed but for a few Days, we may probably have a Meſſage from his Majeſty for that Purpoſe; and ſurely, thoſe who think it a right Thing, will be willing his Majeſty ſhould have the Merit of propoſing it. The Motion that has been made, will derogate a little from that Merit; but, as I am convinced, that no Gentleman has a greater Regard for his Majeſty than the Hon. Gentleman who made the Motion, I hope that now, after he has conſidered it, he will endeavour to leſſen the bad Effects it may have, by preventing its appearing in our Votes, which he may prevent, by not inſiſting upon the Queſtion.

The next that ſpoke was C. Herennius, *whoſe Speech was in Subſtance thus:*

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

AS I was one of thoſe that were ſanguine for having ſuch a Bill as this paſſed into a Law two Years ago, when a Bill of the ſame Nature with what is now propoſed was actually brought in, it cannot be expected that I ſhould be againſt having ſuch another Bill brought in, and paſſed into a Law, in this Seſſion of Parliament, when ſuch a Law ſeems to be more neceſſary than it was at that Time. With regard to the preſent Motion, if it had not been made, I ſhould have been againſt making it ſo very early in the Seſſion. I ſhould have been for giving an Opportunity to thoſe who have the Honour of adviſing his Majeſty, to have adviſed him to ſend ſome Sort of Meſſage to this Houſe, (ſince he mentioned nothing of it in his Speech) deſiring to have ſuch a Law made, as is now propoſed; becauſe it is a Law that will, I am convinced, give great Satisfaction to the People in general, and will, in my Opinion, be of conſiderable Service in the Proſecution of the War. If his Majeſty had, in his Speech, recommended ſuch a Law to our Conſideration, it would have convinced the World of what I am ſure is true, with reſpect to his Majeſty, that we are ſerious and firmly reſolved, not only to carry on the War, but to carry it on with the utmoſt Vigour; and therefore, I was ſorry to find no Mention made in his Majeſty's

Speech, of reviving thoſe Laws that were found neceſſary for carrying on the laſt heavy War we were engaged in.

A Paragraph for this Purpoſe, Sir, would, I believe, have had a very good Effect upon the Minds of the People; and tho' it was then neglected, yet, I ſhould have been for delaying this Motion a few Days, for the Purpoſe I have mentioned. But now, that the Motion is made, I ſhall be againſt its being poſtponed, and I hope no Gentleman will think of having a Negative put upon it. Whether it appears in our printed Votes or no, it will be heard of without Doors. Even the Populace, and particularly our Seamen, will hear that ſuch a Motion has been made in Parliament, and that it was made without any Effect, which will be attended with very unlucky Conſequences. Let us conſider the Circumſtances we are in, and the Conſequences of poſtponing, or putting a Negative upon ſuch a Motion. We are engaged in War with an Enemy that cannot be attacked by us, nor can they attack us, but by Sea. For this Reaſon, we have Occaſion for a great Number of Seamen; for without them, we can neither attack the Enemy, nor defend ourſelves. From whatever Cauſes it may proceed, we find, by Experience, that our Seamen are unwilling to enter into his Majeſty's Service. In theſe Circumſtances, will not our putting a Negative upon this Motion, or even our poſtponing it, render our Seamen more backward than ever, to enter into his Majeſty's Service? It will be impoſſible to make them underſtand the Reaſons aſſigned for poſtponing it, or to make them believe that it will be ſhortly reſumed: They will look upon the Delay as an abſolute Refuſal to bring in or paſs ſuch a Bill, and thereupon they will naturally reaſon thus with themſelves: What ſhould we enter into the King's Service for? We can have higher Wages in the Merchant Service; and, by what has happened in Parliament we may ſee, that we are to have no Share, or but a ſmall Share, of any Prizes we may take. Will not this make them avoid entering into his Majeſty's Service as much as they can? And this muſt of courſe retard, if not diſappoint ſome of our Deſigns againſt the Enemy.

The Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt has told us, that the Bringing in of ſuch a Bill can have no Effect till it be paſſed into a Law. Sir, I muſt beg Leave to differ from him. The very Motion for bringing it in, the Motion that is now before us, if it be agreed to, will have a very great and good Effect. It will ſhew our Seamen, that they are to have the Whole of every Prize they take, divided among them, and managed, diſpoſed of, and diſtributed by Agents choſen by themſelves. This will make them conſider, that beſides their Wages, they have a good Chance of enriching themſelves and their Families, by being in the King's Service; and this will of courſe make them fond of being in the Service. I believe there will ſtill be a Want of Seamen, as there always muſt be at the Beginning of a War, unleſs we keep in continual Pay, a large Body of Seamen even in Time of Peace; but, it will probably remove that Want of Seamen in his Majeſty's Service, which is now ſo ſenſibly felt, and ſo much complained of, even by thoſe who are for poſtponing this Motion. Therefore, do not let us do a real Injury to his Majeſty's Service, by ſhewing an unſeaſonable, and perhaps I may ſay, an imaginary Reſpect to the Crown.

I was, indeed, ſurprized, Sir, to hear it pretended or inſinuated, that we

we could not make this Bill commence till the Month of *January* next, becauſe of the Treaties between us, and ſome of the Powers of *Europe*, who are now our Allies and good Friends. I know, Sir, that by ſome of thoſe Treaties, the Goods of our Friends or Allies are not to be confiſcated, tho' found on board an Enemy's Ship, if it ſhall appear that thoſe Goods were ſhipped on board that Veſſel, before the Declaration of War, or within ſo many Weeks or Months after the Declaration of War, as are mentioned in the reſpective Treaties. But what has this to do with the Bill, now propoſed to be brought in? Our Seamen are not, by this Bill, to get any Title to a Ship or Cargo taken from the Enemy, till both be condemned by our Courts of Admiralty, as lawful Prize. Can the Goods of Friends, tho' found on board an Enemy's Ship, be condemned as lawful Prize, when it appears that thoſe Goods ought, by Treaty, or by the Law of Nations, to be reſtored to the proper Owners? In this Caſe, the Law is extremely plain, and Care will certainly be taken in the drawing up of the Bill, not to alter it, or render it doubtful, by any Clauſe, or any Expreſſions in the Bill. The Bill is to be drawn up, upon the Plan of thoſe expired Laws that have been read to you, and can it be ſaid that there is any Thing in either of them, that could authorize a Judge-Admiral to condemn as lawful Prize, all Goods found on board an Enemy's Ship, even tho' it ſhould be made appear, that ſome of them belonged to the Subjects of a Nation in Friendſhip with us; and that they were ſhipped on board that Veſſel before our Declaration of War againſt *Spain*, or even after that Declaration, but within the Times reſpectively limited by Treaty? What then ſhould hinder us from making the Bill begin to have Effect, as ſoon as it ſhall receive the Royal Aſſent? Therefore, we ought to paſs the Bill as ſoon as poſſible, becauſe it will encourage the Officers and Seamen of his Majeſty's Navy to be watchful and diligent in looking out for, and taking all Ships belonging to the Enemy; and we ſhould, as ſoon as poſſible, order the Bill to be brought in, becauſe that very Order will induce our Seamen to enter themſelves voluntarily on board his Majeſty's Navy. And as our poſtponing or diſagreeing to the Motion, now it is made, will have a quite contrary Effect, when Gentlemen conſider the Circumſtances we are in, and the Conſequences of poſtponing ſuch a Motion, I hope they will depart from their Punctilio of Reſpect to the Crown, and allow the Motion to have, what it ought to have, the unanimous Approbation of this Houſe.

M. Valerius Corvus *was the next that roſe up in this Debate, and his Speech was to the Effect as follows*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

THE Queſtion has been ſo fully canvaſſed by thoſe who have already ſpoken in this Debate, that I ſhall take up but very little of your Time, with what I have to ſay upon the Subject. I find, Sir, that the Gentlemen, who have oppoſed this Motion, pretend a Reſpect for the Crown, as the chief Cauſe of their preſent Oppoſition, and that they are not againſt the Bill, but againſt its being moved for, till we have ſome Meſſage from his Majeſty, for that Purpoſe; but I muſt obſerve, that moſt of thoſe who have ſpoke againſt the Motion, have thrown out ſeveral Things againſt the Bill itſelf; and therefore, as ſome of them may be ſuppoſed to have

have ſome Influence in his Majeſty's Councils, I am afraid that, if we poſtpone the Motion till we have a Meſſage from the Crown, we muſt poſtpone it till the End of this Seſſion, and, perhaps, till the End of the War; for I doubt much, if ever a Miniſter, or the Favourite of a Miniſter, will freely and heartily concur in the bringing in, or paſſing of ſuch a Bill; and, indeed, I do not wonder at it.

The Point really in Diſpute is, about taking from the Crown, one of thoſe diſcretionary Powers, it is at preſent poſſeſſed of; and in ſuch a Diſpute, Sir, I am no Way ſurprized at hearing the Continuance, and the Utility of that Power, argued for, by the Gentlemen who have, or the Favourites of thoſe who have the Exerciſe of all the diſcretionary Powers of the Crown, in their Hands; for Miniſters are extremely apt to fancy they ſee great Advantages in every Prerogative of the Crown, and to be quite blind, as to the Diſadvantages it may be attended with. But, as I have not the Honour to be concerned in exerciſing any ſuch Powers; nor, I believe, the good Fortune to be much in the good Graces of thoſe that are, I can judge of the diſcretionary Powers of the Crown with leſs Prejudice, and I can ſay without Fear, that I am againſt all ſuch, where it is not abſolutely neceſſary; for I look upon a diſcretionary Power to be very near a-kin to an arbitrary one: and am, therefore, for having as few ſuch as poſſible.

I ſhall grant, Sir, that diſcretionary Powers would be of great Uſe to Society, if they were always to be exerciſed by Men of conſummate Prudence, deep Penetration, and ſtrict Juſtice; but, as theſe are Qualities that do not often belong to the Miniſters of Kings, I am, therefore, for truſting them with as few diſcretionary Powers as poſſible. At preſent, the Crown has, 'tis true, the ſole Property in all Prizes taken from the Enemy, by his Majeſty's Ships of War; but, I muſt beg Leave to obſerve, that this Property is veſted in the Crown, only as Truſtee for the Publick; becauſe, the Whole ought to be diſpoſed of, in the moſt prudent Manner, for the Benefit of the Publick; and Miniſters may be puniſhed for a Miſapplication of that, as well as any other Property belonging to the Publick; ſo that the Power of diſpoſing of thoſe Prizes, is not, even as the Law ſtands at preſent, altogether diſcretionary, nor, is it near ſo arbitrary, as ſome People may, perhaps, imagine.

As our Laws ſtand at preſent, the Crown, or rather the Miniſters of the Crown, have, I ſhall admit, a diſcretionary Power, to apply the Produce of thoſe Prizes that may be taken from the Enemy, by his Majeſty's Ships of War, to what publick Services they pleaſe, and in what Manner they pleaſe. If I thought that the Power they have, would always, or even for the moſt Part, be made uſe of, in the moſt juſt and prudent Manner, for the Service of the Publick, and for that only, I ſhould be loth to take it from them; I know it might be of great Service, to leave it in the Power of the Crown, to grant a larger Share of the Prize, to ſome of the Captors, than to others; and ſometimes to grant a Share of the Prize, even to thoſe who were not immediately concerned in the Capture. I know that ſome of thoſe who have, by a Law, a Title to their Share of a Prize, may ſometimes behave in ſuch a negligent, or cowardly Manner, as to deſerve Puniſhment rather than a Reward; and, therefore, it would be of Service to the Publick, to leave a diſcretionary Power in the Crown, to reward the Captors according to their ſeveral Deſerts, if

if it could be expected that this Power would be wiſely and juſtly apply'd; but this is not to be expected. This Power will, I am ſure, like all other diſcretionary Powers, be often abuſed, and it may be made to ſerve very bad Purpoſes; therefore, I am for putting an End to it, by veſting the Property of every Prize in the Captors; and to this I am the more inclined, becauſe I know, that all the Officers and Seamen in the Navy, at leaſt, thoſe who have the greateſt Merit, would chuſe it.

But ſuppoſe, Sir, his Majeſty were to put a Reſtraint upon this diſcretionary Power; which, I know, may be done without an Act of Parliament: Suppoſe he were to grant the Whole, or a certain Share of every Prize, to the Captors, by Proclamation; yet the Inconvenience of a Prize-Office would ſtill remain: Without an Act of Parliament, he cannot impower the Officers and Seamen to name their own Agents: He cannot by Proclamation order, that, with reſpect to this Nomination, the Minority of the Officers concerned ſhall be determined by the Majority; or that the Minority of the Ship's Company concerned ſhall be determined by the Majority; therefore without an Act of Parliament, the Grievance of a Prize-Office muſt ſtill remain, and it cannot be expected that it ſhould be a leſs Grievance now, than it was found to be in the late Queen's Time. When the Agents are named by Miniſters, they are not only apt to levy exorbitant Fees and Perquiſites upon the Officers and Seamen concerned, but they are apt to keep the whole Produce in their Hands, for a long Time, or for ever if they can. It is now twelve or thirteen Years ſince our laſt Skuffle with *Spain*; and, I believe, ſome of the Prizes which were then taken, are not as yet accounted for: I believe, the whole Produce of ſome of them, remains yet in the Hands of thoſe Agents, that were appointed by the Crown; which, I am ſure, would not have been the Caſe, if the Agents had been appointed by the Officers and Seamen concerned.

This Inconvenience, therefore, muſt ſtill ſubſiſt, unleſs ſome ſuch Bill, as what is now propoſed, be brought in, and paſſed into a Law; and beſides the Whole, or a certain Share of the Prizes, there are ſeveral other Things intended to be eſtabliſhed by this Bill, which will be of great Service in the Proſecution of the preſent War; and which cannot be eſtabliſhed any other Way, than by an Act of Parliament. The 5 l. *per* Man, Reward, can be given no other Way; and, in my Opinion, it is abſolutely neceſſary to give it, in order to encourage our Ships of War to deſtroy thoſe of the Enemy. Preferment may be one Motive, but that Motive is not of itſelf ſufficient, even tho' duly and regularly beſtowed, which can hardly be expected; for true Merit is ſeldom the moſt prevalent Title to Preferment. A pecuniary Reward is a Motive much more certain, and therefore much ſtronger. Money often makes Men do, what nothing elſe can make them do. Without ſuch a Reward, it is not to be expected, that any of our Privateers will attack thoſe of the Enemy. That Privateers ſeldom attack one another, is become almoſt a Proverb, in every Nation of *Europe*. In King *William*'s War, the *French* and *Spaniſh* Privateers often met in the Bay of *Biſcay*. They were upon oppoſite Sides in the War; but, did they ever attack one another? No, Sir, when they met, like good Friends, they ſaluted, wiſh'd one another a ſucceſsful Trip, and went upon their reſpective Buſineſs. No one of them ever fought another, but once, that the Captain of a *Spaniſh* Privateer, and the Captain of a *French* one, had a perſonal Quar-

Quarrel at a neutral Port, whereupon they ſailed out to Sea, and engaged their two Ships in the Quarrel. If we have a Mind, therefore, to have the Enemy's Privateers deſtroyed, we muſt tempt our own by a pecuniary Reward, as well as the Hopes of Preferment, to attack them; and this can only be done by Act of Parliament.

Laſtly, Sir, with regard to the Encouragement intended, by this Bill, to be given to private Adventurers, to attack and take ſome of the Dominions belonging to the Enemy: This too, can only be done by Act of Parliament. His Majeſty may, 'tis true, incorporate them by Charter; but he cannot, by Charter, impower them to ſail within the Limits of the *South-Sea* Company's Charter, thoſe Limits being excluſively eſtabliſhed and ſecured to that Company by Act of Parliament. Nay, I doubt, if his Majeſty's Commiſſion can give our Privateers a Right to ſail within the Limits of that Company's Charter, becauſe by Act of Parliament it is delared, that every other Perſon, beſides thoſe employed by the Company, that ſhall *frequent*, or trade to the *South-Seas*, ſhall forfeit the Ship and Goods, and Double the Value thereof. In our preſent Circumſtances therefore, a new Law is abſolutely neceſſary, for impowering our Privateers and private Adventurers, to ſail within the Limits of that Company's Charter; and till ſuch a Law be paſſed, we cannot propoſe to make any great Advantage of the War; for which Reaſon, I hope the preſent Motion will not only be inſiſted on, but agreed to.

M. Tullius Cicero *then ſtood up, and gave his Sentiments in Subſtance as follows*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,

SIR,

WHatever other Gentlemen may think, I can ſee no Reaſon why we ſhould be now more jealous of the diſcretionary Powers lodged by our Conſtitution in the Crown, than we were heretofore; for, I am ſure, no Man can ſay, that his preſent Majeſty has ever made an improper or imprudent Uſe of any one of them. The Property of all Conqueſts made, and all Prizes taken from the Enemy, has been veſted in the Crown ever ſince we had any ſuch Thing as a Conſtitution, except for a few Years in the late Queen's Reign; and the War we were then engaged in, was ſo heavy upon the Nation, that it was prudent and neceſſary, at that Time, to encourage, by an eſtabliſhed and publick Law, all private Adventurers to diſtreſs the Enemy, by giving them the ſole and abſolute Property in every Thing they ſhould take; but, I do not think the War we are now engaged in, is, as yet, become ſo heavy as to render it neceſſary for us to make an Alteration in our Conſtitution, for the Sake of carrying it on with the more Vigour. Beſides, there is a very great Difference between our Circumſtances now, and our Circumſtances when thoſe Laws were made, that are now propoſed to be revived. The War we were then engaged in, had been declared and continued for above three or four Years before thoſe Laws were made; ſo that, if any of our Friends had then any Goods on board the Ships of our Enemies, or had granted any Policies of Inſurance upon any of thoſe Ships, they could pretend no Excuſe, nor had they the leaſt Shadow of an Argument againſt our ſhewing no Regard to them, when thoſe Ships fell into our Hands. Whereas the War we are now engaged in, is but juſt declared, and therefore, even our People at home, as well as our Friends abroad, may have valuable Properties on board *Spaniſh* Ships, which were ſhip'd on board, before

before they heard of the Rupture; or they may have granted Policies of Insurance for large Sums of Money, before they had the least Notice of our Declaration of War; in which Case, I think it would be very hard, and, in my Opinion, unjust, to shew no Regard to them, in case any of those Ships should fall into our Hands.

I shall admit, Sir, that the Judges of our Courts of Admiralty could not declare those Goods to be lawful Prize, that should appear to belong to our Friends, and to have been ship'd on board before the Declaration of War, or even after the Declaration of War, but before the Time limited by Treaties between them and us; but, if we should stand peremptorily upon the very Letter of the Law, especially with regard to those foreign Friends with whom we have no such Treaties, it might afford many just Causes of Complaint against us; and our Judges could give no Relief in any Case where the express Letter of the Law is against the Claimants, particularly with regard to Insurance; for tho' the Insurance was made perhaps here at *London*, before the Declaration of War, the Judge must declare the whole Ship and Cargo lawful Prize, without the least Regard to the Insurer; and, by this Bill, you'll put it out of the Power of his Majesty to shew any Regard to him, or to give him any Relief; tho' for his Credit's Sake, he would be obliged to pay, even to the Subjects of *Spain*, the Sum for which he had taken a Premium and granted a Policy.

From these Considerations, Sir, I think, it is evident, that our Circumstances are now very different from what they were, when those Laws were made, which are now proposed to be revived; and that it is, as yet, a little too early to think of reviving those Laws, which were not made till four Years after that War was commenced. The Reviving of them so soon after the Declaration of War, may be attended with many Inconveniences, they could not be subject to, when first enacted: It is, I think, as yet a Doubt, whether or no it will be necessary to make such an Alteration in our Constitution, during the present War; and, I think, it ought not to be made, unless it be found absolutely necessary; because, whatever Exceptions we may be obliged to make upon particular Occasions, I hope, it will always be held as a general Rule, not to be departed from without Necessity, to vest in the Crown, the Property of every Thing taken from a publick and declared Enemy, and to leave the Disposal or Application of that Property to our Sovereign.

I shall readily grant, Sir, that with respect to the Disposal of this Property, the Crown is properly but a Trustee for the Publick. The Whole ought to be applied, in some Shape or other, to the Service of the Publick; and the Parliament may call to Account, and ought to punish severely, any Minister, that shall dare to apply the least Part of it otherwise; but, I hope, it will be granted, that there are several publick Services, to which it may be usefully applied: Therefore, the Applying of the Whole, by an established and unalterable Law, to any one particular Service, may be both imprudent and unjust; and I must think, that those who are entrusted, by our Sovereign, with the Conduct and Management of our publick Affairs, may, without any Breach of Modesty, pretend, that they are the best Judges of those publick Services, to which this Property ought to be applied; for they must know many Facts, and the general Circumstances of the Nation, with regard both to our foreign and domestick Affairs, much better than others can do; and, if they have not so much common Sense, the Parliament ought to think of bringing about a Change in the Administration, rather than of encroaching upon the Prerogatives of the Crown.

In the present War, Sir, I shall mention only four publick Services, to all of which, or to one or other of which, every Gentleman will, I believe, allow, that the Produce of the Prizes taken from the Enemy, ought to be applied. This Produce may be applied as an Encouragement to the Captors, in order to encourage our People to take as much as they can from the Enemy; or it may be applied for giving Reparation to our injured Merchants; or it may be applied for defraying a Part of the Expence of carrying on the War, in order to prevent our being obliged to encroach upon the Sinking Fund, or to load our People with any new or additional Taxes; or lastly, it may be applied towards paying off a Part of our publick Debts. If we should have the good Luck to seize upon any very valuable Prizes, I shall be so free as to declare, that, in my Opinion, the Produce of them should be divided, and applied in some certain Proportions, to every one of these Purposes, or at least to the first three. I am, as much as any Gentleman can in Prudence be, for encouraging our Seamen; and therefore, when the Prize is but of small Value, or not above a certain Value, I should be for giving the Whole to the Captors; but when the Prize is of an immense Value, as some of them may, and, I hope, will be, I am sure, if you give the Whole to the Seamen concerned in the Capture, they will be Seamen no more.

There is one Ship now expected, Sir, from *Buenos Ayres*, which is reckoned worth a *Million Sterling*: This Ship may happen to be taken by one single Man of War: If this should be the Case, in my Opinion, any Minister that should give the Whole of such

a Prize to the Captors, would deſerve to be impeached by Parliament; and I muſt think, it would be a little odd for the Parliament to do by an Act of theirs, what they ought, and, I believe, certainly would impeach a Miniſter for doing, or adviſing his Majeſty to do. It would be giving a moſt extravagant Reward to the Captors, and doing, I think, an Act of great Injuſtice to the Nation, and in particular, to the ſuffering Merchants. If ſuch a Prize ſhould happen to be taken by one ſingle Man of War, we might give a ſufficient Reward to the Captors, and might reſerve as much as would go ſome Length towards giving full Reparation to our ſuffering Merchants, and ſave our Land-holders, for one Year at leaſt, a *Shilling* in the Pound Land Tax: And both theſe Sets of Men have, I think, ſome Title to our Regard, as well as our Seamen. Every War muſt fall heavy upon our Land-holders; and therefore, when we are ſucceſsful, ſome Part of what we get by the War, ought to be applied to their Relief: And as to our ſuffering Merchants, I think, we are both in Honour and Juſtice bound to make good to them, at leaſt the 95,000*l.* which was to have been paid to them by *Spain*, in caſe we had not begun Hoſtilities againſt that Nation.

We have already, Sir, met with ſome Succeſs in the War. We have already got ſome conſiderable Prizes; and his Majeſty has given his Royal Word, that our ſuffering Merchants ſhall be conſidered, when thoſe Prizes come to be diſpoſed of; but, I muſt obſerve, that, if the Bill which was brought in, two Years ago, had paſſed into a Law, thoſe Merchants could have expected no Share of theſe Prizes: And if ſuch another Bill ſhould be paſſed in this Seſſion, they can expect no Share of any future Prize: They can expect no farther Reparation till the End of the War, which, I think, would not be altogether juſt; for I muſt think, it would be unreaſonable to make them wait till the Concluſion of a War, which may laſt for ſeveral Years, without any Reparation, whilſt many others of our Subjects are making rich by the Prizes they take; and I muſt think, it would be ſtill more unreaſonable, to make the Reparation of our Merchants depend upon the uncertain Event of a War. By ſo doing, we may encourage our Seamen, but we ſhall very much diſcourage our Merchants; and let us conſider, that if we have no Merchants, we can have no Trade, and that without Trade, we ſhall have but few Seamen.

I wiſh, Sir, with all my Heart, we had already met with more Succeſs than we have done; but thoſe who conſider the many Chances that are againſt us, muſt give Thanks to Providence, for the Succeſs we have already met with. In ſuch a wide Sea, as that between *New* and *Old Spain*, 'tis a great Chance, if our Squadrons meet with any of the Enemy's Ships. Even tho' our Squadrons got Sight of them, a dark Night, a Fog, or a contrary Wind intervening, may prevent their being taken. Beſides this, the Enemy may, probably, ſoon find out how our Squadrons are ſtationed, and may, by ſending out ſeveral Advice-Boats, prevent their rich Ships from coming near thoſe Stations; for ſeveral ſtraggling Advice-Boats may, more probably, meet with a Ship at Sea, than can be expected from a Squadron, which muſt always keep cloſe together. By this Means they prevented their *Aſſogues* Ships falling into the Hands of Admiral *Haddock*'s Squadron; and yet thoſe Ships would in all Probability have fallen into our Hands, as well as the *Caracca* Ships, if Admiral *Vernon* had not met with ſuch contrary Winds, that he could not get out of the Channel, till about the Time of their Arrival in *Spain*.

Theſe Conſiderations muſt ſhew, Sir, that it will be a great Chance, if we meet with many rich Prizes during the War; and therefore, we ought to make the beſt Uſe of thoſe we do meet with. If the Diſpoſing of them be left to his Majeſty, I am perſuaded, the beſt and the moſt prudent Uſe will be made of them; but if it be thought neceſſary to regulate this Matter by a new Law, I hope Gentlemen will take Time to conſider of it. I think, I have ſhewn, that it will be no eaſy Matter to make proper Regulations for this Purpoſe; and therefore, I hope, Gentlemen will, by poſtponing the Motion, take Time to conſider of what is moſt proper to be done.

[*This Debate to be concluded, and this Journal continued in our next.*]

M. Bæbius Tamphilus, *the Right Hon. the Lord* Baltimore.

C. Herennius, Edward Hooper, *Eſq*; (ſee p. 279.)

A PAMPHLET *having been lately publiſhed, entitled,* A ſerious EXHORTATION to the ELECTORS of *GREAT-BRITAIN, &c. we ſhall give our Readers a few Extracts from it, as follows.*

A CRISIS is now approaching, the moſt important to the *Britiſh* Nation, and the moſt deſerving of your ſerious Attention, that, perhaps, was ever known in this Country.

During the long Delegacy of a ſeptennial Parliament, you have not had it in your Power to apply any Remedy to thoſe Grievances you may have thought call'd loudly for Redreſs; but as now that Delegacy will ſhortly be reſum'd again into your own Hands, every Thing will once more depend upon your ſelves.

The firſt Point that requires your Attention is, Whether that Liberty, and thoſe Rights,

Rights, which have been formerly contended for and vindicated with the Loſs of ſo much Blood, ſtand on ſo firm and ſolid a Baſis, as to be in no Danger, either of being thrown down by Force, or undermin'd by Art.

As Experience has long ſince convinc'd every one, of the Impoſſibility of eſtabliſhing arbitrary Power in its firſt Inſtances by Force, in this Country, ſo has it ſuggeſted not only to crafty Politicians, but pointed out to every intelligent Man, the ſole Method of introducing Slavery here, that is, by ſecret Influence and Corruption.

It has been therefore a moſt obvious Remark, in the Mouth of every Writer who has treated of the *Engliſh* Affairs and Conſtitution, That this Nation can only be enſlav'd by its own Means, by the Perfidy of thoſe intruſted with its Liberties, by its Parliament.

Since therefore we can never become leſs free, but by ignominiouſly betraying our own Liberty, let us a little reflect by what Means that may be brought about: As this can only be accompliſh'd by two Methods, either by an indiſcreet or corrupt Choice of our Repreſentatives, or by the corrupt and treacherous Conduct of ſuch Repreſentatives when choſen into Parliament; it neceſſarily follows, that it is of the higheſt Importance to this Nation, in the firſt Place to prevent, as much as poſſible, all Means of undue Influence and Corruption; and in the next Place, to intruſt ſuch as Repreſentatives only, whoſe Characters, whoſe Integrity, and whoſe Fortunes will exempt them from all Danger of either.

There are at preſent in the Houſe of Commons alone, about 234 Perſons, who are publickly known to receive in Employments from the Crown * 212,956 l. *per Annum*. How far that is conſiſtent with the Independency of that Houſe, I will leave to your own Judgmens to determine. If I am told, the Hononr and Integrity of thoſe Gentlemen preſerve them from all Danger of undue Influence, as I am not at Liberty to contradict it here, I ſhall refer you to be determin'd in that Point by their Conduct. You will judge, whether their unanimous Support of the preſent Miniſter in every Meaſure, for theſe 20 Years, is a Proof of their Independency; you will judge, whether a conſtant Approbation of *ſtanding Armies, Votes of Credit, Exciſes and Conventions*, ought to perſuade you of their Integrity. You will likewiſe examine, whether the moſt implicit Compliance with the Will of the Miniſter is not made the only Tenure, by which theſe Emoluments are ſecur'd to them. Of this you will form your Opinions with better Ground, when you enquire into the Cauſes of the late Diſmiſſion of ſeveral Perſonages, of the moſt known Abilities and Attachment to the preſent Eſtabliſhment, from Offices as well Military as Civil †.

A But ſo conſiderable a Part of the People of *England*, having already manifeſted their Sentiments for the Neceſſity of limiting the exorbitant Number of Placemen in the H. of Commons, it is needleſs to enforce it here; and the Manner in which a Bill for that Purpoſe was lately rejected, is become a moſt ſtrengthening and additional Argument in its Favour ‡.

B The little Succeſs the Remonſtrances of many of you have had on that Head, will, I hope, be very far from diſcouraging your Exertion of the ſame Right againſt the next Meeting of Parliament: And here I ſhould hold myſelf ungrateful as a Fellow-Subject, were I to paſs by this Opportunity of mentioning with Honour and Eſteem the

C ſhining Example, our great Metropolis ſet forth to us laſt Year, and lately alſo on this Occaſion, as well as the noble Zeal and Spirit ſhe has manifeſted on every other, for the publick Honour and Liberty.

To inſtruct your Repreſentatives, on any Occaſion you think proper, is not only a Right the Electors of *Britain* have ever enjoy'd, but the late Alteration in the Conſti-

D tution of Parliaments, by the prolonging them for 7 Years, has made the Exerciſe of ſuch a Right more particularly expedient. —But if your juſt and neceſſary Efforts cannot prevail next Seſſions for obtaining a Place-Bill, you will ſhortly, as Electors of *Great Britain*, have it in your Power to make the moſt effectual Law againſt filling the Houſe

E of Commons with Placemen, by making Independence in your Candidates the Rule of your Choice.

It is become the common cant Argument of the miniſterial Advocates, when they would extol the Security of Liberty under this Adminiſtration, to aſſert, that no Act of Power, no violent Exerciſe of Prerogative is now ever exerted; and on this Aſſertion they

F greatly triumph over all our juſt Complaints againſt the preſent State of Things; yet, weak as theſe Arguments are, they are ſuch by which many miſtaken Men are willingly impoſ'd on. But as Power, however arriv'd at, is the ſame when once obtain'd, the large

* *Vid.* Liſt of the Convention, Lond. Mag. Vol. VIII. p. 299, 338. † *We have an affecting, tho' ridiculous Inſtance, how weak a Tenure Integrity has been generally thought for a Placeman, in a Story told by the famous Mr.* Sydney, *of a noble Perſon in his Time, who being a great Enemy to* Bribery *was turn'd out of a conſiderable Poſt at a Scandal to the Court*; For, *ſaid the principal Miniſter*, he will make no Profit of his Place, and by that Means caſts a Scandal on thoſe that do. ‡ *See L—d* G—ge's *Speech on the* Place-Bill, *in our* Magazine *for* May *laſt*, p. 219.

Increaſe of Weight in the Crown, and the Influence it has found Means to acquire both over the People and in Parliament, by the Means of the Parliament itſelf, has made thoſe once hazardous Inſtances of the violent Exertion of Power wholly unneceſſary.—But, by the Leave of the miniſterial Advocates, I muſt ſtill add, that there are yet ſome few Inſtances where the ſtraining of Power has been found requiſite to the Deſigns of their Patrons, when they have not been ſparing in putting it in Practice.

Is it not a violent Exertion of Power, to break up the Preſs of a poor Printer, to rifle his Houſe by ſeizing and deſtroying his Papers, his Letters, and other Inſtruments of his Profeſſion, on the bare Warrant of a Secretary of State, iſſued without any Information on Oath made againſt him, and when upon Enquiry there even appears not ſufficient Matter to ground a Proſecution on? Is not ſuch a Treatment, to inflict the moſt arbitary Puniſhment before Conviction? Is this conſiſtent with the boaſted Freedom of an *Engliſh* Subject? But if it ſo happens that a Proſecution is reſolved on, how is he then proceeded againſt? Not by a Bill of Indictment brought againſt him before a Grand Jury; by whom, if it was not found, he would be immediately acquitted without further Coſt; but by a novel, (and I will ſay, a very oppreſſive) Manner of Proceeding, an Information is fil'd againſt him by the Attorney-General, and, if ever ſo innocent, he muſt be at the Expence of a Trial, perhaps deſtructive to himſelf and Family, as no Coſts can be given him where the Crown is made a Party. Is not the former Part of the foregoing Inſtance, an unwarrantable Strain of Power? Is not the latter, tho' pretended to be not illegal, extremely grievous, and liable to the moſt dangerous Abuſe?

If we look back ſince the Revolution was eſtabliſh'd, we ſhall find the Power of the Crown greatly increas'd by ſeveral Acts, and the Freedom of the People much ſubjected. It will not be diſputed, but that the multiplying of Penal Laws ought to be avoided in a free State, unleſs urged by the moſt apparent Neceſſity. But ſuch has been the Temper and Wiſdom of the preſent Times, that there has been double the Number of Felonies enacted in the preſent Reign, and the late one of K. *George* I. than in the four preceding Reigns of *Charles* II. *James* II. K. *William* and Q. *Anne*, fertile as ſome of them were of capital Proſecutions. Let us join to theſe Conſiderations, the great Diligence and Art, uſed of late Years by the Adherents to the preſent Adminiſtration, in every Bill that has been brought into Parliament, of throwing new Powers and Influence into the Crown, by the Creation of new Officers, or the extending the Authority of ſuch as are already appointed by it; ſo that no Bill for the Redreſs of Grievances already felt, or for procuring any new Advantages to the Community, or any Part of it, can be propos'd, but there is Reaſon to dread ſome Poiſon may be infuſed, ſome Venom may lurk under thoſe ſalutary Appearances: Some new Powers are to be lodg'd, ſome little Gaining to the Civil Liſt is to be made, a new Place is to be erected, or the Juriſdiction of Juſtices of the Peace extended.

The Eſtabliſhment of the publick Funds has alone put the Conſtitution of this Kingdom on a very different Footing from what it was formerly, and has thrown an immenſe Weight into the Scale on the Government's Side, unknown to our Anceſtors, which by the Management of a wicked Miniſter may be made the moſt fatal Uſe of: And the Collection of thoſe Revenues, appropriated to the Payment of the Intereſt and Diſcharge of that great National Debt, contracted in the late general and neceſſary War, occaſions the Employment of an incredible Number of Officers, at an immenſe Expence, who are wholly at the Devotion of the Court, and in whoſe Promotion, if artfully made with a View to a Parliamentary Intereſt, a great Part of the Electors of *Great Britain* muſt be more or leſs intereſted.

When we look round us, and reflect on all the other numerous and great Employments at the Diſpoſal of the Court, on the vaſt Number of military Officers requir'd in the large Army that has all along been kept up, inſomuch as I will venture to ſay, there is hardly a Family of any Diſtinction in the Kingdom, who has not a Relation, if not in a civil, at leaſt in a military Capacity, depending on the Court, and few Freeholders in any County, or Voters in a Corporation, who have not ſome Friend or Relation in a little Employment; I ſay, when we reflect on this apparent undeniable Truth, can any Man think our ſo much boaſted equal-balanc'd Conſtitution ſtill ſubſiſts?

The vaſt Increaſe of the Civil Liſt, is another dangerous Acceſſion of Strength and Independence to the Crown. Wealth and Power generally go hand in hand; and if ever an enterprizing Prince ſhould ariſe, or a weak one govern'd by a Miniſter, whoſe whole Support muſt be in Corruption; if ſuch a Prince ſhould ariſe, poſſeſs'd of a Revenue for Life, of near a Million *Sterling*, it will be entirely in his Power to corrupt the very Fountains of Liberty. This ſo immenſe a Revenue, was not very long ſince ſufficient almoſt to defray the whole Expences of the State, as well as thoſe of the Royal Family. And here I cannot but take notice of the diſadvantageous Manner to the Publick, in which the Civil Liſt is ſettled, that is, by the Appropriation of certain Taxes for the Payment

ment of it, which how much ſoever they exceed (as may be demonſtrated to be greatly the Caſe) the Sum nominated to be ſettled, and which the Publick is oblig'd, at all Events, to make good, yet no Retribution of the Overplus is ever to be made: From whence this Miſchief muſt infallibly ariſe, that if any Redreſs of a Grievance, by which ſome Branch of the Civil Liſt is encreas'd, ſhould be deſir'd, a Miniſter, who only regards this pecuniary Intereſt, will never agree to promote ſuch Redreſs, but uſe all his Influence to obſtruct the obtaining any, unleſs he can market the Grievance by a Compenſation of a larger Sum, even when the Civil Liſt would ſtill more than amount to the Sum ſpecified, nay, be a Gainer in another Shape by the Bargain, as was evidently the Caſe in the late Gin-Bill.

Let us add to all the fore-mentioned Conſiderations, the formidable Army that has been kept up amongſt us during the moſt profound Peace, and which, even at this Time in its preſent Numbers, is far from ſeeming neceſſary to me; we have now about 60,000 Men in the Pay of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, tho' engag'd only in a Naval War with *Spain*.

The Eſtabliſhment of the preſent Royal Family, as it ſecures to us the Enjoyment both of our civil and religious Liberty, is what every *Engliſhman* ought to have greatly at Heart; I ſay, as it ſecures thoſe great Bleſſings to us: For tho' no Man living can more ſincerely love, or more truly honour his Majeſty and his Family than myſelf, yet I muſt conſider them as call'd to this Crown, not for their own Sake, but for the national Advantage. Therefore I affirm, that the Security of no Succeſſion ought to be ſupported by Means dangerous to thoſe Ends for which alone that Succeſſion was itſelf eſtabliſh'd. In Reality this can never be the Caſe; for the Happineſs of his Majeſty and his People muſt be inſeparable: And this Argument is only pretended by wicked Men to induce weak ones to comply with their Deſigns. Therefore no Reaſons can be urged, which, when conſider'd, ſhould weigh with us to come into any Point that directly, or in its remoter Conſequences, can be detrimental to the Liberty of the People: For I repeat, that the true Intereſt of the King and Nation muſt be the ſame; but, were it poſſible to be otherwiſe, I dare pronounce, that of the People ought to prevail. That Government is inſtituted for the Sake of the Governed, is a Truth too well known to be conteſted.

I have now, my Countrymen, pointed out to you your Situation, and your Rights.—I did, at one Time, propoſe to have laid before you, for your further Satisfaction, a ſhort Abſtract of the Proceedings of every Seſſion of the preſent Parliament.—But I ſhall refer you to the printed Votes, inconteſtable Vouchers for the Truth of what I ſay to you. Hence will indiſputably appear the intolerable Load this poor Nation has all along groan'd under; hence will appear the prodigious Grants that have been annually given for the Maintenance of pacifick Fleets, ſtanding Armies, Subſidies to foreign Princes for Deficiencies complain'd of, for extraordinary or ſecret Services, for Votes of Credit, *&c.* Hence will you ſee, in the very Beginning of this Parliament, 30,000 Seamen, and 26,000 Land-Forces, voted neceſſary at a Time, when, but a few Days before, we were told from the Throne, "That his Majeſty was only engaged, by his good Offices, to make up the Differences in *Europe*." Hence will you likewiſe ſee, an Examination into publick Accounts, by a ſelect Committee, conſtantly refuſed; and even the laſt Seſſion alone will furniſh you with numerous and melancholy Inſtances of Negatives put on every Enquiry propoſed, on every Light that was deſired into our Negotiations abroad, or into our Management at home.

As I have taken Notice of the dangerous Multiplication of penal Laws, I ſhall mention one Act, which was carry'd in the H—— of Co——ns by ſo thin a Houſe as 88 to 39, tho' of the moſt publick Concern of any that had for ſome Time come before the Conſideration of Parliament: By this I mean the Smuggling Act, and which I am the more induced to mention, on account of the Oppoſition it met with in another Houſe, from two noble Lords, whoſe great Abilities and conſummate Knowledge in the Laws of this Country, muſt make them allowed to be moſt able Judges of the good or bad Tendency of ſuch new ones as come under their Conſideration. As the Speech of one of thoſe Lords, who now ſo eminently preſides in the greateſt Court in this Kingdom, has been made publick, I ſhall beg Leave to refer you to it, for the beſt Information you can receive of the Objections to which this Bill was liable *.

And as an Attempt of ſo extraordinary a Nature ſhould not eſcape unobſerved, I cannot omit acquainting you with one Bill that was brought in laſt Seſſions, *viz.* a Bill for a compulſory Regiſter of all ſuch as ſhould be deem'd Seamen, and in which, to go no further, there were no leſs than 13 penal Clauſes †.

Thus, my dear Countrymen, having before you a View of your Situation, and of the

* *See the whole Debate on the Smuggling Bill in the* London Magazine, 1736, *from page* 714 *to* 734, *where may be found the Speech here referr'd to, and the remarkable Clauſe quoted by this Author, p.* 178 B.

† *See the Speech of* L—*d* V——*t* G—*ge againſt this Bill, in our* Magazine *for* May *laſt, p.* 221.

the Behaviour of those Gentlemen whom you have entrusted with your Liberties, you are now to be determin'd by Facts, not the Declamation of a Party-writer, who might be accused of attempting to prepossess or mislead your Judgments. I am, indeed, neither able nor desirous of doing either; and as I can solemnly protest, I am actuated by no other Motive than that of the publick Good in what I offer, I should scorn and detest any such Attempt. If your Condition appears such as calls for an immediate Remedy, and the honestest and ablest Assistance to prevent the Evil from further diffusing itself: You will be at no Loss to determine whether those are most likely to be your Deliverers, who have contributed to your Misfortunes, and baffled the Attempts of all who would have prevented them; or such, who despising the insinuating Arts of Corruption, have stood up the persevering and resolute Assertors of your Trade, your Honour, and your Liberty.

But tho' the Necessity some Gentlemen must be soon under, of having a Recourse to your Favour, may force a Compliance with the national Desires next Sessions, from such as were before deaf to your Admonitions and Intreaties; and should this happen with the Leave of their Patron, in perfect Confidence of defeating your Hopes in another Assembly, you will surely not allow yourselves to be imposed on by so low an Artifice, nor suffer their former Infamy to be blotted out by a Couzenage so affronting to your Discernment. Be assured, that whenever a House of Commons shall really be in earnest for a Place-Bill, which only affects themselves, or for any other Measure so unexceptionable, so conducive to the publick Safety, they will meet with no Obstruction in their good Purposes from another House, as the only Influence that can occasion it must soon cease and determine, whensoever a House of Commons shall be uncorrupted.

Consider, you are now entered into a War, which, as it was begun only at the irresistible Voice of the whole People, so must the Success of it be greatly at the Heart of every *Englishman*, to whom the Honour of this Country has been ever dear. But will that Honour be consulted by those, will this War be carry'd on with Spirit by those, whose Pusillanimity brought on you that long Series of Outrages which occasion'd it, and who rather than grant you the Justice you demanded, would have prostituted the Rights and Honour of the Nation by an infamous Convention? Has their Conduct since discover'd any Thing but a Series of Negligence, Absurdities and Ignorance? Was one proper Step taken previous to this War, tho' so long call'd for, tho' so long foreseen by every Man in the Nation? Has there been one Deed of Importance atchieved yet, besides what has been performed by that gallant Officer and worthy Patriot Admiral *Vernon*? Which must wholly be ascribed to his personal Merit and Zeal for his Country, and so little intended by those in the Direction of our Councils, that it proves the most glaring Mark of their former Infamy.

Consider, my dear Countrymen, consider seriously, I conjure you, that your Conduct in the ensuing Choice of your Representatives will not only determine the present, but, in all Probability, the future Fate of these Kingdoms.—This one Effort will now save your Country, which implores your Assistance. Reflect on this, and let not any mistaken Prejudices, much less the Influence of any dirty Gratuity for yourselves or Relations, make you give up this important Duty, your real, your only Interest, on this Occasion.

This is an Exhortation unnecessary for me to make use of, to the Free-holders of *Great Britain*; unnecessary, indeed, in almost every Place where Trade and Industry subsist: But as the Integrity of such will not alone be sufficient to avail us, I must more particularly recommend it to that Part of my Countrymen, who are so numerously represented in Proportion to the small Share they bear in the publick Burden, to consider how cruel, how unworthy it will be in them, to make use of the great Share they bear in the Legislature, by joining in the Destruction of that Constitution that has so remarkably indulged them. Think, my Fellow-Subjects, on the Ignominy those have treated you with, who for many Years past have notoriously kept an avow'd Broker to transact the Sale of you, as they would of their Cattle, to such as are again to make their Market of you? Can you reflect with Patience on this shameful Insult offer'd to you, by making you thus the Objects of such vile and execrable Bargains, which, when the great Business shall be accomplish'd (as must soon inevitably be the Case, if not prevented) must render you even in that Respect of no Price, of no Estimation? Let it not then be said hereafter, that when the Electors of *Great Britain* so unanimously exerted their Zeal for Independence, Corruption met with such Protection, in one Corner only, as baffled the glorious Attempt.

And now, Gentlemen, to you must I beg Leave to address myself, whose Estates, whose Credit in your respective Neighbourhoods, give you a Right to interfere in those Elections that are carrying on round about you. As you are most of you such, as by living chiefly in your own Counties within the Compass of your paternal Estates, are removed from those Views, which only can pervert the Hearts of Men from an Attention to the publick Good, it will be needless in me, to trouble you with any Thing, in Regard to your own personal Behaviour on the approaching Occasion, which there is no Room to doubt but will be

most

moſt ſtrictly right. What is next required of you, is, to be ſtirring and active in this great Cauſe, that now calls on you to rouze yourſelves: And, by ſo doing, let me venture to aſſure you, that the important Succeſs of this Event may be clearly aſcertained. Suffer not tamely that Affront to be offer'd you, as to ſee your Towns, tho' on all Sides ſurrounded by Country Gentlemen of Reputation and Fortunes, repreſented by ſuch whoſe Names you never heard of; ſome of them, perhaps, the low Clerks of an Office, the actual Servants of Commiſſioners of the Treaſury or Admiralty: Can it be thought to be conſiſtent with our Conſtitution, that ſuch Men ſhould be introduced into the Houſe of Commons, which has been lately the Caſe? Is there any one who dares to aſſert, that ſuch Perſons are proper to examine the Accounts, nay ſit in Judgment on the Conduct of thoſe very Maſters, whoſe Commands they receiv'd an Hour before with Submiſſiveneſs, with Trembling?

Thus, Gentlemen, by a proper and ſpirited Conduct (which Heaven diſpoſe you to purſue) may that Corruption, which now like a Deluge ſeems to ſweep all before it, be render'd utterly impotent, and turn only to the Confuſion of its Promoters.— Now, my Countrymen, is your Time to ſhow your Regard for your Country, who by you only expects to be ſaved. Now is your Time to ſhew a true, an effectual Regard for the *Hanover* Succeſſion, by the Choice of a Parliament, who ſhall fix their Throne, there only to be firmly eſtabliſh'd, in the Hearts and Affections of the People of *England*.

After pointing out to them the Character of the Perſons they ſhould chuſe, he ſays,— I have now but one Thing further to recommend to you; that is, to inſiſt on the parliamentary Attendance of thoſe you think proper to chuſe: Times, like theſe, require Vigilance, Activity and Perſeverance in the Guardians of the Publick; for ſuch your Repreſentatives are, or ought to be. Judge then how inconſiſtent with the Duty of Guardians, are Sloth, Neglect and Deſpair. Whatever Conformity with your Sentiments Gentlemen may ſeem to expreſs, they act very unworthy of them, if thro' the Vanity only of having a Seat in Parliament they offer themſelves to your Choice, without a Reſolution of giving a conſtant Attendance to that high Duty they are called to. *He who is not with me, is againſt me*, was juſtly ſaid; and he who does not do all in his Power to prevent an Evil, does in Effect in ſome Degree commit it. *The Publick is never to be deſpair'd of*, was a moſt ſpirited and uſeful *Roman* Maxim. We ourſelves have ſeen the reſolute Perſeverance of a Minority in Parliament, when ſupported by the national Voice, defeat the moſt deſtructive and daring Attempts of Oppreſſion, with all her numerous and venal Train, in the infamous Exciſe-Scheme.

The CHARACTERS *of the* WORTHIES *at* Stowe, *the Seat of the Right. Hon. the Lord* COBHAM.

A *Sir* THOMAS GRESHAM,
Who, by the honourable Profeſſion of a Merchant, having enrich'd himſelf and his Country, for carrying on the Commerce of the World, built the *Royal-Exchange*.

IGNATIUS JONES,
Who, to adorn his Country, introduc'd and rival'd the *Greek* and *Roman* Architecture.

B JOHN MILTON,
Whoſe ſublime and unbounded Genius, equal'd a Subject, that carry'd him beyond the Limits of the World.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE,
Whoſe excellent Genius open'd to him the whole Heart of Man, all the Mines of Fancy, all the Stores of Nature, and gave him Power beyond all other Writers to move, aſtoniſh, and delight Mankind.

C JOHN LOCKE,
Who, beſt of all Philoſophers, underſtood the Powers of the human Mind, the Nature and Bounds of Civil Government, and with equal Courage and Sagacity, refuted the ſlaviſh Syſtems of uſurped Authority over the Rights, the Conſciences, or the Reaſons of Mankind.

D *Sir* ISAAC NEWTON,
Whom the God of Nature made to comprehend his Works, and from ſimple Principles, to diſcover the Laws never known before, and to explain the Appearances never underſtood, of the ſtupendous Univerſe.

E *Sir* FRANCIS BACON, *Lord* Verulam,
Who, by the Strength and Light of his ſtupendous Genius, rejecting vain Speculations, and fallacious Theory, taught to purſue Truth, and improve Philoſophy, by the certain Method of Experiment.

ALFRED,
The mildeſt, juſteſt, and moſt beneficent of Kings, who drove out the *Danes*, ſecur'd the Seas, and protected Learning; eſtabliſh'd Juries, cruſh'd Corruption, guarded Liberty, and was the Founder of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution.

F EDWARD, *Prince of* Wales,
The Terror of *Europe*, the Delight of *England*, who preſerv'd unaltered, in the Height of Glory and Fortune, his natural Gentleneſs and Modeſty.

G *Queen* ELIZABETH,
Who confounded the Projects, and deſtroyed the Power that threaten'd to oppreſs the Liberties of *Europe*: Took off the Yoke of Eccleſiaſtical Tyranny, ſubdu'd the Fury

of religious Zeal, and by a wise, a moderate, and a popular Government, gave Wealth, Security, and Respect to *England*.

King WILLIAM,

Who, by his Virtue and Constancy, having sav'd his Country from a foreign Master, by a bold and generous Enterprize, preserved the Liberty and Religion of *Great Britain*.

Sir WALTER RALEIGH,

A valiant Soldier, and an able Statesman, who endeavouring to rouze the Spirit of his Master, for the Honour of his Country, against the Ambition of *Spain*, fell a Sacrifice to the Influence of that Court, whose Arms he had vanquished, and whose Designs he opposed.

Sir FRANCIS DRAKE,

Who, thro' many Perils, was the first of *Britons* that adventur'd to sail round the Globe, and carried into unknown Seas and Nations, the Knowledge and Glory of the *English* Name.

JOHN HAMPDEN,

Who, with great Spirit, and consummate Abilities, begun the noble Opposition to an arbitrary Court, in Defence of the Liberties of his Country, supported them in Parliament, and died for them in the Field.

Craftsman, June 21. N° 729. *(See p. 291.)*

To CALEB D'ANVERS, *Esq*;

May it please your Worship,

I AM not used to write to *'Squires*. Therefore, I must beg you to excuse my ordinary Style, as well as my extraordinary Assurance in writing to so great a Person as your Honour. But seeing in the *London Magazine*, (p. 77, 78.) a Story of mine put into Print by you, I could not forbear to give you this Trouble to thank you for the Honour you have done your *poor Barber*. But I little thought, when I told you the Story in private, that you would tell it again to the Publick. 'Tis well you conceal'd my Name; for tho' I have a Head not meanly turn'd for Politicks, yet, should some of my whimsical Customers know of it, they would presently be afraid of letting me have their Wigs to buckle, lest the Burden thereof should break my Back, and make me run away with their Caxons. But however, tho' my other Intelligence relating to the *Irish Regiments* proved only chimerical, I have something to tell you now that is better grounded. You must know then, *noble 'Squire*, that as I live at the Court-End of the Town, I have the worthy Scalps of some of the *Greatest small States-Men* we have, and being a Barber of very great Penetration, and a Politician of such a surprizing speculative Faculty, as to see as deep into a *Mill-stone* as any *Free-Mason*, *Virtuoso*, *Projector*, *Optician* or *Almanack-Maker* in *England*, in order to inform myself of the true State of Affairs, I am no sooner call'd upon for a Cast of my Office, but immediately I look out for a soft Place; and taking a deliberate Survey (all the Time I am shaving) of the Gentleman's *Pia Mater*, I discover by the Quality, Quantity, and Disposition of certain little Bubbles full of Wind, that usually crowd about the Bottom of the Place, which his Nurse neglected to stroak up, not only what he now thinks, and ever did think, but also what he ever will think to the last Moment of his Life.

This is a Method entirely new, and entirely my own. But for Heaven's Sake, *dear 'Squire*, don't discover my Name, nor Place of Abode; for if you do, (besides the Inconveniency already mention'd) I'm afraid at this End of the Town, I may some Time or other be overcome by the Bribes and big Promises of *one great Man*, to tell him the Furniture of another's Headpiece, and thereby discover the Embryo of a *Treaty of Peace*, a *new* Spanish *Convention*, or some other Project, to the great Damage of all the good People in and about the Kingdom of *Great Britain* in general, and to myself in particular. For as *dead Men tell no Tales*, perhaps, some of the *Order*, whom I have had the Honour to take by the Nose, may make me a Present of a Couple of Slugs.

Thus, *Sir*, having lightly touch'd *your Honour*'s Head and Face, I shall now powder your Perriwig with the Story itself.

Looking into a *great Head*, about ten Days ago, I plainly perceived (notwithstanding the general Conjecture) that a *certain heroick Commander* was not gone to *Germany*; but to join the undaunted *Vernon*, who was order'd before to sail to a certain Rendezvous, where he should be sure of meeting our Army of *Admirals*, in order to surprize, invade, and conquer *Spain*; whilst the *Catholick King* sits secure in his own Chimney-Corner cracking *Spanish-Nuts*, and drinking *Viper-Wine*, imagining his Adversaries at home in their's are making of *Matches*.

Thus *Spain*, like *Troy*, (only we must double the ten Years) will fall at last; and *Philip*, like *Priam*, be taken napping; *Hecuba* be turn'd into a mad B——; and the *Grecian Heroes* return to their Native Country, with much Honour and more Spoils. This will give the greatest Pleasure to your *poor Barber*, next that of being

Your Honour's most obliged humble Servant,

ACONTIUS.

Craftsman, June 28. N° 730.

Mr. D'Anvers,

THE inclosed Paragraph, taken out of the *Daily Gazetter* of *June* 20, tho' intended

intended to abuſe an *Hon. Gentleman* lately deceaſed, will, I think, do Honour to his Memory, if you will inſert it in your Paper, and at the ſame Time let the Publick know, that it was diſperſed over the whole Kingdom *gratis* by the Direction and Authority of *that Man*, who for 20 Years paſt, hath been indefatigable in his Schemes for the Ruin of this Country, and of every Man who endeavour'd to defend the Conſtitution of it. Yet *this noble Gentleman* ſome Years ago, in a ſtupid Pamphlet written by *himſelf*, or by *his Direction*, had the Impudence to boaſt of his *frank liberal Heart*; but he was then told very properly, that *Catiline* had juſt ſuch another *frank liberal Heart*, and juſt ſuch another Set of *mercenary Wretches* about him, to whom he diſtributed the Spoils of the Publick.—I will now produce the infamous Article beforemention'd, which cannot be ſufficiently ſtigmatized, tho' the *ſcoundrel Author* of it, whoever he is, hath endeavour'd to make a ſhuffling Apology for it.

Gazetteer, June 20.

"We are credibly inform'd, that it was a very particular Mortification to *ſome honeſt Gentlemen* to receive the News of the Death of their *Captain General*, on the very Day the *King's Troops* march'd to the *Camp*. What adds very much to their Concern is, that he had promiſed, in his late Viſit to *Poictou*, to retrieve the Glory of *Some-Shire*, by joining the *Spaniſh* Troops, whenever they landed, tho' he ſhould be follow'd by *ſix valiant* Jacobites *only*."

I am very incapable of doing Juſtice to the Character of *this great and worthy Man*, whom the Publick hath loſt; and therefore I ſhall not attempt it. I will only take Notice that his *Enemies* allow'd him to be an *able Stateſman*, a *finiſh'd Orator*, and ſo much a *fine Gentleman*, that all People of Taſte, who knew him, endeavour'd to form themſelves by his Example. That he always acted as a *true Patriot*, will not be deny'd by any Perſons, except *thoſe*, who are hired to deny or affirm any Thing. To ſee a Man of his Character inſulted and perſecuted, (I cannot ſay beyond the Grave, for he was not then bury'd) muſt raiſe Horror; and, if poſſible, increaſe the Reſentment of every Body againſt *that Man*, who hath all his Life been an avow'd Enemy to every Thing virtuous and honourable. I cannot ſay but it is natural that a Perſon poſſeſs'd of Sir *William Wyndham's* Character and Talents, ſhould be the Object of the Hatred and Envy of *one* who knows himſelf to be a *Pedlar in Politicks*, a *Norfolk Attorney in Oratory*, and that fifty Inhabitants in *Clare-Market* have as good a Title as he, to the Character of a *fine Gentleman*. As to his *Patriotiſm*, let the World judge by the *Forage* and *Bank-Contracts*, *Wood's* Patent, *Army* and *Navy-Debentures*, the many *vain and fatal Expeditions* we have ſeen, the *Exciſe-Scheme*, and the *laſt Convention*, with fifty &c's. Let the World judge of the Wiſdom of his Meaſures, by the *glorious Figure* we make, and by the *happy Situation* we are in. Pray let the Publick know, that the *Author of this ſcandalous Paragraph*, relating to Sir *William Wyndham*, was alſo the Author of that infamous Paper, in which Admiral *Vernon* was abuſed and ridiculed; (ſee p. 291. A.) and I make no Doubt that, if for want of *proper Aſſiſtance*, or even *Stores*, to repair his Ships, he ſhould be oppreſs'd by the *Spaniards*, and ſuffer'd to periſh; I ſay, I do not at all doubt that we ſhall ſee his Memory inſulted, when he cannot ſpeak for himſelf. I believe it might be proved that *this Man*, who hath endeavour'd to depreciate his glorious Services for his Country, hath ſpent more of the publick Money, to take *three or four Corniſh Boroughs*, than *that gallant Admiral* did to take *Porto-Bello*.

Upon Occaſions like the preſent, I have often ſeen People dejected, and heard them cry out; *D—n this noble Gentleman's liberal Frankneſs of Heart!—How lucky is he?—How many great Men die out of his Way?* Now this is taking the Thing in quite a wrong Light. The true State of the Caſe is, that every Man of *conſiderable Character*, and *every honeſt Man in the Kingdom* is his Enemy; and as there are yet many ſuch remaining, it is impoſſible but that he muſt often have the welcome News, as long as he lives himſelf, of the Death of ſome *worthy Man*. I believe it is true that no Man ever ſaw the Death of *ſo many Enemies*, and the Reaſon is plain; becauſe no Man ever had *ſo many*. As he hath long been the profeſs'd, irreconcileable Enemy to the *Publick* in general, and to the *City of London* in particular, every Misfortune, that happens to *Trade*, and to the *Publick*, is Matter of Joy and Triumph to *him*. By his Management, he hath had frequent Opportunities of rejoicing; and if ſuffer'd to go on much longer, will moſt undoubtedly have many more; but that I think and hope is impoſſible, being ſo far ſunk in Credit, &c. &c. &c.

I will ſay no more at preſent upon this brutal Outrage upon the Memory of a *worthy Gentleman*, who did eminent Service and Honour to his Country, whilſt living, and whoſe Death muſt be lamented by every Body of all Parties, except *Penſioners*, *Placemen*, *Tools* and *Sycophants*.

Univerſal Spectator, N° 612.

Mr. Spectator *entertains his Readers with ſeveral Letters from his Female Correſpondents, of which we ſhall inſert the three following, with his Remarks upon them.*

SIR,

I AM an unhappy Woman, who have moſt terrible Apprehenſions of dying an *old Maid*,

Maid, for I have neither Youth nor Beauty, yet have what may ſupply the Defect of both, *four thouſand Pounds:* Notwithſtanding ſuch Charms, I have never been addreſs'd but by old Bachelors, or elderly Widowers, and ſuch I have no Inclination for; but if a very pretty ſmerk young Clergyman, or gay Officer in the Army, made any Overtures of Marriage, I believe I might liſten to them. —Let my Fate be what it will, pray, Mr. *Stonecaſtle*, inſert this Letter in your Spectator, which ſhall ſtand as a *Proteſt* againſt my being an *old Maid* by *Deſign* or *Inclination*.

PENELOPE WISHFORT.

P. S. Pray, may not a Woman, paſt her *Prime*, marry a young Fellow without any Reproach on her *Conduct?*

In Anſwer to the Poſtſcript, I cannot but remark, that Women, who are paſt their *Prime*, ſeem naturally the Refuge of young Fellows who have no great Eſtates; tho' for my Part, I cannot tell whoſe Misfortune is to be moſt lamented, that of a Woman advanced in Years, who ſtands in Need of a Spark, or that of a Spark, who ſtands in Need of an old Woman.

Mr. Stonecaſtle,

I AM very angry with you, and think your Lucubrations, as you call them, are as dull as Sermons; and to reform us, you tell us nothing but what we very well *knew before:* Is this the Senſe and Wit you pretend to? Pray, alter your Way of Writing, and oblige me not to diſcard your Paper.

SARAH KNOW-WELL.

I ſhall not call Mrs. *Sarah*'s Wiſdom in Queſtion, or how much ſhe may know before ſhe ſees my Paper; all I deſire of her is to *practiſe* the Precepts contain'd in it. This *knowing before* is a Humour very common among Mankind, and which Monſieur *Bruyere* has admirably ridicul'd in the Character of a Lady being carried to *Æſculapius* for Advice. —"*Irene*, ſays he, is with great Difficulty convey'd to the Temple of *Æſculapius*, to conſult the God about all her Ills: She complains firſt, that ſhe is weary and fatigu'd; the God pronounces it is occaſion'd by the Length of her Journey.—She ſays, ſhe has no Stomach to her Supper; the Oracle bids her eat leſs Dinner: She adds, ſhe is troubled on Nights with broken Slumbers; he bids her never lie a-bed by Day: She aſks how her Groſſneſs may be prevented; the Oracle replies, ſhe ought to riſe before Noon, and now and then make uſe of her Legs: She declares Wine diſagrees with her; the Oracle bids her drink Water.—That ſhe has a bad Digeſtion; he tells her ſhe muſt go into a Diet: My Sight, ſays ſhe, fails me; uſe Spectacles, ſays *Æſculapius*.—I grow weak, I am not half ſo ſtrong and healthy as I have been; you grow old, ſays the God.—But how ſhall I cure this Languiſhment? why, you muſt die as your Grandfather and Grandmother did, if you'll get rid on't quickly.—What Advice is this thou giveſt me, thou Son of *Apollo*, cryes *Irene?* Is this the mighty Skill Men praiſe and worſhip you for? What haſt thou told me *rare* or *myſterious?* Did not I *know thus much before?* —The God anſwers, Why did not you put it in *Practice* then, without coming ſo far out of your Way to ſeek me, and ſhortening your Days by a tedious Journey to no Purpoſe?"—I need make no Comment on this Story, it is a proper Anſwer to my angry Correſpondent, and ſuch Advice as I wiſh all my Readers would follow.

SIR,

I HAVE under my Care a young Lady who has a deal of Beauty, which ſhe in a great Degree loſes by endeavouring to improve it, or ſet it off by an affected *Dreſs* and Ridiculouſneſs of *Art*.—Your ſaying ſomething on this Subject may be of Service to ſeveral young Ladies beſides her.

ELVIRA.

If the young Lady has an Ambition to appear beautiful in her *own Eyes*, ſhe may follow her own Caprice and Fancy; but if it is the *Men* ſhe wou'd charm, if 'tis for them ſhe dreſſes, I aſſure her ſhe takes very wrong Meaſures: A handſome Woman, the more natural ſhe is, the more beautiful ſhe appears; ſhe loſes nothing by being careleſs, and without any other Ornament than what ſhe draws from her Beauty and Youth: An innocent Grace ſhines in her Countenance, and animates every little Action ſo much, that there wou'd be leſs Danger to ſee her adorn'd with all the coquetting Advantages of Dreſs and Faſhion.—If Women were form'd by Nature what they ridiculouſly make themſelves by Art, they would look on themſelves as the moſt wretched Creatures in the World: Caprice and Whimſicalneſs of Dreſs, is a Counter-poiſon of their Beauty, it prevents the Damage they wou'd otherwiſe do to thoſe, who without ſome ſuch Remedies wou'd become too eaſy Victims to their Charms.

Craftſman, July 5. N° 731.

Extract from an Iriſh PLAY, *with ſome Thoughts upon* PERQUISITES.

Mr. D'Anvers,

AS I was viſiting at a Gentleman's Houſe, I met with a little Volume of *Iriſh* Plays, written by Mr. *Charles Shadwell*. Dipping into the Book, I caſt my Eyes upon a Comedy, call'd, *The Sham-Prince, or News from Paſſau*, which I had the Curioſity to read. I did not expect any Thing very extraordinary in it; becauſe the *Author* tells us, in his Preface, that it was written in five Days,

Days, with a Deſign to expoſe a *publick Cheat*, who infeſted *Dublin* for ſome Time, and to ſhew the Folly of ſeveral *credulous Tradeſmen*, who were drawn in by him on that Occaſion.

This Fellow, whom the Poet calls Sir *William Cheatly*, took Lodgings at a covetous Merchant's Houſe, in order to get a young Lady of Fortune, and defraud the Town. A Gentleman of real Merit and Fortune being in Love with this Lady, his Friend forged a Letter, giving an Account that the Princeſs of *Paſſau* in *Germany*, who was deſcended from the *Van Cheatlies* in *Ireland*, had made a Reſolution never to marry till ſhe could meet with a Man of her own Name.

From this Time, Sir *William Cheatly* went by the Name of the *Prince of* Paſſau, and gull'd his ſilly Creditors out of their Goods and Money, by beſtowing pretended Honours, Titles, and Places upon them. He conſtitutes his Landlord, Mr. *Seville*, *Grand Treaſurer of the Principality of* Paſſau, with a Salary of 3000 *l.* a Year, makes his Draper, Mr. *Kerſey*, *Surveyor General of all his Manufacturies*, and Mr. *Shred*, his Taylor, *Wardrobe-keeper*. But I will now preſent the Reader with a little Piece of a Scene between *Trip*, the Sham-Ambaſſador from the *Princeſs of* Paſſau, and Sir *William Cheatly*.

Trip. An't pleaſe your Highneſs, it will be a great Satisfaction to the *Princeſs*, to find you have made Choice of ſuch *wiſe*, ſuch *able Miniſters*, and Men, who in Caſe of a Change of the Miniſtry, have *Trades* to return to.

Sir Will. Why, is *my Princeſs* apt to change *her Officers?*

Trip. When ſhe finds any Mal-Adminiſtration, ſhe is apt to act with ſome Rigour, and beheads every Body that ſhe finds cheating her.

Seville. But I hope ſhe allows of *Perquiſites.*

Trip. We have great Diſputes about that. She is of Opinion that the Word *Perquiſite* may comprehend a great Deal of *Roguery*; for ſome People get all the Money they can from the Subject, and call it a *Perquiſite*. Now, cheating the *Crown* in all Countries hath been reckon'd a Sort of a *Perquiſite*; but cheating the *Subject* is downright Roguery.

Seville. [*Aſide.*] I am ſorry to hear this. I fear my *Treaſurer*'s Place will not be worth ſo much as I reckon'd for; but I muſt be ſatisfy'd.

I muſt do Mr. *Trip* the Juſtice to acknowledge, that tho' in Reality he is only a *Footman*, he plays the Part of an *Ambaſſador* as well as ſome other People, whom I could mention, and with as *Keene* an Appetite.

Mr. *Shred* and Mr. *Kerſy*, are likewiſe Miniſters of great Skill in Buſineſs; and I could eaſily match them with two Perſons in this Kingdom.—The *Taylor*, no doubt, was in hopes of marrying one of his Daughters to ſome *blundering Creature of Power*; and the *Draper*, by Virtue of his Office, had a Right to be made *Clothier-General of the Army*.

Mr. *Seville*, the *Grand Treaſurer*, ſhews himſelf to be perfectly qualify'd for that high Truſt, by his inſiſting ſo ſtrongly upon *Perquiſites*; tho' he does not much care to hear of the Princeſs of *Paſſau*'s Way of *Beheading*, when ſhe finds any Body cheating her, or her Subjects.

I agree with his Excellency Mr. *Trip*, that the Word *Perquiſite* may comprehend a *great Deal of Roguery*.—Thus, for Example, if a Man in Office takes 500 or 1000 *Guineas*, for a *Forage Contract*, by which the *Contractor* has a Sort of Right to cheat the Nation of treble the Sum, it is call'd a *Perquiſite*. In the ſame Manner, if any inferior Officer of the *Admiralty*, *Victualling Office*, or *Dock Yards*, accepts of a little Gratuity from a Contractor to ſupply the Government with *Timber*, *Proviſions*, *Ammunition*, and *other naval Stores*; it is nothing but a *Perquiſite*. The ſame may be ſaid of the *Land-Army*, the *Church*, the *Law*, the *Cuſtom-Houſe*, the *Exciſe-Office*, &c. For if any *Sovereign Prime Miniſter* ſhould hereafter ariſe, and be corrupt enough to ſell a *Biſhoprick*, a *Seat of Juſtice*, or any *other lucrative Place*, the Hirelings of the Times would inſiſt that it was only a *Perquiſite*, a *Perquiſite*, a *Perquiſite*.

I am far from ſuggeſting, that there have been any ſuch flagitious Practices of late Years; tho' it is well known that they have formerly been very frequent. The only Point that ſticks with me is, how it comes to paſs that a Place ſhould be valued at 4 or 5000 *l. a Year*, when the viſible Salary does not amount to above a 1000 or 1200 *l. a Year*. I believe the known Profits of the *Prime Miniſter himſelf* do not exceed 5000 *l. a Year* at moſt; tho' he hath built a magnificent Palace, and raiſed a lordly Eſtate; which I mention for his Honour, becauſe it could not be done without the greateſt Oeconomy.

I will conclude, with giving my Opinion, that whatever may be ſaid in Defence of *known and cuſtomary Perquiſites*, all *clandeſtine and colluſive ones*, by which the whole Nation ſuffers, are illegal; and I agree with Mr. Ambaſſador *Trip*, that all Perſons guilty of ſuch iniquitous Practices, let them be who they will, ought to be hang'd. It is enough for them to cheat the *Crown*, as he very juſtly obſerves; but cheating the *Subject* is downright Roguery.

BRITANNICUS.

Common Senſe, July 12. N° 179.

CHANGES *in* Government, *the* CAUSES *of them, and how to prevent them.*

SIR,

MACHIAVEL tells us, that all unmix'd Governments muſt be bad, becauſe

they have nothing in them which can preſerve them in their original State: Thus Monarchy is continually verging towards Tyranny, Ariſtocracy towards Oligarchy, Democracy towards Anarchy. He concludes, therefore, that the beſt Kind of Government is compoſed of all three, becauſe one may be a Check on the others.

We find this Propoſition evinced by Fact: For the *Athenian* Conſtitution founded on the pure democratical Plan, was very ſhort-lived, in continual Agitations, and was ſoon converted into a Tyranny by *Piſiſtratus*. On the contrary, the *Spartan* Government, which partook of each, continued 800 Years, undiſturb'd, uncorrupted, unchanged. Their Laws contributed very much towards preſerving the Purity of their Conſtitution. Money was uſeleſs in *Sparta*, conſequently one great Temptation to get unlawful Power was unknown. Luxury was baniſhed, which moſt fits and inclines Men to be, and to continue Slaves. — All Authors date the Decline of *Spartan* Virtue and Liberty, from the Time when Money firſt began to be uſed in *Lacedemon*.

Moſt of the mixed Governments have loſt their original Balance by Money. *Cæſar* had never inſlaved *Rome*, if *Craſſus* had not been rich, and if the Wealth of the *Eaſt* had not prepared the People to be bought and corrupted by his Riches.

The *Gothic* Form of Government was originally excellently well balanced; the Prince, Nobility and People had each a due Share of Power; and yet not the leaſt Appearance of this admirable Conſtitution remains in any Parts of *Europe*, except here. In moſt Countries it has degenerated into abſolute Monarchies, always more or leſs by Means of Riches, Luxury and Corruption.

Our own Conſtitution (originally one of the beſt of the *Gothic*,) has hitherto preſerved itſelf, notwithſtanding the frequent Endeavours to overturn it.—Yet, as I have remarked that Wealth in wicked Hands has always been fatal to mixed Governments, that Part which has moſt to beſtow ſoon gaining the Aſcendant over the others, and ſo introducing an unmixed Conſtitution; I cannot help having my Fears of what may happen hereafter, unleſs the great Pains which have been taken of late to ruin Trade, ſhould reduce us to ſuch a State of Poverty, as may quiet any Apprehenſions ariſing from the Danger of Riches. I am the more alarmed, ſince I find there was a Time when an *Engliſh* Prince (*Charles* II.) governed deſpotically, by Means of a large Revenue and a corrupt Parliament. What has been, may be again; and the vaſt Civil Liſt ſettled on his preſent Majeſty for Life might give juſt Fears, if his great Love of the People, of Liberty, and our Conſtitution, were not univerſally known, as well as how impoſſible it is to corrupt the preſent Parliament.

The Power of beſtowing Honours and Places is by our Conſtitution lodged in the Crown, and the publick Debts have made the latter much more numerous than ever: This has ſo vaſtly encreas'd the Power and Influence of the Crown, that it may prove extremely dangerous, if, in future Times, an artful Prince, or a weak one, guided by a wicked Miniſter, verſed in the Ways of Corruption, ſhould find a Parliament, the Majority of which might be rendered dependent, by a ſkilful Diſtribution of Preferments, or Sums of Money.

If ever this ſhould come to paſs, it will no longer be a mixed Government of King, Lords and Commons, but a Tyranny ſupported by the Lords and Commons. It will be more dangerous, as the old Forms will be kept up, and at firſt no Acts of Power exerted, which will deceive the unthinking honeſt Part of the People. There will be no Remedy againſt this hidden Tyranny, which in Appearance will bear the Form of the old Government. This will be much more fatal than ſtretching the Prerogative ever was in former Times. A Parliament (which it became neceſſary to call ſooner or later) ſeldom failed to redreſs Grievances, by wiſely taking Advantage of the Neceſſities of the Prince; but if ever Parliaments ſhould become corruptly dependent, what uſed to reſcue our ſinking Liberty, would then only ſerve to rivet our Chains.

Tho' the Danger may be diſtant, ſhould not ſome Thing be done to prevent it? Certainly no Time is ſo proper for this, as the preſent. It is idle to ſay, Precautions need not be taken againſt a deſigning Prince and a dependent Parliament, when neither exiſt: It is not againſt the preſent, but future Situation, we ought to guard. — In good Times, the Dangers of bad may be prevented; thoſe who cauſe the Evil will be ſure to hinder any Remedy.

The Parliament meets every Year, nothing can be done without the Conſent of a Majority, nor can they ever be prevailed on to take any Step againſt the publick Welfare, which includes their own, except private Intereſts, ariſing from the Favours of a Court, ſhould claſh with thoſe of the Publick. This is our only Danger, and no Step which can be taken at preſent, is ſo proper to prevent any ſuch deſtructive Influence in future Times, as a well regulated Place-Bill, highly agreeable to the whole Nation. I hope ſuch a Bill will be brought in the enſuing Seſſion, notwithſtanding its late ill Succeſs; if it is, I make no Doubt, from the publick Spirit which appears for it, but it will paſs, and am ſure it will be approved, and forwarded by all who love their Country, as nothing can be better calculated to preſerve it.

Admiral

Admiral VERNON's ACTION *at* CHAGRE, *&c. From the* London Gazette, Whitehall, June 29, 1740.

THIS Day Mr. *Thomas*, Purſer of his Majeſty's Ship the *Strafford*, arrived here with Letters from Vice-Admiral *Vernon*, dated, *Porto-Bello*, *April* 5, to his Grace the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, with the following Account, *viz.*

That on the 25th of *February* laſt, he ſailed from *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica*, with a Squadron of his Majeſty's Ships, (ſee p. 248.) and having a favourable Wind, got Sight of the High-Land of *Santa Martha* on the *Spaniſh* Main, the 1ſt of *March*: That he ordered Capt. *Windham* in the *Greenwich* to ply up in the Night, and lie to Windward of the Port, for intercepting any Thing that might be coming in there the next Day; and then bore away with an eaſy Sail for *Carthagena*: That the 3d at Noon he was joined by the *Falmouth* Capt. *Douglaſs*, off Point *Canoa*, and that Evening anchored with the Squadron before *Carthagena*, in nine Fathom Water, in the open Bay called *Playa-Grande*, and on the 6th he ordered in all the Bomb-Ketches, and the ſmall Ships and Tenders for covering and aſſiſting them, and continued bombarding till Nine in the Morning: (ſee p. 299.) That the Squadron received no Damage from the Town, but the Shells fell into the Town pretty ſucceſsfully, particularly into the principal Church, the Jeſuits-College, the Cuſtom-Houſe, and beat down ſeveral Houſes between them, and a Shell that fell into the South-Baſtion, ſilenc'd a Battery of 10 Guns there for a long Time. That he drew off his Bomb-Ketches and ſmall Craft on the 9th, and weighed with his Squadron on the 10th in the Morning, and making the Signal for the Line of Battle, he coaſted the Shoar towards *Boca Chica*; that they fir'd at him from the three ſmall Caſtles without *Boca Chica*, but none of their Shot reached him: And that having left the *Windſor*, Captain *Berkeley*, and the *Greenwich*, Capt. *Windham*, to cruize off the Port of *Carthagena* for 20 Days, he made ſail for *Porto-Bello*, to repair there the Damages the ſmall Craft had received, and on the 14th anchored with his Squadron in *Porto-Bello* Harbour, detaching his Cruizers from Time to Time to lie off *Chagre*, to block up the Enemy; and having got his Ships watered, put to Sea on the 22d with his Squadron, except the *Louiſa* and *Falmouth*, which had not compleated their Watering, but had his Orders to haſten it and follow him; but an Accident in the Fore-topſail Yard of his Ship the *Strafford*, retarding her Progreſs, he ordered Captain *Herbert*, in the *Norwich*, to make all the Sail he could in before him with the Bomb-Ketches and all the Fireſhips and Tenders under his Orders, and Capt. *Knowles*, as Engineer on board the Bomb-Ketches, for placing them to play on the Caſtle, and to cover them with his own Ship and the reſt; that Capt. *Knowles* got to an Anchor by Three in the Afternoon, and began bombarding and cannonading that Evening, and by Ten of the Clock at Night, he got alſo to an Anchor with his own Ship the *Strafford*, and the *Falmouth* and *Princeſs Louiſa* that followed him, the ſame Night; and continued bombarding and cannonading with three Ships, firing leiſurely only from their Lower-Tier till Monday the 24th, when the *Spaniards* hung out a Flag of Truce from the Fort, and he anſwered it from his own Ship, and ſtopt all Firing as ſoon as poſſible, and ſent Capt. *Knowles* on Shore, who ſoon returned with the Governor; to whom having granted the Capitulation hereto ſubjoined, he ſent him aſhore again with Capt. *Knowles*, whom he appointed Governor of the Caſtle for his Majeſty, and ſent a Gariſon along with him of five Lieutenants and 120 Men, and all the Boats of the Fleet to land them; and by Three o'Clock that Afternoon, Capt. *Knowles* enter'd the Fort with his Gariſon. The ſame Evening Capt. *Knowles* ſent and placed a Guard upon the Cuſtom-Houſe on the oppoſite Side of the River *Chagre*, and Vice-Admiral *Vernon* went on Shoar himſelf by Day-break the next Morning, to give all neceſſary Orders, and found the Cuſtom-Houſe full of Goods for the Lading of the Galleons, ſuch as *Guayaquil*-Cocoa, Jeſuits-Bark, and *Spaniſh*-Wool; and gave immediate Orders for their being ſpeedily ſhipp'd off *. The Number of Serons and Bags of the ſaid mentioned Goods amounted to 4300; that the two *Guarda Coſta* Sloops in the River (which were all the *Guarda Coſta's* that were left in thoſe Parts) were ſunk juſt above the Cuſtom-Houſe, Carpenters having been ordered to break up their Decks, and entirely deſtroy them.

The Cuſtom-Houſe being entirely cleared by *Friday* the 28th, was filled with combuſtible Matter of the neighbouring Huts, and ſet on Fire that Evening, and it burnt with great Fierceneſs all that Night. On the 29th in the Morning, the Braſs-Cannon being embarked, which were 11 Guns and 11 Patereroes, and a good Part of the Gariſon, the Mines were ſprung under the lower Baſtion, which entirely demoliſh'd it. Then two Mines were ſprung, to blow up ſome of the upper Parts of the Works, and afterwards all the inner

* *See an Account of bringing the Goods down the River* Chagre *for loading the Galleons, in our Deſcription of* Porto-Bello, p. 150. *See alſo, the Situation of* Chagre, *in the* MAP *of the* WEST-INDIES, *in our* Magazine *for* April *laſt.*

inner Buildings of the Caſtle were ſet on Fire, and were burning all the Night of the 29th.

On the 30th, Vice-Admiral *Vernon* put to Sea with his Squadron, and on the firſt of *April* in the Evening got to the Mouth of the Harbour of *Porto-Bello*, and was joined there by the *Windſor*, and *Greenwich*, juſt returned from their Cruize off *Carthagena*; and on the 3d was joined alſo by the *Burford*, which he had left at *Jamaica* to be repaired.

Articles of Capitulation granted by Edward Vernon, *Eſq; Vice Admiral of the Blue, and Commander in Chief of his* Britannick *Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels in the* Weſt-Indies, *to Don* Juan Carlos Gutierez de Zavollos, *Captain of Foot, and Caſtillano of the Caſtle of St.* Lorenzo, *at the Mouth of the River* Chagre.

I. That upon his *Britannick* Majeſty's Troops being put into immediate Poſſeſſion of the Fort St. *Lorenzo* at the Mouth of the River *Chagre*, the ſaid Caſtillano and all his Gariſon be at free Liberty to march out without any Moleſtation, and may retire into the Village of *Chagre*, or where elſe they pleaſe.

II. That the Inhabitants of *Chagre* may remain in all Safety in their own Houſes, under a Promiſe of Security to their Perſons and Houſes.

III. That the *Guarda Coſta* Sloops be delivered up to the Uſe of his *Britannick* Majeſty in the Condition they are, and the King of *Spain*'s Cuſtom-Houſe.

IV. That the Clergy and Churches in the Town of *Chagre* ſhall be protected and preſerved in all their Immunities.

Given under my Hand on Board his Britannick *Majeſty's Ship the* Strafford, *at Anchor before the River* Chagre, *this 24th of* March, 1739.

E. VERNON.

Mr. *Thomas*, who brought this Account, left Vice-Admiral *Vernon* on the 25th of *April*, under the *Grand-Baru*, in his Return to *Jamaica*.

Craftſman, July 12. N° 732.

On Admiral Vernon's SUCCESS, *with ſome Thoughts on the preſent War.*

ADMIRAL *Vernon* hath given me a freſh Opportunity of congratulating my Country on his late Succeſs in taking and demoliſhing the Caſtle of *Chagre*.—This glorious Action will give the *Gazetteers* the ſame Opportunity of ridiculing and reviling *that brave and victorious Admiral*, by trumping up another *heroick* Exploit perform'd by Captain *Hall* with *three Men only*, (ſee p. 291.) for no more than *three Men of War* were properly engaged in this Action, and it does not appear that the *Admiral* loſt ſo much as *one Man* in it. But as the Particulars have been publiſh'd by Authority, in the *London Gazette*, I hope they will, for once, have the Modeſty to reſtrain their Pens, unleſs they are reſolved to treat their Excellencies the *Lords Juſtices*, and the moſt honourable the *Privy Council*, in the ſame inſolent Manner as they lately did both *Houſes of Parliament*, and the *Common-Council of the City of* London.

I look upon the Action of *Chagre* to be of more Importance to this Kingdom than even that of *Porto-Bello* itſelf; for, the Demolition of the *Caſtle*, which commands the Mouth of that River, hath open'd an eaſy Communication with *Panama*, from whence all the Treaſure of thoſe Parts is carry'd down to *Porto-Bello*. If therefore the *Admiral*'s Hands had been ſtrengthen'd with 1500 or 2000 *Land Forces*, and a *few more Ships of War* had been ſent round to the *South-Sea*, *Panama* might have fallen as eaſy a Sacrifice as *Porto-Bello*. Nay, it is probable that he might have taken *Carthagena*; but, for Want of ſuch a Supply, he found himſelf unable to take the *Place* without hazarding his Majeſty's Ships, and the Lives of many *brave Seamen*. He therefore prudently retired, and was obliged to content himſelf with the taking *Fort Chagre*, which hath open'd a Paſſage to *Panama*, of which he might have moſt undoubtedly made himſelf Maſter, had it not been for the Reaſons before-mention'd. But it is not yet too late to correct this Error, and enable him to purſue his Conqueſts, which it is to be hoped hath been already taken into the moſt ſerious Conſideration, and will be ſoon put into the moſt vigorous Execution.

I ſhall conclude this Head with obſerving, that Admiral *Vernon* behaved at *this Place* with the ſame undaunted Bravery, accompany'd with the ſame generous Humanity, as he did at *Porto-Bello*; for when the *Governor* hung up a *Flag of Truce*, he order'd the Firing immediately to ceaſe, and granted him an honourable Capitulation.

We have likewiſe taken, during the Courſe of the War, three *large* and *rich Prizes*, beſides *Privateers* and other ſmall Veſſels, which it is hoped will counterbalance the Loſs of our Ships taken by the *Spaniards*; and when the *new twenty Gun Ships* are all ready to put to Sea, and properly ſtation'd, our Coaſts may ſoon be clear'd from thoſe *inſolent little Dons*, who have been ſo long ſuffer'd to cruize in our Channel.

There is likewiſe a large Squadron ready to ſail, with *Land Forces* on board, on a ſecret Expedition, as is generally ſuppoſed, to the *Weſt-Indies*; from whence we may reaſonably expect that ſome important Enterprize is concerted againſt ſome Place, or Places, in that Part of the World, and in all human Probability will meet with Succeſs.

In the mean Time, the formidable Armament, under the Command of that brave and

and experienced Officer, Sir *John Norris*, is ſufficient to quiet all our bug-bear Apprehenſions of an Invaſion from the *Spaniards*, tho' *France* ſhould join with them; for I believe he would prove himſelf more than a Match for *both their Fleets* united.

But if either the *Spaniards*, or the *French*, or *both* united, ſhould have Dexterity enough to equip a Fleet ſufficient to invade *England* without any Notice, and to ſteal them aſhore in a *foggy Night*, or by the Help of a *favourable Wind*, as was formerly apprehended by the *miniſterial Writers*; have we not a very *numerous ſtanding Army*, encamp'd and quarter'd in different Parts of the Kindom, who may be ſoon drawn together, and be ready to ſtop their Progreſs wherever they ſhould happen to land? Beſides, would not the *Militia*, contemptible as they are made for Want of Diſcipline, be of ſome Uſe?

Yet notwithſtanding all theſe Securities at home, and the glorious Succeſs of our Arms abroad, with the happy Proſpect of much greater Advantages from the additional Armaments now fitting out; the *miniſterial Scribblers* are ſtill harping upon a *Negotiation of Peace*, and aſſure us that it is already in great Forwardneſs by the Mediation of *France*. Nay, one of them hath lately given us to underſtand that the *Cardinal* hath at length explain'd himſelf upon this Head, and openly declared that *France* will be obliged to join with *Spain*, unleſs we ſubmit to the Terms offer'd us by him. What theſe Terms are, we are not told; but I will venture to preſage, that they are not very advantageous or honourable for us, if they are drawn up, or dictated by the *Cardinal*; nor do I think it adviſeable in us to accept of any *French Mediation* at all, or in which they have any Manner of Concern. One would think that our own Experience, whilſt we were in ſuch a cloſe Conjunction with them, their late Mediation between the *Emperor* and the *Ottoman Porte*, with their preſent warlike Mediation between the *Genoeſe* and the poor *Corſicans*, would be a ſufficient Warning not to truſt them with any farther Negotiations for us. It is evident that the *Body of the People* are entirely averſe to it, and look upon a *French Mediation* to be a worſe Evil than a *French War*; and therefore I hope the Report is true, that *their Propoſals*, whatever they are, have been rejected, or will be rejected.

Some People, indeed, are ſo *Frenchify'd*, that nothing but what comes from that Nation will go down; and they ſeem to be as fond of *French Politicks* as of *French Faſhions*. This may be pardonable enough in our *fine travell'd Gentlemen*, whom the *French Court* hath poliſh'd from all the Ruſt of their native Country; but what Right the *Gazetteers*, and *other miniſterial Writers* have to rank themſelves among the *petit Maitres*, I cannot gueſs; unleſs they had ſecret Inſtructions to take that Air upon themſelves; or have been bribed by ſome *French Emiſſaries*. I dare ſay none of *theſe Fellows* ever made the *Tour of Europe*, nor ever converſed with any *Gentleman*, except their *Patron* and *Paymaſter*.

There are, indeed, ſome well-meaning People, who are terribly afraid of the *French Power*, and think we ſhall be ſwallow'd up at a Morſel, if they ſhould be provoked to join with the *Spaniards*. But this is all a Panick; there being no Occaſion for our making War on the Continent, unleſs *France* ſhould attack the *Dutch*, or any other neighbouring Powers; then we may be ſure of their Alliance. As for ourſelves, we are guarded by a powerful Fleet at Sea, and a much more numerous Army at Land, than was ever ſeen here even in the Times of the hotteſt Wars.

Common Senſe, July 19. N° 180.

This Paper is on the ſame Subject with the Pamphlet we gave an Abſtract of, p. 330, &c. viz. the Choice of a Parliament: However, we ſhall give the following Extract.

IF it ſhould be objected, that various Eſſays have been already made without any Succeſs, I would anſwer, in the firſt Place, that even the Efforts already made have been far from uſeleſs, if they have, in ſome Inſtances, defeated the moſt pernicious Schemes, and perhaps have prevented many Attempts that would have been form'd of a like Tendency. Where Deſigns for Deſtruction are carrying on, their Authors will be enterprizing in Proportion to the Strength which ſupports them; a ſlender Majority, however corrupt, will be cautious how they venture upon bold Plans, ſince the Defection of a few may be fatal to them; and thoſe who ſerve merely with a View to private Advantages, may, from the ſame ſelfiſh Princip'e which prompted them to act againſt their Country, act for it, when a Probability appears of making that Party the ſtrongeſt whom they ſhall eſpouſe. But in the ſecond Place, there are many now ſtartled into a Senſe of their Duty, who before either did not act at all, or acted with the Betrayers of their Country; ſome who indulged a ſlothful Eaſe, ſome who would earn Advantages to themſelves by Condeſcenſions which they did not think abſolutely deſtructive, and others who from a ſuperficial Glance imagined the whole Controverſy to be rather about Perſons than Things. To theſe we may add a fourth Set, who from a Senſe of the Difficulties which environ a weak and unpopular Miniſter, or perhaps from a Knowledge of the no leſs crazy Conſtitution of their Chief, will withdraw their Hopes and Fortunes from ſo ſlender and weak a Support. With theſe additional Succours, the

the old and ſtaunch Friends to Liberty will renew the Conteſt for a free and uninfluenced Repreſentative; and as their Numbers will certainly be much greater than they have formerly been, no Argument brought from what has already happen'd, can be concluſive againſt the Probability of Succeſs in a future Attempt.

Craftſman, July 19. N°. 733.

MR. *D'Anvers* with great Pleaſantry and Humour endeavours to ſhew, that Mr. *Cibber*, in the *Apology for his Life*, intended to ſet forth the *Conduct of publick Affairs*, under the typical Repreſentation of the *Management of the Theatre*; and that his Hiſtory of a certain *Lawyer*, or *Attorney*, who was deputed to be the *Manager of the Stage*, by Royal Authority, is only an Allegory, whereby *Somebody elſe* is intended. To this Purpoſe he makes ſeveral Quotations, one of the moſt remarkable of which we ſhall give our Readers; and we have not Room for more.

After a long Recital (ſays he) of the ſtrange Conduct of *this Manager*, who was continued, by the *Royal Patent* TWENTY YEARS *at the Head of the Stage*; and, during that Time, had reduced it to the moſt contemptible and ruinous Condition, *our Author* cloſes his Account of *this Attorney*'s Behaviour in the following Words.

"After what I have ſaid, it will be no Wonder, that all due Regards to the original Uſe and Inſtitution of the *Stage* ſhould be utterly loſt, or neglected. Nor was the Conduct of *this Manager* eaſily to be alter'd, whilſt he had found the Secret of making Money out of *Diſorder* and *Confuſion*; for however ſtrange it may ſeem, I have often obſerved him inclined to be chearful in the *Diſtreſſes of his theatrical Affairs*, and equally reſerved and penſive, when they *went ſmoothly forward, with a viſible Profit*. Upon a Run of *good Audiences*, he was more frighted to be thought a *Gainer*, which might make him *accountable to others*, than he was dejected with *bad Houſes*, which at worſt he knew would make *others accountable to him*; and as, upon a moderate Computation, it cannot be ſuppoſed that the *conteſted Accounts of a* TWENTY YEARS *Wear and Tear in a Playhouſe* could be fairly adjuſted by a *Maſter in Chancery*, under 80 Years more, it will be no Surprize that if by the Neglect, or rather the Diſcretion of *other Proprietors*, in not throwing away good Money after bad, *this Hero of a* MANAGER, *who alone ſupported the* WAR, ſhould in Time, ſo fortify himſelf by *Delay*, and ſo tire his *Enemies*, that he became *ſole Monarch of his theatrical Empire*."

From *Common Senſe*, July 26. N°. 181.

THE moſt arbitrary Government in the World is that of the *Ottomans*. The Sultan, for the moſt Part, paſſes a ſlothful inglorious Life, ſhut up in his Seraglio with Strumpets, a Stranger to his People, a Stranger to the Affairs of his Government; his whole Power is delegated to one Miniſter, the chief Buſineſs of this Miniſter is to keep his Oppreſſions and Miſmanagements from the Ears of that Priſoner of State in the Seraglio; which is no difficult Matter, as none are permitted to approach him but Eunuchs and Mutes, ſo that ſometimes the firſt Notice he has of the Miniſter's Male-Adminiſtration, is from the Noiſe of the People forcing open his Palace Gates and calling out for Juſtice; yet even this Government is not ſo grievous in Practice as it appears in Speculation, ſince he that ruins the publick Affairs ſeldom fails meeting with his juſt Reward from one Hand or other. If the Sultan takes a Diſlike to him, he ſends him the Bow-ſtring: If he is too much in Favour at Court, the People take the Liberty of doing Juſtice upon him themſelves; and tho' this has happen'd ſo frequently, it is never attended with any other bad Conſequence, and the Government is as quiet in a few Days after, as if nothing had happen'd. But my Reaſon for ſaying that it is not ſo bad as it appears, is, that arbitrary Acts of Power ſcarce ever viſit a private Man; they are exerciſed chiefly upon thoſe who are employ'd in publick Affairs, which makes the People but little concern'd about them. Beſides, the Taxes are eaſy, and collected by a very few Officers; their Employments are not many, ſo that if there was any Aſſembly or Repreſentative of the People, he could not corrupt them with Offices, and by that Means form a Party to defend him againſt the Sultan on one Side, and the People on the other; and as arbitrary as this Government appears, there is no Place in the World where the Miniſter ſtands ſo much upon his good Behaviour.

Notwithſtanding this, I hope we ſhall never ſee ſuch a Giant of State as a Grand Vizier in this Kingdom.—For any Man to controul all, or to take the whole Government upon himſelf, to make himſelf Captain General, Lord High Admiral, Treaſurer, Negotiator, only Counſellor: In a Word, to take all upon himſelf, would, no doubt, be Treaſon; and therefore whoever does that, will certainly endeavour to deſtroy the Conſtitution, otherwiſe the Conſtitution will moſt certainly deſtroy him.

We have receiv'd an ingenious Eſſay on the beſt Method of placing the Load on Waggons, Coaches, &c. which ſhall be inſerted in our next. Our Correſpondent mentions a Scheme, as proper to demonſtrate ſome Part of his Reaſoning: Therefore, as we would never ſpare any Expence, for making our Magazine *as uſeful and entertaining as poſſible, we deſire he would ſend us a Draught of the Scheme as early as he can in the Month, and we ſhall take care to have a Figure cut according to it.*

An

An EPISTLE *to* MYRTILLO.

Optimum Ducem Naturam ſequimur. CIC.

WHEN plaſtick nature moulds the wondrous clay,
And beams on man the animating ray;
Still fond in all her works divine, to ſee
A beauteous ſyſtem of variety:
She ſtamps an inclination on the mind,
To arts and ſciences of every kind.
Hence different tempers court a different gale,
As genius prompts, or fancy guides the ſail.
Some ſtudious, at the bar purſue applauſe,
Thro' all the winding maze of duſky laws,
O'er ſhrivel'd parchments tire the aking ſight,
And pore on dull records the live-long night.
Others aſpire to gain a laſting name,
And ſeek thro' fields of death the way to fame;
Deſire of glory throbs in every part,
Swells in the vein, and ruſhes to the heart;
Pleas'd when the martial trumpets ſound th' alarm, (arm,
They bound to war, they toſs the brandiſh'd
Impetuous ſweep along the crimſon'd plain,
Glance o'er th' embattled troops, and think whole armies ſlain.
One ſteers a pathleſs courſe from ſhoar to ſhoar,
Eager ſome diſtant climate to explore;
With *India*'s treaſure o'er the billow rides,
And thro' the yawning deep, the veſſel guides:
Another more retir'd, inclines to dwell
In the lone ſolitude, and rural cell;
Delights to prune his trees, to ſow his fields,
And joyous reaps the fruit the harveſt yields.
Clitander ſcans with zeal the ſacred page,
And mends the morals of a corrupt age;
While truths eternal in his periods ſhine,
Exalt his theme and glow in every line.
Crito with wonder views the human frame,
Surveys the nerve, purſues the purple ſtream,
Studies diſeaſes, and their cures to find,
He follows nature and preſerves mankind.
To you and me, *Myrtillo*, bounteous heaven
A genius for the ſacred nine has given;
To me an artleſs and an humble vein,
Unſkill'd to chuſe a more exalted ſtrain,
Beyond the flow'ry mead or purling rill,
The nodding foreſt or the cloud-tipt hill;
Or if ſome nymph my raptur'd breaſt inſpire,
To beauty's charms I tune my raviſh'd lyre;
My artleſs numbers flow in *Cælia*'s praiſe,
And bright *Eliza*'s glories gild my lays.—
But you, my friend! for nobler themes deſign'd,
Can move the paſſions and inſtruct the mind;
Thine is the part to touch the boldeſt ſtring,
And climb where the *Pierian* ſiſters ſing,
To ſoar ſublime above the vulgar road,
To paint the hero, and deſcribe the god:
Yet hear, *Myrtillo!* hear me, nor diſdain
The friendly precepts of my humbler ſtrain:
Where genius leads, where nature points the way,
The tract purſue, the ſacred thought obey:
Still keep theſe faithful guides within your view,
You'll find them always conſtant always true.
Avoid extremes, try where your ſtrength can go,
Nor run too quick before, nor creep too ſlow.
And when the nine your raptur'd breaſt inflame, [theme;
Chaſte be your verſe, and innocent your
A friend to virtue and to virtue's laws,
Seek from the virtuous few, a juſt applauſe.
Others may cringe and fawn, the tools of ſtate,
And ſpare a wicked man becauſe he's great;
Or baſely proſtitute to garter'd knaves, [ſlaves;
The heaven-born muſe, and be the ſlave of
Be thine the nobler part, where e'er you can,
To deck with laurel'd wreaths the honeſt man,
Whoſe heart ſincere contemns the proffer'd note,
Unſtain'd his honour, unſeduc'd his vote;
He ſcorns to ſwell the groveling penſion'd tribe,
And never ſold his conſcience for a bribe.
Let not the gew-gaw dangling at his ſide,
A coronet, or blaze of titles hide
The man, that revels in the publick ſtores,
Whoſe greedy ſoul with guileful waſte devours
The painful labours of th' induſtrious hand,
And with corruption deluges the land:
Tear off the tinſel, give ſuch crimes their due,
Point out the monſter, ſet him up to view;
Let ſatire blaſt him, with its keeneſt rage,
And curſe him down to every future age;
Here in this world to damn'd remembrance fix'd,
To God and juſtice leave him in the next.
To bound your thoughts, to form your judgment right,
The wiſe improvers of poetick wit
Can well direct; *Stagyra*'s learned ſage,
That glory, pride, and wonder of his age,
With ſtudious care and diligence peruſe;
The *Roman* bard will next inſtruct your muſe,
With graceful elegance of taſte to pleaſe,
To write politely, and to write with eaſe:
Vida, that ſung in *Leo*'s golden days,
Demands alike, your ſtudy and your praiſe.
Where *Vida*, *Horace*, *Ariſtotle* fail,
A *Buckingham*, or *Pope* may well prevail:
From them you'll learn thoſe ſkilful ſtrokes of art,
At once to ſooth the ear, and touch the heart;
While ſtrength of thought and manly vigour glow, [periods flow.
Run in your verſe, and with your tuneful
And thus, my friend, while art and nature join,
To aid your muſe, and raiſe each bold deſign,
Thy works, tho' yet unknown, the future age
Shall read with wonder, and admire thy page:
And e'en, perhaps, ſome little work of mine
May climb attendant to the ſkies with thine,
Soar on thy eagle wings to gain a name,
And mount with thee the ſteepy height to deathleſs fame. DRUMMOND.

EVE's *Fondneſs to* ADAM.

WITH thee, I heed not how the minutes run;
The ſeaſons nor their change; all pleaſe as one.
Sweet is the breath of morn, who wakes the day [gay!
With charm of earlieſt birds; the ſun how
When firſt in this delightful land he ſhoots
His orient beams on trees, and flowers, and fruits, [teems
Gliſt'ring with dew; fragrant the earth that
After ſoft ſhow'rs; and then how pleaſant ſeems
The grateful ev'ning mild; the ſilent night,
With this her ſolemn bird; and oh! how bright [bedight!
The moon, with all her gems of heav'n
But neither breath of morn, who wakes the day
With charm of earlieſt birds, nor ſun ſo gay,
In this delightful land; nor trees, nor flow'rs
Gliſt'ring with dew; nor fragrance after ſhow'rs;
Nor groteſul ev'ning mild; nor ſilent night
With ſolemn bird; nor walk by glittering light [ſight.
Of moon and ſtars, are ſweet without thy

On the NIGHTINGALES *and* THRUSHES, *kill'd by the late ſevere Winter.*

WHITHER! ah whither are you fled!
Ye gentle *Syrens* of the ſpring!
What foreign clime? what diſtant ſhoar?
What unknown nation hears you ſing?

Alas! from winter's barbarous rage,
Your ſkill no pity could obtain;
You ſweetly ſung in tuneful lays,
You ſweetly ſung, but ſung in vain.

How melancholy nods the bough!
How wild and deſart ſeems the grove!
Tuneleſs the mournful ſtreams flow down,
No quiriſter to chant his love!

Beneath yon oſier's bending ſhade,
I oft have calm'd my troubled breaſt,
And, on the moſſy bank reclin'd,
With rapture heard my ſoul to reſt.

But now no muſick glads my ear,
No ſwelling note, no melting ſtrains,
No nightingale, no thruſh is near,
A gloomy ſilence only reigns.

Accept, ye pretty fluttering things!
The grateful lay my numbers give;
And, ſpite of winter's froſt and ſnow,
My lyre ſhall ſound, and you ſhall live.

DORIMOND.

Another ANSWER *to the* ÆNIGMA *in our* Magazine *for* May *laſt*, p. 235.

CLOE and I, the other day,
Wearied with heat, and harmleſs play,
Ceas'd for a while, and both agree
To drink a pleaſant diſh of tea ——
We ſip'd, and read the *Magazine*,
Approv'd the tea, and prais'd the theme—
At laſt a dark *ænigma* riſes,
And fills the fair with deep ſurmiſes—
What can this be, cries curious *Cloe*?
Sure penetrating man muſt know.
Fair is the wager, Sir, let's try,
Who firſt expounds it, you or I.
Anxious for victʼry I eſſay'd
To conquer the ſagacious maid;
But, *Cloe* inſtantly replies,
I have the thing before my eyes,
The thing to woman only true,
That ſhews her in her native hue,
Diſplays the beauties of her face,
Each ſpeaking air, and ſilent grace;
In this excelling faithleſs man,
It makes each fault and blemiſh plain—
With this a tedious hour I paſs.
With what?- Sir, with my LOOKING-GLA
May 24, *Melchizedek Gribgrab,*
Oxon. *Brun*

See the other Anſwer, p. 296.

The COMPLAINT *of a* FATHER.

——*Pudet hæc opprobria nobis*
Et dici potuiſſe, et non potuiſſe refelli.
OVID.

IN days of old, when nature was the law,
That kept our children, and our wives, in awe; [know
When ſons were taught, and by experie
T'indulge their father's humours, not th own;
E'er fond mama cou'd any fav'rite ſee,
Or miſs, and maſter quarrel'd for her knee:
Then *Iſrael*'s king, by heavenly ardour led,
Proclaim'd the bleſſings of the nuptial bed;
Such notes celeſtial dropt from off his tongu
That angels liſten'd, whilſt the monarch ſun
" Eternal bleſſings ſhall the man attend
That fears his God, and keeps him for friend;
Around his houſe his wife ſhall circling twin
Conſtant and faithful, as the am'rous vine;
In fertile ſoil ſhe ſhall her branches ſhoot,
To yield him ſhadow, and afford him fruit:
His growing ſons, robuſt with youthful pri
Shall ſpring like ſcions by their father's ſide
His daughters, with them plentifully ſtor'd,
Like olive-branches ſhall adorn his board.
Happy's the man, that can with pleaſure bo
His quivers full, and not an arrow loſt;
Tho' foes inſulting might around him wait,
Yet all ſhall periſh trembling at his gate."
Theſe were the raptures of his heave ſtrain, [plai
Thus *David* ſung.—But thus muſt I co
A father's ſoftneſs ſtops my fault'ring tongue,
Much have I ſuffer'd, have been ſilent long,
Tho' wounds like mine, are eloquent in wrong,
Still muſt the arrow rankle to my breaſt?
And ills repeated never be confeſt?

It muſt not be: I can no longer ſpare,
Tho' hard to blame, 'tis harder to forbear.
Unhappy fortune! when a parent's forc'd
To ſee the beſt of bleſſings made the worſt.
Here wou'd I ceaſe; but muſt proceed agen,
When tears paternal dictate to my pen,
Such as a father's conſcious of the ill
His children act, but is a father ſtill.
Barbario foremoſt both by birth and blame,
My conſtant ſorrow, my continu'd ſhame,
Whoſe ev'ry action anſwers to his name:
Dark to the virtuous beams he might have had,
Harden'd in ills, and obſtinately bad,
Loſt to the hopes of every thing that's good,
And thirſting warmly for my aguiſh blood.
Are theſe returns for all a parent's cares,
Harraſs'd with griefs unequal to his years?
Theſe hoary locks might manifeſtly ſhow
How much I've paid, and what you greatly owe;
This trembling hand might ſhiver you with fear,
Shudder your heart, if that cou'd be ſincere:
But what can touch the breaſt ſo impious grown,
That threats the life that has beſtow'd its own?
Your tender faults I cou'd indulging hide,
But, *murd'rous ſon! my cruel parricide!*
Are ſounds too ſhocking to a father's ear;
Rip up my breaſt, and lay my boſom bare,
You'll read the torments of a father there.
You muſt, my ſon, from antient times have heard,
How *Atys* lov'd, how *Cræſus* was rever'd;
The ſpeechleſs youth, who never yet had known
To ſpeak his father's love, or liſp his own,
Till conqu'ring *Cyrus* drew 'em both from far,
To urge the dangers of uncertain war:
Then did the youth with labouring paſſion learn
His father's dangers, and his own concern:
His father's dangers violently tore
The native ſtring that held him mute before;
The burſted tongue, moſt dutifully brave,
Cry'd, *ſpare the king, my noble father ſave.*
In nature's ſpight was this affection ſhown,
Barbario, think, and copy out your own:
Give o'er, my ſon, tho' prodigal, return,
And ſee a father weeping o'er his urn;
In pure compaſſion ceaſe, *Barbario*, ceaſe,
However I've liv'd, oh! let me die in peace.
Why ſhou'd I wiſh for what I cannot know,
Whilſt young *Teagrinus* triumphs o'er my woe,
Inſults my grief, and can his fancy pleaſe
To blow the coal, that he might quench with eaſe?
The cheriſh'd coal improving from his hand
Flares in a torch, or blazes in a brand;
The blazing brand he waves around his head,
Pleas'd with the ſportive miſchief he has made;
Forward, impatient, head-ſtrong to deſire
The chariot's rule, but ſets the world on fire;
A meddling pilot in a mod'rate ſky,
And always boiſt'rous when the ſtorms run high.
Ah! what avails that I can poorly boaſt
A father's title, when my honour's loſt?
When rebel ſons confederate agree
With impious hands to ſhake the tott'ring tree?
Here ſhou'd eternal darkneſs ever hide
A daughter's ſhame, too plain to be deny'd;
My fetter'd tongue for ever ſhould deteſt
To move the tort'ring ſecret from my breaſt;
But fame, too laviſh, has already blown
Her brazen trump, 'tis popularly known;
The litter, conſcious of the crimes it bore,
Divulg'd at once, what it wou'd hide no more:
Fame's wanton breath was forward to remove
The leafy cov'rings of inceſtuous love;
With one ſoft air, ſhe blew the leaves away,
And the whole crime lies open to the day.
Great god of winds! may'ſt thou avenging reign,
And hear a father like thyſelf complain.
Look down indignant, with reſentment ſee
A daughter's guilt, a father's infamy,
And ſtab th'inceſtuous breaſt of *Canace*.
Throw wide thy temple, let thy tempeſts looſe,
And blaſt a young improving *Macareus*.
Oh lovely *Hymen*, vail thy ſacred face,
Withdraw thy torch from my deteſted race,
And mourn thy own, in *Canace*'s diſgrace.

The MAW-WALLOP. *Being,*

A rare Receipt, quite ſcalding new,
To make a Meſs of French *Ragou.*

By the D—— of N——c——'s COOK.

JUST after you've din'd, take a diſh, that is large;
And into't, what you have juſt eaten, diſcharge.
Then, get all the reſt, that are at the table,
To ſpew in the ſame, as long as they're able.
Let 'em ſtrain very hard, till all is brought up:
For, the more ſpew there is, the better the ſoop.
Break the lumps undigeſted, and thick clotted ſtuff:
Strain all thro' a handkerchief, ſnotty with ſnuff.
Add a pint, or a quart of tough, yellow phlegm,
From a cough, that is rotten, hauk'd up with a—hem! legs,
Then, a pint of ſtrong liquor, from very ſore
Beat up, in a diſh, with a few rotten eggs.
Stew theſe in a bed-pan, juſt warm from a bum;
And ſtir it about, with your finger and thumb.
Then, to this decoction, put the ſpices, that follow:—
Some cloves newly taken from teeth, that are hollow;
Some ſcabs from a ſcald-head,—ſome ſweat from the toes,— from the noſe.
Some quids from the mouth,—and ſome plugs
But, firſt, the ſcabs moiſten, and the quids, and the plugs,
With the juice of ſore eyes, and the liquor of bugs.
Seaſon all with an onion, pull'd from a forerear,—
Corruption and all;—if it is not too clear.

Then, add cabbage-leaves taken off from a blister;
With a large liquid ſtool, procur'd by a clyſter.
Then, put in the *pipe*, that is juſt taken out,—
If beſt—t, 'tis the better,—and ſtir it about.
And, inſtead of your lemons, and oranges-*ſeville*, [king's evil.
Squeeze in a child's t—rd, that has got the
But,—if you wou'd have it *exceedingly nice*,—
Add, of ear-wax an ounce, from the head threeſcore lice.
And, ſtill, an improvement is made to the diſh,
If you add thereunto a few bits of proud-fleſh.
But a few, fine, frum peas, newly ſqueez'd from old iſſues,
By all is agreed, make it vaſtly delicious.
And, if you wou'd have it ſtill thinner, than this;
Dilute, to your taſte, with a little cat's piſs.

Miſo-Monſieuro-magirus.

We have a Receipt of the ſame Kind, from another Correſpondent; but as we believe our Readers Stomachs are already pretty well ſatisfy'd, we ſhall omit it.

EPIGRAM from MARTIAL.

In Hominem peſſimum.

Mentitur, qui te vitioſum, Zoile, dixit;
Non vitioſus homo es, Zoile, ſed vitium.

THEY, *Zoilus*, lye, that call thee vitious elf;
Thou art not vitious, man;—but vice itſelf.

HORACE, ODE 22. Book I. *Imitated, with ſome Alterations. Addreſſed to Mr.* Thomas Gibbons.

GIBBONS, the man, whoſe peaceful breaſt
Is with no guilty fears oppreſt,
Needs no defenſive arms:
Virtue alone is his defence;
His ſhield reſiſtleſs, innocence,
Protects his ſoul from harms.

He puts no truſt in glitt'ring ſteel;
No poiſon'd ſhafts his quiver fill,
Nor crafty wiles his mind:
With comely fortitude he bears
All the events high heaven prepares,
Submiſſive, and reſign'd.

Undaunted and ſerene, he goes
Through northern *Scythia*'s piercing ſnows,
Or *Libya*'s burning ſands;
Or where the fam'd *Hydaſpes* roll'd
(As poets feign) o'er duſty gold,
Thro' *India*'s deſart lands.

Tho' far, in lonely woods, he ſtray,
Where ſavage beaſts infeſt the way,
No cares his heart diſturb:
Th' Almighty can their rage reſtrain,
Bid the rough lion quit the plain,
And his fierce hunger curb.

Place him in thoſe unfruitful lands
Where no enliv'ning ray deſcends,
Trees no gay verdure wear;
Malignant clouds obſcure the ſky;
Death-pointed lightnings round him fly,
And plagues infect the air:

Place him beneath the *torrid zone*,
Near the hot chariot of the ſun,
Of ev'ry ſhelter void;
His truſt in God he'll ſtill repoſe,
Bleſt in the ſmiles which he beſtows,
Still in his praiſe employ'd.

——— *Vir bonus & Rex*
Eſt quis? ———

THE man whoſe gen'rous, noble, free-born ſoul
No vice can taint, or avarice controul;
Who dares be juſt amidſt a wicked world,
Nor ſtartles when the dreadful light'ning's hurl'd;
Who loves mankind, and ſcorns a ſneaking act,
That man's a king, a demigod in fact:
The reſt are ſlaves tho' di'monds blaze around,
And titles ſoothe their ear with pompous ſound.

To a FRIEND.

HAPPY! my friend, if anxious care
Ne'er breaks your golden reſt,
With the bright ſun-ſhine of the mind,
And godlike virtue bleſt.

Happy! if in a ſhed content,
You gilded chains deſpiſe,
Tread free the flow'ry meads, and breathe
The balm of vernal ſkies.

The ſun which beams in this blue arch
Muſt yield to ſable night;
And the pale ſickly moon, ſee fail
Her full-orb'd, brilliant light.

That ſprightly youth, which now inſpires,
And tunes your ſoul to joy,
Muſt ſoon by age ſucceeded be,
Or death the feaſt deſtroy.

Then the gay blooming hours of life
Embrace, nor loſe the bliſs;
'Tis folly only, and mean vice
The ſweet of virtue miſs.

J. DINSDALL.

HORACE, Book IV. ODE X. *Imitated.*

IN vain by nature form'd for loving,
Tyrant o'er a faithful heart,
Time thy coyneſs diſapproving,
Amply will revenge my ſmart;
When the mantling roſe and lilies
Blooming now with every grace,

Vaniſh, and a different *Phillis*
Shall the hated mirrour face.
Beauty without inclination,
Nymph, too late ſhalt thou deplore,
When age, to requite my paſſion,
Gives deſire without the pow'r.

To a PAINTER, *who lately drew a very beautiful Lady's Picture.*

WITH curious touch he ſtrives to trace
The beauties of *Seraphia*'s face;
In vain, alas! a mortal tries
To draw the lightning of her eyes,
Whom none beholds, but ſurely dies.
Perhaps, to gain immortal fame,
He drew this new *Promethean* frame,
And *felon-like*, doth now require
From her bright eyes cœleſtial fire,
To form the piece to his deſire.
Deſiſt, vain man! e'er 'tis too late,
And wiſely ſhun the ſame ſad fate;
No longer boaſt thy feeble art,
Leſt love, the *vulture*, tear thy heart.

VERSES *upon a* Lady's *painting a* CUPID.

DELIA, the blooming artful fair,
Reſolv'd her wondrous ſkill to try,
Does now her magick pens prepare,
And dips them in the fineſt dye.

Bright *Venus*' form to draw ſhe tries,
But ſoon the beauteous painter knew,
To ſhow thoſe charms, thoſe heavenly eyes,
Herſelf muſt ſit for what ſhe drew.

Next, *Cupid* ſhe prepares to ſhow,
And drew him with ſuch wond'rous art,
He claps his wings, he claſps his bow,
And ſeems to aim ſome venom'd dart.

Nor did the finiſh'd work ſurpaſs
The charming air with which ſhe drew;
Her fingers move with ſuch a grace,
That, ah! we feel the dart we view.

No more, no more, weak god of love,
Men now ſhall dread thy harmleſs darts;
The gods alone thy arrows prove,
'Tis *Delia*'s wound all mortal hearts.

D. H.

The TEMPLE of LOVE. *Tranſlated from the Beginning of the* 9*th* BOOK *of M.* Voltaire's HENRIAD.

WHERE *Europe* joins to *Aſia*'s happy clime,
Of marble rais'd, a temple ſtands ſublime;
By nature firſt the wond'rous work was wrought,
But ſince by art to quaint perfection brought.
Here only oranges and myrtles grow,
Bleſt trees, that never chilling winter know!
Pomona's wealth, and *Flora*'s pride appear,
With all the various beauties of the year.
No labour here of the induſtrious ſwain
Wounds the rich glebe for the ſpontaneous grain;
But yellow crops in golden plenty riſe,
The laviſh bounty of indulgent ſkies.
O'er flow'ry fields the ſportive *zephyrs* play,
And cool with balmy wings the heat of day:
Not the world's youth cou'd boaſt a fairer ſcene,
A ſun ſo bright, or *æther* ſo ſerene. [pence,
Scarce could propitious ſkies more ſmiles diſ-
An age of gold, were there but innocence.
In theſe delightful groves, and fragrant ſhades,
No ſound, but muſic, the charm'd ear invades;
Or the more gentle breath of lovers ſighs,
While nature ſeems, entranc'd, to ſympathize.
Each day, deluded lovers, crown'd with flow'rs,
With ſongs of their own ſhame frequent the bow'rs,
And in ſoft languors paſs their eaſy hours;
Studying, what ſoon is learnt, the dang'rous art,
To hold enchain'd each others captive heart.
Bright *hope*, that ſhews a look for ever gay,
Smiling, to the fair temple points the way:
The *graces*, nigh the porch, half-naked ſhine,
And add to the ſoft dance, their voice divine;
While *pleaſure*, ſinking on the flow'ry ground,
Is loſt in rapture of th'inchanting ſound.
Myſterious *ſilence* in a ſhade is ſeen,—
And gentle *wiſhes* ſporting in the ſcene.—
Next, warm *deſires* dart lightning from their eyes,
Whoſe fancied joys above fruition riſe. [ſight,
Thus charms the frontiſpiece the raviſh'd
But enter in, and,—heav'ns! what ſtrange affright!
The viſionary pleaſures diſappear,
And in their ſtead are ſeen *diſtruſt* and *fear*;
Suſpicion trembling with a look aſkance,
And haggard *envy* with a hideous glance.
Here ſtares fierce *jealouſy* with threat'ning eye,—
There pale *deſpair* walks melancholy by:
Helliſh *revenge* and *fury* cloſe the band;
With each a bloody poinard in their hand.
Repentance next appears with weeping eyes,
Deep are her groans, her boſom heaves with ſighs;
While *rancour* in her torments takes delight,
And *malice* triumphs at the pleaſing ſight.
'Tis here that *Love*, (whatever poets feign)
In pomp of horror holds his cruel reign;—
Exulting ſees the homage of his throne,
And ruthleſs hears the agonizing groan:
Hence fills the lazy world with loud alarms;
And rouſes up its potentates to arms: [ſky,
While not *Jove*'s light'nings burſt the gloomy
With half the rage his poiſon'd arrows fly.

J. D.

The Important Memento *is already ſufficiently compleat, ſo we ſhall omit the ſecond Part. The* Epitaph *does not ſuit us. We have receiv'd ſeveral Pieces, which muſt be deferr'd to our next.*

THE

THE Monthly Chronologer.

THEIR Excellencies the Lords Juſtices, in Conſideration of the preſent high Price of Corn, publiſh'd an Order for inforcing the Act of the 5th and 6th of *Edward* VI. againſt all Ingroſſers of that Commodity, whereby they are, upon Conviction, to ſuffer Impriſonment for two Months for the firſt Offence; half a Year for the ſecond, and for the third the Pillory, and to forfeit all their Goods and Chattels, and be impriſon'd during the King's Pleaſure.—There were great Mobbings and Tumults in ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, on Account of the Exportation of Corn, as at *Wiſbech* in the *Iſle of Ely*, *Norwich*, where the Soldiers being forc'd to fire on the Mob, ſeveral were kill'd; and *Newcaſtle upon Tine*, where the Colliers ruſhing into the Town, in a great Meaſure deſtroy'd the Town-Houſe, with the Records and Town-Caſh, and ſeveral Houſes of Gentlemen, ſuppoſed to be concerned in ſending Corn abroad. The Magiſtrates did all in their Power to prevent it, by ſetting the Prices; but had it not been for the very lucky Arrival of three Companies of Foot, it is thought there wou'd not have been an Exporter's Houſe left ſtanding.

TUESDAY, *July* 1.

The Commencement ended at *Cambridge*, when the Univerſity conferr'd the following Degrees, *viz.* Doctor of Divinity on the Rev. Mr. *Pyle*, Chaplain to his Majeſty, of *Clare-Hall*; the Rev. Mr. *Barnard*, Prebendary of *Weſtminſter*, of *Trinity-College*; and the Rev. Mr. *Reynolds*, Son to the Biſhop of *Lincoln*, and Chancellor of that Dioceſe, of *Jeſus-College*: Doctor of Law on Mr. *Salſbury* of *Trinity-Hall*: Doctor of Phyſick on Mr. *Robinſon*, of *Katherine-Hall*: And Maſter of Arts on about 90.

WEDNESDAY, 2.

Came on at the *King's-Bench* Bar at *Weſtminſter*, the Trial of Mr. *Sidney*, for a Miſdemeanor, in being concern'd in making uſe of falſe Dice, at the laſt Maſquerade in the *Hay-Market*; and after a Trial of about 7 Hours, he was found Guilty, and is to receive Judgment next Term. (See p. 197.)

THURSDAY, 3.

The General Convention of the Royal Boroughs of *Scotland*, nominated the Boroughs of *Edinburgh*, *Perth*, *Dundee*, *Aberdeen*, *Stirling*, *Linlithgow*, St. *Andrew's*, *Glaſgow*, and *Inverbervie*, as a Committee of their Number, to wait on his Grace the Duke of *Argyle*, and to aſſure him of the great Regard they had for his Grace's Perſon and Family, and to declare their intire Satisfaction with his Grace's Appearances for the Honour and Intereſt of his Majeſty, the Preſervation of the Liberties of his Majeſty's Subjects, the Commerce of the Nation, the Rights and Privileges of the Royal Boroughs, and the City of *Edinburgh* in particular.—The Deputation waited on him accordingly, with the above Reſolution, to which, we are informed, his Grace made the following Anſwer; 'I am 'unworthy of the great Honour which the 'Royal Boroughs are pleaſed to do me; I 'have in all my Actions moſt ſincerely 'meant the Service of my King and Country; 'it was my indiſpenſable Duty ſo to do; 'Merit I have none.'

FRIDAY, 4.

His Royal Highneſs the Duke arriv'd at *Portſmouth*, and embark'd the next Day at *Spithead*, on board the *Victory*, with Sir *John Norris*, for the intended Expedition.

TUESDAY, 8.

The Parliament met at *Weſtminſter*, purſuant to their laſt Prorogation, and were farther prorogu'd, by a Commiſſion from the Lords Juſtices, to the 19th of *Auguſt* next.

FRIDAY, 11.

The Seſſions ended at the *Old-Baily*, when the following Perſons receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz.* *Rachel Iſaacs*, for ſtealing a great Quantity of Plate and Jewels in the Dwelling-Houſe of Mr. *de Maitre*; *Samuel Badham*, for the Murder of his Wife; *Suſanna Breamer*, for robbing her Maſter; and *John Foſter*, a Chimney-Sweeper, for the Murder of *Margaret Skewell*, alias *Garret*. — Serjeant *Bird* was try'd for the Murder of his Wife, and found guilty of Manſlaughter.

SATURDAY, 12.

Advice from *Briſtol*, That the *Baltick Merchant*, a fine Ship, commanded by Capt. *Halloway*, belonging to that Port, being taken by a *Spaniſh* Privateer, within View of *Scilly*, on the *Engliſh* Coaſt, was carried into *St. Sebaſtian*. The Privateer had 12 Carriage Guns and 4 Swivels, commanded by a *Frenchman*, and manned with 70 *Frenchmen*, and 56 *Spaniards*. The *Baltick Merchant* had but 20 Sailors, *viz.* 16 *Engliſhmen* and 4 *Spaniſh* Priſoners, whom they took on board when they came from *South Carolina*, thro' the Want of Hands. The *Baltick* being a ſtout Ship, fought the Privateer in a gallant, brave Manner,

Manner, three Hours and a half; and had not the Sailors been ſo few, they had certainly took her.—Eight Sailors were killed during the Action on board the Privateer, and two on board the *Baltick*.

There was on board the *Baltick*, Col. *Braithwaite*, his Lady, two Children, and two other *Engliſh* Ladies, *&c.* who came over Paſſengers, in order to ſettle in *England*. The Colonel ſtood Centry over the 4 *Spaniards* during the Engagement, with his drawn Sword, while they were employ'd in ſteering the Ship; and when the Lieut. of the Privateer firſt boarded, he begg'd for Quarter, and deliver'd him his Sword, on which the Lieut. promis'd him good Quarter; but it prov'd unfortunately the Reverſe; for while he was talking to the Lieutenant, one of the *French* Sailors who ſtood behind, clap'd him on the Shoulder, and the Colonel looking quickly about, the cowardly Villain ſhot him thro' the Head with a Piſtol, and his Brains guſh'd out in View of the Lieutenant.--The Murderer was clap'd in Irons, and on his Arrival at *St. Sebaſtian*, committed Priſoner to the Caſtle

His Lady and Family knew nothing of the Matter (thinking he was on board the Privateer) till they arrived at *St. Sebaſtian*, where, upon her Misfortune being rumour'd about, ſhe was treated with great Reſpect and Humanity by the *Spaniſh* Ladies, and taken into one of their own Houſes.

MONDAY, 14.

Sir *John Norris*, Admiral *Cavendiſh* and Rear *Admiral Ogle*, with the Fleet under their Command, ſail'd from St. *Helen*'s, having been detain'd there about a Week by contrary Winds. The Fleet conſiſts of 1 Ship, the *Victory*, of 100 Guns, 7 of 80 Guns, 6 of 70, 6 of 60, and 1 of 50 Guns, with 3 Fire-Ships.

Extract of a Letter from Captain Cowper, *of the* Townſhend-Packet.

St. Sebaſtian, July 16, *N. S.*

ON the 24th of *June*, *O. S.* in Lat. 48. 48. the *Lizard* then bearing *E. N. E.* Diſtance 62 Leagues, at 7 in the Morning, at the clearing of a Fog, ſaw a Sail to Windward, about a League diſtant: I ſaw immediately he edg'd towards us, at which Time I call'd all Hands up, and clear'd Ship, and made what Sail I could from him; but to my great Misfortune he came up with us faſt; (tho' when we came out of *Liſbon*, his Majeſty's Snow the *Fly*, came off the Coaſt with us, and we wrong'd him every Way) about 10 in the Morning his Chace-Guns reach'd us, and by half an Hour paſt 12 was within Muſket-Shot, when we began to engage, and held it till 6 in the Evening, the laſt Hour not half Piſtol-Shot Diſtance; he endeavour'd to board me once, but I prevented him; I ſoon found him a Ship of Force, by the Volleys of Small-Shot I received; but all my Hopes was to diſmaſt him; for if I had been ſo lucky as to have carried away a Top-maſt or a Yard, I had haul'd upon a Wind and got clear of him. I kill'd the Enemy's firſt Boatſwain, and wounded ſome of his Men, at which Time, they hid under the Long-Boat, wrung their Hands, and went to Prayers, and had it not been for the Second Captain, would have left me. (This, one Capt. *Douglaſs* inform'd me, who was aboard, taken in Lat. 49, three Days before.) I ſhot his Main-top-gallant-maſt half thro'.—This was a new Ship, call'd *N. S. del Carmes y las Animas*, mounts 24 Guns, and had on board 20 Guns, all Six-Pounders, and four of one Pound each on the Quarter-Deck, with 180 Men, 50 of which were Soldiers, for the Small-Arms. By this Time, I had two kill'd and ſix deſperately wounded, and three Cowards that never were at their Quarters, the Gunner one of them, who I think deſerves to be hang'd, for I wanted ſeveral Stores that was in his Cuſtody; my Sails and ſtanding Rigging all ſhot to Pieces, 30 Inches Water in her Hold, and could ſpare no body to pump: Main Channels and every Port ſhot away, and the Hull beat to Pieces; and now he attempted once more to board me, and having no Strength to reſiſt him, I ordered the Mail and my Lord's (*Tyrawley*'s) Diſpatches to be thrown over-board, and then, with great Regret, ſtruck, having on board upwards of 11000 Moidores.—This Ship is not 6 Months old, and has taken eight Prizes in the Channel, and near *Ireland*, and brought them into this Port of *St. Sebaſtians*; here are two more of 12 Guns each; theſe Ships have taken already 56 Sail, moſt of them large Ships. My wounded Men are in the Hoſpital, and the others in the Caſtle, where there are 150 Men in one Room. I and my Mate have Liberty to lodge in the Town, but not to ſtir out without Leave.

THURSDAY, 17.

This Evening, came to an Anchor in St. *Helen*'s Road, Sir *John Norris*, Admiral *Cavendiſh*, and Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, with the reſt of the Fleet, and the Convoy with the Merchant Ships for *Portugal* and the *Streights*, having met with a hard Gale of Wind at S. W. The *Lion* Man of War ran foul of the *Victory*, Sir *John Norris*'s Ship, and carried away her Bowſprit, and the fine Lion at the Head; and the *Lion* loſt her Fore-maſt.

His Majeſty has been pleaſed to grant his Royal Diſpenſation to his Serene Highneſs Prince *Frederick* of *Heſſe-Caſſel*, to wear the Enſigns of the Order of the Garter without the Ceremony of Inſtallation: And the Czarina has been pleaſed to confer the Order of St. *Catharine* on her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs *Mary* of *Heſſe*.

THURS-

TUESDAY, 22.

Sir *John Norris*, with his Royal Highneſs the Duke, on board the *Boyne*, and the reſt of the Squadaon, ſailed again from St. *Helen*'s. The *Victory*, when repair'd, is to follow him.

The Tranſports with the Stores for the Lord *Cathcart*'s Expedition to the *Weſt-Indies*, are all at *Spithead*; the 7 Ships have each of them on board an equal Number of Braſs Ordnance, and among them 3000 Balls of 24 Pounds each, 4000 of 12 Pounds each, and 6000 of 6 Pounds each; alſo 5000 Barrels of Gunpowder, and a proportionable Quantity of other Stores.

VERNON's *Anſwer to* HOSIER's *Ghoſt*. (*See p.* 294.) *By a* Land-Waiter *in the Port of* Poole.

HOSIER! with indignant ſorrow,
I have heard thy mournful tale;
And, if heav'n permit, to-morrow
Hence our warlike fleet ſhall ſail.
O'er theſe hoſtile waves, wide roaming,
We will urge our bold deſign,
With the blood of thouſands foaming,
For our country's wrongs and thine.

On that day, when each brave fellow,
Who now triumphs here with me,
Storm'd and plunder'd *Porto-Bello*,
All my thoughts were full of thee.
Thy diſaſt'rous fate alarm'd me;
Fierce thy image glar'd on high,
And with gen'rous ardour warm'd me,
To revenge thy fall, or die.

From their lofty ſhips, deſcending,
Thro' the flood, in firm array,
To the deſtin'd city bending,
My lov'd ſailors work'd their way.
Strait the foe, with horror trembling,
Quits in haſte his batter'd walls;
And in accents, undiſſembling,
As he flies, for mercy calls.

Carthagena, tow'ring wonder!
At the daring deed diſmay'd,
Shall e'er-long by *Britain*'s thunder,
Smoaking in the duſt be laid.
Thou, and theſe pale ſpectres ſweeping,
Reſtleſs, o'er this watry round,
Whoſe wan cheeks are ſtain'd with weeping,
Pleas'd ſhall liſten to the ſound.

Still rememb'ring thy ſad ſtory,
To thy injur'd ghoſt I ſwear,
By my hopes of future glory,
War ſhall be my conſtant care:
And I ne'er will ceaſe purſuing,
Spain's proud ſons from ſea to ſea,
With juſt vengeance for thy ruin,
And for *England* ſham'd in thee.

A Copy of the Inſtructions given by the Grand Jury of the County of Bucks, *to the two Knights of the Shire; and likewiſe others from the Town of* Buckingham *to their Repreſentatives.*

To the Hon. Sir William Stanhope, *and Sir* Tho. Lee, *Barts.*

WE the Grand Jury, *&c.* of the County of *Bucks*, aſſembled at *Buckingham* on *Thurſday July* 17, 1740, in our own Names, and at the Requeſt of great Numbers of Gentlemen, Clergy and Free-holders, our Neighbours, do lay hold of this publick Occaſion to declare our Sentiments to you.

We are convinc'd that all our Liberties depend upon the Freedom of Parliament, which entirely conſiſts in that of the Elected and of the Electors; and we obſerve the Number of Placemen, Civil and Military, to have been greatly encreas'd in the Houſe of Commons for theſe many Years paſt, as well as the notorious Influence us'd by the Miniſter in Elections over all his Dependants; we therefore cannot but entertain great Apprehenſions, that theſe Proceedings may in their Conſequences tend to eſtabliſh in the Crown a Power above all Controul from the two other Parts of the Legiſlature, and induce the Parliament itſelf to ſupport thoſe Grievances, which in the Plan of our excellent Conſtitution it was deſign'd to redreſs.

We therefore think, that a proper Bill or Bills to ſecure Members of the Houſe of Commons, and thoſe who have a Right to elect them, from being under any undue Influence, is an Expedient abſolutely neceſſary for ſecuring the Whole; and we recommend it to you, as far as you regard our Opinion and Favour, to employ the moſt effectual Methods the Conſtitution will admit of, that ſuch a Bill or Bills may paſs into Laws.

It is with great Satisfaction that we have ſeen the Parliament act with ſo much Unanimity, Vigour and Zeal, in ſupporting the War: Four Millions granted to his Majeſty for that Purpoſe this Year, a hundred thouſand Men by Sea and Land in the Pay of *Great Britain*, and the Difficulties under which our Trade has labour'd from the Means made uſe of for manning the Fleet, are Burdens we chearfully bear for the Defence of our Rights, and the Honour and Dignity of his Majeſty's Crown: And as the Spirit of Parliament has been ſhewn in an extraordinary Manner, we have Reaſon to expect that their Vigilance will no leſs appear in the ſtricteſt Enquiries how theſe Supplies and theſe Forces have been applied and manag'd; whether all the Savings are made to the Publik that the real Exigencies of the War will allow; and whether there has been ſo timely and prudent an Exertion of the Strength we have given, as to procure to the Nation all the Advantages they had a Right to expect.

We are ready to ſacrifice our Fortunes and Lives for his Majeſty's Service; but we cannot

not hope to ſee his Government proſperous, nor his wiſe Intentions properly anſwer'd, nor the Ends of the preſent happy Eſtabliſhment fully ſecur'd unto us, if all ſuch Influence be not remov'd, as may ever deſtroy the Independance of Parliament, without which, the Balance of our Conſtitution cannot ſubſiſt.

As you have concurr'd in proper and ſalutary Methods for reſtraining ſuch Influence, you deſerve the Truſt of your Conſtituents, and the Thanks of your Country: But ſince the Bills of this Kind, which have been hitherto unſucceſsfully attempted, are only ſo many melancholy Proofs of the Neceſſity of them, we think it the more incumbent upon us to declare our unanimous Sentiments, that whoever, upon the late enormous Encreaſe of Placemen in Parliament, does not promote any Bill or Bills, tending to the leſſening ſo growing and dangerous an Evil, will be juſtly reſponſible to the lateſt Poſterity for every other Grievance, Miſchief and publick Diſhonour, which in future Times, according to the Courſe of human Affairs, muſt attend the Corruption of Parliaments, and the Impunity of Male-Adminiſtration.

To Richard Granville, *and* George Denton, *Eſqrs.*

WE the Bailiff and Burgeſſes of *Buckingham*, being very ſenſible of your zealous Endeavours in promoting a Bill for limiting the exceſſive Number of Civil and Military Placemen in the Houſe of Commons, upon the Succeſs of which Endeavours our Liberties and Properties abſolutely depend, deſire to return you our ſincere Thanks in the moſt publick Manner for your paſt Services, and to expreſs our Confidence in you, that you will ſteadily perſevere in the ſame. The principal Gentlemen of the County have, with a moſt laudable Zeal, declar'd their Opinion of the Neceſſity of procuring ſuch a Bill, and the Sentiments which they have ſo fully expreſs'd, are exactly conformable to our own.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

MR. *Woodward* of *Durham-Yard* in the *Strand*, to Miſs *Collier*.

Earl of *Clanrickard*, to Miſs *Vincent*, Daughter of Sir *Harry Vincent*, Bart. of *Kenſington-Square*.

Mr. *Samuel Sharp*, one of the Surgeons of *Guy's-Hoſpital*, to Miſs *Baynes*.

Jeffery Wale, Eſq; of *Saffron-Walden*, to Miſs *Holgate*.

—— *Wallop*, Eſq; eldeſt Son to the Lord Viſc. *Lymington*, to Miſs *Conduit*, a 60,000 *l.* Fortune.

Sir *Hugh Smithſon*, Bart. to the Lady *Betty Seymour*, Daughter to the Earl of *Hertford*.

The Lady of the Hon. Col. *Fielding*, Brother to the Earl of *Denbigh*, brought to Bed of a Son.

The Lady Viſcounteſs *Faukenberg*, of a Son and Heir.

The Lady of *Lewis Blondeau*, Eſq; Page of Honour to the King, of a Son.

Dutcheſs of *Mancheſter*, of a Daughter.

Lady *Gower*, of a Son.

Lady *Frances Harpur*, of a Son.

DEATHS.

SIR *John Hatton*, Bart.

Rev. *Hele Trelawny*, D. D. youngeſt Son of the late Sir *Jonathan Trelawny*, Bart. Biſhop of *Winchеſter*.

Rev. Dr. *Warren*, Rector of *Hampſtead*, and of *Bow* near *Stratford*.

Thomas Green, Eſq; one of the greateſt Brewers in *London*.

Lady *Strickland*, Mother of the late Sir *William Strickland*, Bart.

Sir *Jeremy Vanacker Sambroke*, Bart. Memb. of Parl. for *Bedford*.

Rev. *Tho. Baker*, B. D. formerly Chaplain to Biſhop *Crew*.

Adrian Moor, Eſq; aged upwards of 90. His Seat at *Egham*, and the Bulk of his Fortune, goes to his only Son.

Claudius Amyand, Eſq; principal Surgeon to his Majeſty, by a Fall as he was walking in *Greenwich Park*, and pitching his Head on a Stone.

Rev. Mr. *Vincent*, M. A. Fellow of *Univerſity-College*, *Oxford*.

George Somerville, Eſq; Nephew to the Lord *Somerville*, a Peer of *Scotland*.

Some Time in *June*, the Lady *St. Aubyn*, Wife of Sir *John St. Aubyn*, Bart.

Sir *John Stonehouſe*, Bart. Son of Sir *George Stonehouſe*, Bart. whoſe Father was diſinherited by his Grandfather Sir *George Stonehouſe*, of *Radley* in *Berks*, and the Patent of Baronet ſurrender'd, and a new one taken out, with Remainder to Sir *John*, his ſecond Son, on whom he ſettled his whole Eſtate; and from which ſecond Son, Sir *John Stonehouſe* of *Radley* in *Berks*, Bart. is deſcended. This Sir *John Stonehouſe*, Bart. (deſcended from the elder Branch) dying unmarried, the Title is extinct, and an End put to an unfortunate Branch of a good Family.

Sir *Charles Cripſe*, Bart. Great Grandſon of Sir *Nicholas Cripſe*, Bart. who ſpent 100,000 *l.* in the Service of K. *Charles* I. and II.

Hon. *Suſannah Bridges*, a near Relation to the Duke of *Chandos*.

Rev. Mr. *James*, Rector of *Upwell* in *Norfolk*.

Mr. *Raundtree*, an eminent wholeſale Linendraper.

Chriſtopher Wentworth, formerly one of the Grooms of the Bed-chamber to Prince *George* of *Denmark*.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

CHARLES *Maſſey*, M. A. made Dean of *Limerick* in *Ireland*, in the room of Dr. *Tho. Bindon*, deceas'd.

Rt. Rev. Dr. *Charles Eſte*, Biſhop of *Oſſory* in *Ireland*, tranſlated to the Biſhoprick of *Waterford* and *Liſmore*, vacant by the Death of Dr. *Tho. Mills*.

Mr. *William Hunter* preſented, by the Dean and Chapter of St. *Paul*'s, to the Rectory of *Hanworth* in *Middleſex*.

Mr. *Wilſon*, choſen Lecturer of St. *John*'s in *Southwark*.

Mr. *Robert Downes*, made Dean of *Derry* in *Ireland*.

Mr. *Sam. Nicolls*, choſen by the Aſſiſtants of the Haberdaſhers Company, *Tueſday* Lecturer of St. *Bartholomew*'s behind the *Exchange*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil and Military*.

LORD *Mark Kerr* made General of the Ordnance in *Ireland*.

Earl of *Crawford* created a Knight of the moſt antient Order of the Thiſtle.

John Baker, Eſq; made Receiver General of the County of *Kent*, &c. upon the Reſignation of his Father.

Mr. *Ralph Barnes* made Filazer for *Surrey*, *Suſſex* and *Kent*, and the City of *Canterbury*, in the room of Mr. *Bicknell*, deceas'd.

Commanders appointed of the following 20 Gun Ships, *viz.* Capt. *Limeburner* of the *Seaborſe*, Hon. Mr. *Pawlett* of the *Port Mahon*, Capt. *Pett* of the *Bridgewater*, Capt. *Frankland* of the *Roſe*, and Capt. *Charles Wager Purvis* of the *Gibraltar*.

Lieut. *Willams* made Capt. of the *Charlotte Yacht*.

Lieut. *William Hay* made Capt. of the *Strombolo* Fire-Ship.

PERSONS *declar'd Bankrupts*.

WILLIAM *Hollinſhead*, of *Wigan*, Linen-weaver.—*John Wilſon*, of *Aldmonbury*, *Yorkſhire*, Linen-draper.—*Anthony Sclater*, of *Chard*, Clothier.—*Thomas Carver*, of *York*, Grocer.—*Robert Taunton*, of *Thames-ſtreet*, Victualler.—*James Lambert*, of *Grub-ſtreet*, Brewer.—*Peter Ward*, of *Chriſt-Church*, *Spittle-fields*, Butcher and Saleſman.—*Anthony Webb*, late of *Briſtol*, Soap-maker.—*William Harveſt*, of *Kingſton* in *Surrey*, Brewer.—*Andrew Kendry*, late of *Portſmouth*, Linen-draper.—*Henry Kellaway* the Younger, of *Broadway* in the County of *Dorſet*, Brewer.—*Edward Dilke*, of *Stamford*, *Lincolnſhire*, Grocer.—*Samuel Farrington*, of St. *Catherine*'s near the Tower, Felt-maker.—*John Nowell Rogers*, late of *Duke-ſtreet* by *Groſvenor-Square*, Dealer in Meal.—*Jeffery Money*, of *Norwich*, Worſted-weaver.—*William Hunter*, late of *Colcheſter-ſtreet*, *London*, Merchant.—*Thomas Maſon*, of *Lombard-ſtreet*, Woollen-draper.—*Thomas Ruſſel*, of St. *Mary Matfellon*, otherwiſe *White Chapel*, Brewer.—*William Eeles*, of *Agmondeſham*, Dealer.—*Robert Prott*, of *Exeter-ſtreet* in the *Strand*, Taylor.—*Richard Sydall*, late of *Liverpool*, Milliner.—*Chriſtian Guliker*, of *Carliſle*, Merchant and Soap-boiler.—*John Dumbleton* of *Fleet-ditch*, Tobacconiſt.—*John Tyrrell* of *Abingdon*, *Berks*, Maltſter.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 101 1/4	*African* 10
—*Ann.* 112 1/8 a 1/2	*Royal Aſſ* 92 1/4
Bank 142 3/4 a 143	*Lon. ditto* 11 1/4
—*Circ.* 5*l* 17*s* 6*d*	3 *p. C. Ann.* 100 1/8 a 1/2
M. Bank 116	*Salt Tallies* 1/4 a 1/2
India 158 1/4 a 159 1/4	*Emp. Loan* 108 3/4 a 109
—*Bonds* 5*l* a 2*s*	*Equiv.* 112

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt. 35 1 2 a 2 1/2	*Bilboa* 41
D. Sight 34 10 a 9	*Legborn* 50
Rotter. 35 4 a 3	*Genoa* 53 5/8 a 3/4
Hamb. 34 2 2 1/2 a 1 2	*Venice* 50 7/8
Paris 32 3/8	*Lisbon* 5*s* 4*d* 5/8
Bourdx. 32 3/8	*Porto* 5*s* 4*d* 3/8 a 1/2
Cadiz 42	*Antw.* 36 a 35 11
Madrid 41 7/8 a 42	*Dublin* 7 3/4

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	30	40	*Peaſe*	19	29
Rye	13	19	*H. Peaſe*	16	18
Barley	12	18	*H Beans*	19	25
Oats	12	15	*B. Malt*	16	20
Tares	20	24	*P. Malt*	19	24

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *June* 24 to *July* 22.

Chriſtned	Males 540	Females 554	1094
Buried	Males 904	Females 922	1826
Died under 2 Years old			654
Between 2 and 5			182
5	10		104
10	20		52
20	30		140
30	40		174
40	50		162
50	60		139
60	70		101
70	80		67
80	90		49
90 and upwards			5
			1826

Hay 39 to 48*s*. a Load.

THE

THE *Spaniſh* Privateers have met with ſo good Succeſs againſt our Merchant-Ships, ſince the Commencement of the preſent War, and have been ſo little interrupted by our Men of War, notwithſtanding the great Number we have in Commiſſion, that the Inhabitants of all the maritime Provinces in *Spain*, eſpecially thoſe next *England*, are daily peſtering their Court with Sollicitations for new Commiſſions; and we are told, that no leſs than 18 of them were granted the Beginning of laſt Month; and that the Harbour of *St. Sebaſtian*'s is ſo full of *Britiſh* Prizes, that they are obliged to ſell them off at any Price to the *French*, in order to make Room for thoſe that are daily brought in. It ſeems as if this Port of *St. Sebaſtian*'s, and every other Port of *Spain*, has of late Years been made impregnable; and that they have ſo fortify'd their Coaſts, that it is impoſſible to land a Body of Troops, in order to plunder any Part of that large Continent, tho' it be almoſt ſurrounded by the Sea.

Admiral *Pintado* has been removed from the Command of the *Spaniſh* Squadron at *Ferrol*, and the Command thereof given to *Don Roderigo Torres*. The Diſgrace of the former, 'tis ſaid, is owing to ſome Neglect he was guilty of, when he ſailed out in ſearch of Admiral *Balchen*'s Squadron, which the *Spaniards* ſay he might have intercepted and deſtroyed, conſidering that it did not conſiſt of one third of the Number of Ships he had along with him, and had, beſides, loſt a great Number of its Seamen by Sickneſs or Death. Thus we ſee, that Neglect of Orders is a Crime in *Spain*, whatever it may be in any other Country.

We have an Account, that four *French* Men of War are ſailed out of *Breſt*, and are cruizing in the Channel, in order to watch the Motions of Sir *John Norris*'s Squadron. If they ſhould meet this Squadron, a Diſpute may enſue about the Honour of the Flag; notwithſtanding its being indiſputable, that they ought to ſtrike to him, not only on Account of the Right of the Flag, which we have not as yet, thank God! expreſly given up, but likewiſe on Account of his being the ſuperior Officer, and accompanied by the moſt numerous Squadron; both which give a Preference, when the Parties are otherwiſe upon an equal Footing. If any ſuch Diſpute ſhould happen, it may be preſumed, theſe four Sips were ſent out on Purpoſe, by the Court of *France*, to give them ſuch a Pretence of declaring againſt us, as may ſeem plauſible, and be favourably look'd on by the *Dutch*, and other *Maritime* Powers of *Europe*.

About the Middle of laſt Month, 'twas reported at *Hanover*, that the then laſt Courier ſent to *London*, was charged with Diſpatches concerning the Propoſitions of a Peace, between this Kingdom and *Spain*; but if any ſuch were ſent, they were not, it ſeems, agreeable to the Majority of our Regents; for by the laſt Accounts from *Hanover*, the Rumour is revived of a ſpeedy Rupture between us and *France*. One of the Propoſitions talked of, was a very extraordinary one, *viz.* That we ſhould, by a Law to be made here, make it Death, for any Subject of *Britain* to be concerned in carrying on a Contraband-Trade to the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*. If ſuch a Propoſition ſhould come from *France*, it would be a proper Return in us, To deſire, that by a Law to be made in *France*, it ſhould be made Death for any of their Subjects to be concerned in exporting our Wool, or in carrying on any Smuggling-Trade with our People.

Upon the preſent King of *Pruſſia*'s Acceſſion to the Throne, it was generally believed, that ſome Steps would be taken, which would diſcover an Intention in him to diſſolve his Marriage; but upon the young Queen's being brought to him at *Charlottemburg*, accompanied by the Queen Dowager; every one preſent was moſt agreeably ſurpriſed, to hear his Majeſty addreſs himſelf to that charming Princeſs in the following Manner, 'You 'are ſenſible, Madam, that your becoming 'Princeſs Royal, was contrary to my Inclina-'tion; but having obſerved the Amiableneſs 'of your Character, the Submiſſion you have 'ſhewed, and the Regard you have mani-'feſted for my Perſon, now I am under no 'Suſpicion of any Conſtraint, I can with 'Honour declare, that you have gained my 'Affections, and therefore, with Plea-'ſure, I acknowledge you for my Queen-'Conſort, and for my lawful Wife?' After which, his Majeſty paſſed the Night in the Queen's Apartment, to the great Joy of his Court, and of his Subjects in general, whoſe Affections he has gained to that Degree, that they in a manner adore him; and, indeed, it is no Wonder, for he is every Day ſhewing his Affection and Complaiſance for them, by ſome kind Expreſſion or generous Action, and that without the leaſt Appearance of Affectation or Oſtentation.

The Treaty lately concluded between *Sweden* and the *Porte*, which is now publick, contains *nine* Articles, the moſt remarkable of which are the 5th, which ſtipulates, That if *Ruſſia* attacks either *Sweden* or the *Ottoman Empire*, ſuch Hoſtility ſhall be deemed as an Attack upon both the Contracting Parties, and conſequently they ſhall employ a-like all their Forces, by Sea and Land, to obtain a juſt Reparation in Favour of the Party aggrieved. And the 6th, which ſtipulates, That if *Ruſſia* attacks the *Ottoman Empire*, *Sweden* ſhall immediately declare War againſt that Power, and not give over until ſhe has forced her to make ſuitable Satisfaction; the *Grand*

Seignior being bound to do the ſame, whenever *Ruſſia* attacks *Sweden*; and both Parties farther oblige themſelves never to conclude a Peace, or to enter into any Negotiation with the Enemy, but by common Conſent.

From *Ruſſia* we hear, That the Miniſter of State, M. *Wolinſki*, lately diſgraced, and impriſoned, is now charged with having carried on a traiterous and dangerous foreign Correſpondence; there having been found in his Houſe, ſince he was firſt taken up, a ſmall Box full of Papers, by which, 'tis ſaid, great Diſcoveries have been made, whereupon Orders have been diſpatched to *Moſcow* and ſeveral other Parts of the Empire, for taking up a great Number of other Perſons; but as none of the great Officers of the Army appear in the leaſt to have been concerned in any of theſe Conſpiracies, no great Danger can be apprehended from them, in a Country where the Government is provided with ſuch a numerous Standing-Army. — M. *Wolinſki* has been ſince executed, by having his Right-Hand firſt chopp'd off, and then being beheaded.

They write from *Guadalaxara*, that the Queen Dowager of *Spain* died there the 16th Inſtant, in the 73d Year of her Age. She was Widow of *Charles* II. King of *Spain*.

The Monthly Catalogue *for* July, 1740.

Historical.

1. AN Univerſal Hiſtory; from the earlieſt Account of Time to the preſent. In five Volumes, in Folio. Printed for *E. Simon*, *J. Wood*, and *T. Oſborne*, price 10*l.* 10*s.* 6*d.* ſtitch'd.

* 2. Memoirs of the Duke *de Ripperda*. The 2d Edition, with Additions, and an Appendix. Printed for *J. Stagg*, and *D. Browne*, 8vo, price 5*s.* 6*d.* The Appendix may be had alone.

* 3 Memoirs of the Life and Adventures of *Signior Rozelli*. The 4th Edition, in 2 Pocket Volumes, with Cuts. Printed for *J. Oſborn*, price 5*s.*

4. The Hiſtory of *Adam* and *Eve*. Illuſtrated with 5 Copper-Plates, in Folio. Printed for *O. Payne*, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

Miscellaneous.

5. A ſerious Exhortation to the Electors of *Great Britain*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, pr. 1*s.*

6. The Mock Campaign; or, *Engliſh* Bravery. A Poem. Printed for *C. Corbet*, pr. 1*s.* Likewiſe,

7. The Ghoſt and the Miller. A merry Tale, price 6*d.*

8. Diſcourſes concerning the Being and natural Perfections of God. By *J. Abernethy*, M. A. Sold by *T. Longman*, 8vo, price 5*s.*

9. The compendious Aſtronomer. By Mr. *Charles Brent*. Printed for *J. Robinſon*, and *T. Payne*, 8vo, price 5*s.* 6*d.*

10. The Reports of Caſes argued and determined in the Court of Chancery. By *W. Peere Williams*, Eſq; Printed for *T. Oſborne*. In 2 Vols. Folio, price 2*l.* 16*s.*

11. The Trial of *Colly Cibber*, Comedian. Sold by *E. Curll*. price 1*s.*

12. A Collection of Chirurgical Tracts. By *W. Becket*. F. R. S. Printed for *E. Curll*, 8vo, price 4*s.*

13. An Apology for the Life of Mr. *Theophilus Cibber*, Comedian. Printed for *J. Mechell*, price 2*s.*

14. The *Jewiſh* Spy, Vols. 3, 4, 5, which complete the Work. Printed for *D. Browne*, and *R. Hett*, 12mo, price 3*s.* each Volume.

15. A Letter to Dr. *Trapp*, occaſion'd by a late Pamphlet, entitled, *The true Spirit of the* Methodiſts. By *T— S—y*, Eſq; Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s.*

16. The Art of Angling; with 133 curious Cuts. Printed for *J. Watts*, 12mo, price 3*s.*

17. The Sailor's Companion, and Merchant's Convoy. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

18. Methodiſts, Impoſtors. Printed for *E. Curll*, price 1*s.*

19. An Abridgment of the ſecond Volume, in Folio, of the Gardener's Dictionary. By Mr. *Miller*. Printed for *C. Rivington*, 8vo, price 6*s.* 6*d.*

20. The ſecond and laſt Volume of Miſcellanies, in Proſe and Verſe. By *D. Bellamy*. Printed for *J. Hodges*, 12mo, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

* 21. A Practical *Eſſay* of the Small-Pox. By Dr. *Hillary*. The 2d Edition, with large Additions. Printed for *C. Hitch*, 8vo, price 4*s.*

22. A full Confutation of Dr. *Jurin*'s Reply. By *B. Robins*, F. R, S. Printed for *J. Nourſe*, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

23. Memorials and Characters of eminent and worthy Perſons. Numb. XVIII. Printed for *J. Wilford*, price 1*s.*

24. Journal of a Voyage from *Savannah* to *Philadelphia*, and from *Philadelphia* to *England*, 1740. By *W. Seward*, Gent. Sold at the Booksellers and Pamphlet-Shops, price 1*s.*

Sermons.

25. Eight Sermons at the Lady *Moyer*'s Lectures, in 1728, 1729. By Dr. *Felton*. Sold by *C. Rivington*, 8vo. price 6*s.* 6*d.*

26. A Sermon at St. *Paul*'s on *June* 11. By Dr. *Morrice*. Printed for *J. Brotherton*, price 6*d.*

27. A Sermon on Occaſion of the Death of the late Rev. Dr. *Harris*. By *B. Groſvenor*, D. D. Printed for *R. Hett*, price 6*d.*

28. A Sermon on the ſame Occaſion. By *N. Lardner*. Sold by *J. Davidſon*. price 6*d.*

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

AUGUST, 1740.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 330.

In the Debate upon the Motion for bringing in a Bill to encourage Seamen, begun in our laſt, the next that ſpoke after M. Tullius Cicero, *was* Aulus Gabinius, *the Purport of whoſe Speech was as follows,* viz.

Mr. Preſident,

SIR,

THE Oppoſition to the preſent Motion, ſeems now to be upon a Footing very different from what it was put on at firſt. The Objections at firſt made uſe of againſt the Motion, were only upon account of its being too early; it was not ſo much as pretended, that the Motion was in itſelf wrong, or that we ought not to bring in and paſs ſuch a Bill in this Seſſion of Parliament. We were only told, that ſuch Bills ought to proceed originally from the Crown; and, that therefore we ought to wait a few Days, in order to give his Majeſty an Opportunity to ſend us a Meſſage for that Purpoſe. But now the Debate ſeems to have taken a different Turn; for the Arguments made uſe of by the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, ſeem to be levelled againſt the Bill itſelf, and that therefore no ſuch Motion ought to be made at this Time, or at any future Time. This, indeed, I ſuſpected would be the Turn which the Debate would take at laſt; and therefore, I foreſaw what, I think, is now evident, that poſtponing the Motion would be the ſame with rejecting it.

For this Reaſon, Sir, if the Motion be now diſagreed to, I ſhall expect no Agreement to any ſuch Motion, during this Seſſion of Parliament; and much leſs ſhall I expect any Meſſage from the Crown for that Purpoſe. To veſt the Property of every Thing taken from the Enemy in the Captors, by Act of Parliament, and thereby to deſtroy an Office which has always been a lucrative one to the Officers employed, who are all named by the Crown, muſt be allowed to be a Diminution of that Power which is now lodged in the Crown, and conſequently

ſequently in the Miniſters of the Crown; and I do not think, that even our preſent Miniſters have given us any Room to hope, that they will adviſe his Majeſty to apply for any ſuch Act of Parliament. To tell us, upon ſuch an Occaſion, that there is no Reaſon for our being jealous of any of the diſcretionary Powers lodged in the Crown, or that his preſent Majeſty has never made an improper Uſe of any of them, is an Argument that, out of Reſpect to his Majeſty, ought never to be made uſe of in this Houſe. His Majeſty never has made, his Majeſty never can, by our Conſtitution, make an improper or imprudent Uſe of any of the Prerogatives of the Crown; but his Miniſters may, and by our Conſtitution, we may in this Houſe ſay, that they have. We meet here, Sir, to watch over and preſerve the Liberties of the People, and therefore we ought always to be jealous of every diſcretionary Power, be it lodged where it will: We ought to admit of none ſuch, but thoſe that are abſolutely neceſſary for the Adminiſtration of our Government, and the Preſervation of our Conſtitution.

The diſcretionary Power which is to be limited by the Bill now propoſed, is ſo far from being neceſſary, that it was found to be a Grievance in the laſt War, and will certainly be found to be one in this. Bills in Parliament are often deſigned to prevent Grievances that are foreſeen, as well as to remedy Grievances that have been felt; and, I am ſure, he muſt be very little acquainted with the Hiſtory of the laſt War, or the Nature of Things, who does not foreſee the Grievances which this Bill is deſigned to prevent. The Prize-Office was, in the laſt War, found to be a moſt intolerable Grievance upon the Officers and Seamen of our Navy; and the Backwardneſs that was ſhewn by our Privateers, and even by our publick Ships of War, to attack thoſe of the Enemy, was then found to be a Grievance of very pernicious Conſequence to our Trade. Theſe were Grievances that did not proceed from the Nature of the War we were then engaged in: They proceeded from the Nature of Mankind; and will therefore be found to be Grievances in every War we can be engaged in, unleſs the ſame Methods be taken for preventing them, that were then taken for removing them. In publick Offices, the Officers will extort Fees and Perquiſites from thoſe that are obliged to have recourſe to that Office, and will detain in their own Hands, the Money that goes through their Office, as long as they can, in ſpite of all the Care that can be taken to prevent it; therefore no ſuch Office ſhould ever be eſtabliſhed or kept up, if the publick Buſineſs can be carried on without it. The publick Service may be a Motive with ſome Men for attacking the Enemy's Privateers; but the Publick is generally beſt ſerved, when Men know that they ſerve themſelves, by ſerving the Publick; and therefore, Care ſhould be taken to join theſe two Services together, in every Caſe where it is poſſible. Thus we may ſee, that both the Grievances that were felt in the laſt War, proceeded from the Nature of Mankind, and conſequently muſt be felt in this War as well as they were in that. What then ſhould hinder us from taking the ſame Methods now to prevent them, that were then taken to remedy them? Thoſe Methods were then found to be effectual, and to be attended with no Inconvenience; and therefore it may, with much more Propriety, be aſked, what ſhould make us now more ſhy of aboliſhing any of the diſcretionary Powers of the Crown, than we were at that Time?

The Heavineſs of that War, Sir, might have been made uſe of as an Argument for our being cautious of diminiſhing any of the diſcretionary Powers of the Crown, becauſe in Time of War, the more abſolute a Government is, the more vigorouſly, and the more expeditiouſly, it may exert its Strength; but thoſe we had the good Luck to have at that Time in our Adminiſtration judged better. They were not ſo fond of diſcretionary Powers as to oppoſe any Diminution, they ſaw would contribute towards encouraging our Seamen to execute their Orders with Vigour and Alacrity. If the modern Way of Thinking had prevailed among them, they had better Reaſon than we can have at preſent to ſay, that the Whole of what is taken from the Enemy ought not to be given to the Captors, that ſome Part of it ought to be applied to the Expence of carrying on the War, in order to eaſe the People of the Burden; for the heavier, the more burdenſome a War is upon the People, ſurely there is the more Reaſon for taking every Method that can be thought of, to eaſe the People of a Part of that Burden. This Argument, I ſay, Sir, might have then been inſiſted on with more Reaſon than now; and our Miniſters might then, as well as now, have endeavoured to recommend themſelves to our County Electors, by an affected Compaſſion for the Burdens thrown upon the Land-holders. But they ſcorned to amuſe any Set of Men in the Kingdom with ſuch frivolous and ſhallow Pretences. If they had, I am ſure, we ſhould have acquired no ſuch Glory as we did by that War, and the Nation might have been put to a much greater Expence, by being much longer engaged in it; for the more vigorouſly a War is proſecuted, the ſooner it will be brought to a Concluſion; and if, by applying to the preſent Eaſe of the People, what ſhould be applied to the Encouragement of thoſe employed in proſecuting the War, we ſhould make it endure but for one Year longer than it would otherwiſe have done, the People will always find themſelves Loſers by the Favour pretended to be done them, beſides the Danger the Nation may be expoſed to by a languid Proſecution of the War, and the Loſs our Trade muſt ſuffer, by not putting ſo ſpeedy an End to it as we might have done.

To prevent therefore the Grievance of a Prize-Office, which was ſo grievous to our Seamen in the Beginning of the laſt War, and muſt, from the Nature of Things, become equally grievous in this; and to encourage our Ships of War, both publick and private, to attack and deſtroy thoſe of the Enemy, neither of which can be done by the Authority of the Crown alone, the Paſſing of ſuch a Bill as is now propoſed is, I think, abſolutely neceſſary; and I muſt likewiſe think, that our preſent Circumſtances make it neceſſary to have it brought in as ſoon as poſſible, and without waiting for the Ceremony of having a Meſſage from the Crown for that Purpoſe. It is certain, it is acknowledged even by thoſe who oppoſe this Motion, that our Seamen at preſent ſhew an Averſion to his Majeſty's Service. Let that Averſion proceed from what it will, we ought to endeavour to remove it. To aſſure them, by Act of Parliament, of the Property of every Thing they take from the Enemy, and to free them from the Plague of dancing Attendance through an Office, for the Recovery and Diſtribution of that Property, will certainly contribute, in ſome Meaſure, to remove that Averſion; and in framing the Bill, perhaps, ſome new and additional Means may be thought

of; therefore, I am aſtoniſhed to hear a Motion for ſuch a Bill oppoſed by thoſe, who complain ſo much of a Want of Seamen for his Majeſty's Ships of War. But I am ſtill more aſtoniſhed to hear them oppoſe it upon a Pretence, that no ſuch Bill ought to be brought in, without a previous Meſſage from the Crown for that Purpoſe. What a dangerous Doctrine this is, every Gentleman muſt be ſenſible of, that conſiders the Nature of the Bill. It is a Bill for altering, nay for aboliſhing one of the Prerogatives of the Crown; and, ſhall it be admitted in this Houſe as a Maxim, that we can make no Alteration with regard to any of the Prerogatives of the Crown, unleſs we have Leave to do ſo, by a previous Meſſage from the Crown? I hope no Gentleman will inſiſt upon the Neceſſity of our having any ſuch Leave. I hope it will be unanimouſly admitted, that all the Prerogatives of the Crown are under the Cognizance of Parliament, and that any one of them may be altered, reſtrained, or quite aboliſhed by Act of Parliament, when the publick Service, or the Safety of our Conſtitution, requires it. Sir, if I were againſt the Bill, I ſhould be for the Motion, if it were for no other Reaſon but becauſe this has been made uſe of as an Argument againſt our agreeing to it; for, I ſhould be afraid, leſt a ſeeming Approbation of ſuch an Argument, ſhould be afterwards made uſe of as a Precedent, for eſtabliſhing ſuch a Maxim. But, as I am for the Bill, I have a two-fold Reaſon for agreeing to the Motion; and as I think it neceſſary in our preſent Circumſtances, to bring in the Bill as ſoon as poſſible, I ſhall be againſt poſtponing the Motion upon any Pretence whatſoever; for, if there be ſuch Difficulties as have been repreſented, in framing a proper Bill for the Purpoſes intended, thoſe Difficulties can be no way augmented by an Order for bringing it in. Such an Order will awaken the Attention of the Nation, and may probably bring in Aſſiſtance from thoſe without Doors, which we cannot expect till we have once ordered the Bill to be brought in.

I hope I have now ſhewn, Sir, that a Bill is abſolutely neceſſary for preventing the Grievance our Seamen may be expoſed to by a Prize-Office, and for preventing the Loſs our Trade may ſuffer, by our Ships of War being ſlack in attacking thoſe of the Enemy; and, I hope I have likewiſe ſhewn, that the Bill, and conſequently the Order for bringing it in, will certainly tend to remove that Averſion to his Majeſty's Service, which at preſent prevails among our Seamen, and that therefore it ought at leaſt to be ordered in immediately. If Difficulties ſhould occur in drawing up the Bill, I am ſure, there can be no Difficulty in ordering it to be brought in; and the ſooner it is ordered to be brought in, and Perſons appointed for that Purpoſe, the ſooner thoſe Difficulties would be got over; for till then, the Solving of thoſe Difficulties may be ſaid to be every Man's Buſineſs, and we all know, that what is every Body's Buſineſs is no Body's Buſineſs. But, I do not think, that the Difficulty in framing this Bill, will be found near ſo great as the Hon. Gentleman has been pleaſed to repreſent: We have a Plan before us in what was done laſt War. Beſides, the whole Affair was fully conſidered, and a Bill actually framed and brought into this Houſe, two Years ago: I wiſh that Bill had been then paſſed into a Law: If it had, we might perhaps have found *Spain* ſo pliant, and by that Means we might have prevented a War. At leaſt, we ſhould have found leſs Difficulty in getting Seamen to man our Fleet

at

at the first breaking out of the War; and I cannot as yet find out, that our passing it at that Time, would have been attended with any Inconvenience.

I am surpriz'd, Sir, to hear the Hon. Gentleman say, that if the Bill had been then passed into a Law, our suffering Merchants could have expected no Share of the Prizes we have already taken. Surely, the Hon. Gentleman cannot have forgot, that tho' the Bill had passed into a Law, it was not to take Effect till several Weeks after his Majesty's Declaration of War; therefore, it could no Way relate to any of the Prizes we have already taken, or to any we shall take for some Time to come. But if it had, I believe it would have been an Advantage to the Kingdom in general; and very probably to our suffering Merchants themselves; because the Passing of that Bill would have encouraged them to prepare, and to join in a Society for making Captures or Conquests upon the Enemy; by which, they might have got a more ample and speedy Satisfaction, than they can expect from having a Share of those Prizes, that have been, or may be taken from the Enemy, by his Majesty's Ships of War.

For this Reason, Sir, neither the Hon. Gentleman, nor his Friends, can now have any Reason to exult in their having then thrown out that Bill; and if they now throw it out a second Time, I believe, they'll find themselves very much disappointed, if they expect Thanks, for so doing, from our suffering Merchants, or from any Set of Men in the Kingdom; for even the suffering Merchants would, I am convinc'd, chuse to wait for their Reparation, till the End of the War, rather than to have the War protracted, or the Nation obliged to submit to a dishonourable Peace, for the Sake of giving them an immediate Reparation.

The next that rose up, and the last who spoke upon this Subject, was M. Cato, *who concluded the Debate, as follows,* viz.

Mr. President,

S I R,

AS I did not expect an Opposition to my Motion, I, at first, avoided taking up your Time, with saying any Thing in its Favour; but now, that it has been opposed by so many Gentlemen, and by Gentlemen of such Weight, I hope, I shall be indulged the Liberty, of giving you my Reasons for making it, and of adding something, to what other Gentlemen have done me the Favour to say, by Way of Answer to the Objections that have been made to it.

I shall freely own, Sir, that if I had not made you this Motion, I should have been mighty easy about delaying it for a few Days: I should have most readily agreed to such a Delay, if it had been for no other Reason but to oblige those Gentlemen near me, who have always seemed fond of Delays, with Regard to every Measure that had the Face of War; but, as they had resolved upon, and actually declared War, since I last had the Honour to meet them in this House; I presumed, they had altered their Affections, and that they would now be fond of every Measure, that might contribute towards a vigorous Prosecution of that War, they had at last agreed to declare. If I had but suspected, that it was otherwise; or, if they had any Way signified their Desire to me, before I made my Motion, I should have waved making it for a few Days; but, now it is made, I cannot part with it; because, as an Hon. Gentleman has already observed in this Debate, the

post-

poſtponing of it, after it has been once moved, will be look'd on, without Doors, as putting a Negative upon it; and this, in our preſent Circumſtances, may be attended with moſt terrible Conſequences.

If the Motion be popular, Sir, I am glad to hear it: It is, in my Opinion, a very ſtrong Proof of its being right; but, I did not make it with any View of Popularity, and ſhould have been glad to have ſhared the Popularity of it, with the Hon. Gentleman near me, and with every Gentleman, who has the Honour of being a Member of this Houſe; which would have been the Caſe, if it had not been oppoſed. It will ſtill, in a great meaſure, be the Caſe, if it happens to be agreed to; becauſe, it will then be the Act of the Houſe, and every Member will have his Share of that Popularity which may be acquired by it. But, I muſt think the Conduct of ſome Gentlemen, who generally agree in Opinion, very ſingular upon this Occaſion. Some of them ſay, the Bill I have propoſed is ſo right and ſo popular a Meaſure, that we ought to allow the Crown to have the Credit of propoſing it; whilſt others riſe up and tell us, that it is quite wrong, that it would be an unneceſſary and dangerous Incroachment upon the Prerogatives of the Crown, and that it would be doing an Injuſtice to our ſuffering Merchants, to our Land-holders, and to the People in general.

Theſe two Methods of arguing, I profeſs, Sir, I do not know how to reconcile. If we ſhould reſolve to poſtpone the Motion, and wait for a Meſſage from the Crown, I'm afraid, it would occaſion a Diviſion in his Majeſty's Councils; and therefore, to preſerve the uſual Unanimity there, I believe it will be the beſt Way for us, not to wait for ſuch a Meſſage, but to enter immediately into the Merits of what I have propoſed, and if it be right, agree to it. For this End, I ſhall lay before you the Reaſons that induced me to make this Motion, and anſwer ſome of the Objections that have been made to it. In the late War, Sir, I mean that in the late Queen's Time, we had ſo great Succeſs, and gained ſo much Glory, that I thought the beſt Thing we could do in the preſent War, would be to conſider our Conduct in the late War, in order to make that a Rule for our Conduct in this. With this View, Sir, as ſoon as I thought that a War with *Spain* was become unavoidable, which was above two Years ago, I began to recollect the ſeveral Steps that had been taken for carrying on the late War. One of the Supports we had in that War, I mean a powerful Alliance upon the Continent, I foreſaw, we could hardly expect in this, and that therefore, it would be neceſſary for us, to make the beſt Uſe of our own Strength. Among the other Methods taken in the laſt War, for exerting our own Strength, I obſerved, that two Laws had been made for encouraging our Seamen to do their Duty; and, for encouraging private Men to join together in Societies for attacking and making Conqueſts upon the Enemy. As theſe Laws were made to continue only during that War, I thought it would be neceſſary to revive them, in Caſe of a new War with *Spain*; and for this Purpoſe, I did, with the Aſſiſtance of ſome other Gentlemen, bring in a Bill two Years ago. The Bill was then rejected, becauſe we were not come to an actual Rupture; but, that Objection being now removed, I thought it incumbent upon me to offer my Bill again to the Houſe; and, for this Purpoſe I made you the Motion now under your Conſideration.

To encourage our Seamen to do their Duty, and to encourage even private

pirvate Men, at their own Expence, to attack and diſtreſs the Enemy, muſt neceſſarily contribute greatly to a vigorous Proſecution of the War; and, if it be vigorouſly proſecuted, it cannot be of long Duration. Sir, as the Affairs of *Europe* are at preſent circumſtanced, our very Being depends upon bringing this War to a ſpeedy Concluſion. There is a Spirit of late Years raiſed in every Nation of *Europe* for improving their Trade, Navigation, and Manufactures. All the Powers of *Europe*, except *Spain* and us, are now at Peace amongſt themſelves: Our two great Rivals in Trade, the *Dutch* and *French*, are in perfect Tranquillity. What then ſhall become of our Trade, if, by a languid Proſecution of the War, we allow it to be interrupted for ſeveral Years by Privateers under *Spaniſh* Colours, whilſt our Rivals in Trade are carrying on theirs without any Diſturbance? By the Difference of Freight and Inſurance, they will be enabled to under-ſell us, and in a few Years, to turn us out of every Market in the known World. Thus our Trade muſt be undone, unleſs, by a vigorous Proſecution, we bring *Spain* to a ſpeedy Compliance. *Spain* has no Trade to loſe: She has no Trade to be interrupted, but that between one Part of her own Dominions and another, and this Trade may be ſuſpended, but cannot be loſt by the Interruption. The *Spaniards*, therefore, can loſe nothing by the Continuance of the War, but what we take from them; whereas, we may be undone by a long Continuance, even tho' we ſhould be ſucceſsful againſt the Enemy. It is therefore our Buſineſs to take every Method that can be thought of, for bringing the War to a ſpeedy, as well as honourable Concluſion; and, in the mean Time, to take as much Care as poſſible, to prevent our Trade's being interruped by the Enemy's Privateers.

For preventing the Interruption of our Trade, nothing can be more effectual than that of encouraging our Seamen, by a pecuniary Reward, to be diligent in looking out for, and alert in attacking the Enemy's Privateers, wherever they can be met with; and as the Enemy muſt have their Treaſure brought from the *Weſt-Indies* to *Spain* in ſtraggling Ships, for they cannot have it in Fleets or Squadrons, one of the beſt Ways we can take for diſtreſſing them, and thereby compelling them to agree to reaſonable Terms, will be, to intercept and take as many of theſe Ships as we can. What can be more effectual for encouraging our Seamen to be diligent in cruizing, and looking out for theſe Ships, than that of aſſuring them, by Act of Parliament, that all they take ſhall be their own?

But, Sir, as this will not of itſelf be effectual enough for forcing *Spain* to a ſpeedy Compliance, and as it is incumbent upon us to think of gaining ſome national Advantage by the War, in order to compenſate the great Expence the Nation muſt be put to in carrying it on; and moreover, as no ſuch Advantage can be gained, but by attacking and poſſeſſing ourſelves of ſome of the *Spaniſh* Settlements in *America*; we ought to think betimes of carrying ſuch Projects into Execution. I do not ſay, that we ought to think of conquering and holding the whole *Spaniſh America*; but, if we ſhould take Poſſeſſion of the Whole, or greateſt Part, which, I believe, is far from being impoſſible, we might pretend to hold it till the Court of *Spain* agreed to give us Satisfaction for all paſt Injuries, and Security againſt all future. Nay, we ought to inſiſt upon keeping Poſſeſſion of ſome

Parts

Parts of the *West-Indies*, and upon having the absolute Property of them yielded to us, not only as a Compensation for the Expence we have been, and may be at, but as a Security for our Trade in Time to come.

This, in my Opinion, Sir, is the only effectual Method for putting a speedy End to the War. As long as we keep to a naval War only, the *Spaniards* can be no great Sufferers by it: On the contrary, I believe, they will always be Gainers, let us take what Care we will; and therefore, I am convinced, we shall never be able, by such a War, to force them into reasonable Terms. But if we should once turn them out of the Whole, or a great Part of their Possessions in *America*, they would then immediately submit to any Terms we should propose, in order to have that Possession restored. If we have a Mind, therefore, to bring the War to a speedy Conclusion, we ought directly to take the proper Measures for getting Possession of some of their Settlements in *America*. I am sorry to find that no such Measures were concerted before we began Hostilities against them; for, by the Execution of such Measures, we ought, in good Policy, to have opened the War. It is by this Means alone, we can force them to a speedy and honourable Peace: It is by this Means alone, we can procure any Security for our Trade in Time to come; and, it is by this Means alone, we can propose to get any Compensation for the Expence we must be at, in the Prosecution of the War.

If this be the Case, Sir, and that it is, must, I think, appear evident to every Gentleman that considers the Circumstances of the two Nations, ought we not to encourage private Men to assist the Publick, by endeavouring to make Conquests upon the *Spaniards* in *America*? Would it not be of great Service to any publick Expedition we may undertake, to have a Set of private Adventurers attacking the Enemy in one Place, whilst his Majesty's Squadrons and Armies were attacking them in another? Does not this shew the Expediency of reviving that Law which was made in the late Queen's Time, for encouraging private Adventurers to attack and make Conquests upon the Enemy in the *West-Indies*? It had then no great Effect, because People that had Money, made so much of it, by turning it in the publick Funds, that no Man thought of turning his Money to any other Use; but as that Trade is now, thank God! not near so gainful as it was then, if this Law be revived, the War prosecuted with Vigour by the Publick, and our Councils directed by those upon whom the People may depend, I am convinced, the Law will now have a much better Effect. We have all the Reason in the World to expect, that private Adventurers will unite for making Conquests upon the Enemy, if they be convinced, that we are serious in carrying on the War, and that after they have been at a great Expence, they shall not be prevented in their Attempts, by an unseasonable Suspension of Arms, nor their Conquests sacrificed by a dishonourable Convention.

We may remember, Sir, that soon after the Revolution, there was a Corporation established in the Northern Part of this Island, for making a Settlement in a Part of *America*, which the *Spaniards* pretend to belong to them, tho' they never had, nor have now, the least Right or Title to it. That Corporation did accordingly make their designed Settlement, after having made a fair Purchase, and got a good Title from the Natives to whom it belong'd; and, I believe, they would have kept Possession

Poſſeſſion in ſpite of the *Spaniards*, if a very prepoſterous Sort of Jealouſy and Envy had not, at that Time, poſſeſſed us in this Kingdom. Whilſt the two Crowns were diſunited, I do not wonder that there was a mutual Jealouſy between the Southern and Northern Parts of this Iſland; but, after the two Crowns came to be united, I cannot comprehend, how a Diſunion and Jealouſy ſtill ſubſiſted between the two Nations. It is ſurprizing, that after the Union of the two Crowns, the two Nations ſhould have continued ſo long diſunited. Two Nations inhabiting the ſame Spot of Earth, and that Spot diſtinct and ſeparated from all other Parts of the Earth, ought ſurely to have united, and to have removed all Sorts of Jealouſy, as ſoon as poſſible; in order that the Northern might not be left as a back Door, for making an Invaſion upon the Southern; and yet, I do not know how, that Jealouſy remained for ſome Time after the Revolution, and was the Cauſe of defeating that Project, which would now have been of great Advantage to the whole Iſland. If the Bill I have propoſed, ſhould paſs into a Law, that Society may again revive, and may be encouraged to go and take Poſſeſſion of what belongs to them. I am convinced, they would now be powerfully aſſiſted by the People in this Part of the Iſland; and, I hope, our Government would likewiſe give them all proper Encouragement and Aſſiſtance.

From what I have ſaid, Sir, I hope, it appears, that the Bill I have propoſed to be brought in, muſt contribute greatly towards a vigorous Proſecution of the preſent War, and conſequently towards procuring us a ſpeedy, an honourable, and an advantageous Peace. This was the Reaſon, that induced me to move for its being brought in; and my Reaſon for making this Motion ſo early, proceeded from the great Diſtreſs we are in, for Want of Seamen, and the Unwillingneſs they generally ſhew, to enter into his Majeſty's Service. That we are in a very great Diſtreſs for Want of Seamen, will not, I believe, be denied even by thoſe who have the Honour to be employed in our Adminiſtration; for they would not, ſurely, have put ſuch a Stop to our Trade, by Preſſing and Embargoes, if a ſufficient Supply for his Majeſty's Navy could have been got by any other Means.

This Diſtreſs, Sir, I think it no very difficult Matter to account for. Our Seamen have for theſe twenty Years been not only neglected, but ill-treated. They have been upon every Occaſion, and often without Occaſion, preſſed and hawled like Slaves, on board our Men of War, without allowing them ſo much as the Liberty of chuſing which Captain they would ſerve under. They have been diſcouraged from entering into his Majeſty's Service, by ſending them upon Expeditions, with ſuch Inſtructions, as ſome Times expoſed them to great Dangers and Hardſhips, and, at all Times diſabled them from gaining either Riches or Renown. They have been often diſmiſſed, before their Wages could anſwer the Charge of fitting themſelves out; and they have been diſmiſſed at Ports, from whence they had many Miles to travel on Foot, and perhaps without a Penny in their Pocket, before they could come at any Place where they could expect to get into the Merchant-Service, or into any other Buſineſs. Theſe, and many other Hardſhips put upon them, drove ſome into foreign Service, made others leave the Sea, and betake themſelves to ſome Employment at Land, and diſcouraged all in general from breeding themſelves, or their Children, up to the Sea-Service. By this Means, our natio-

nal Stock of Seamen, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, has been greatly diminiſhed, and thoſe that remain, have been made to conceive ſuch a Diſtaſte of his Majeſty's Service, that, we find, they often run the Riſk, even of Death itſelf, rather than be forced into that Service.

From theſe Cauſes, Sir, our preſent Diſtreſs for Want of Seamen proceeds; and, as I think the Bill intended by this Motion, will be a great Encouragement to Seamen, and likewiſe to Landmen, to enter into his Majeſty's Sea-Service, I reſolved to move as ſoon as poſſible for its being brought in, becauſe I was, and am ſtill convinced, that the very Motion for bringing in ſuch a Bill, if it be agreed to, will contribute not a little towards removing our preſent Diſtreſs; but, if it ſhould be either refuſed or poſtponed, I ſhall be extremely ſorry for having made it; for the refuſing or poſtponing ſuch a Motion, at ſuch a Juncture, may be attended with the moſt fatal Conſequences. It will diſpirit thoſe Seamen that are already in the Service; it will prevent our Seamen that are abroad from having any Thoughts of returning home; and it may probably make ſome of thoſe that are now at home, fly into foreign Service, in order to prevent their being preſſed into his Majeſty's Service.

Having thus, Sir, laid before you ſome of the chief Reaſons that induced me to make this Motion, and to make it ſo early, I ſhall next beg Leave to take Notice of ſome of the Objections that have been made againſt it; and, I muſt ſay, I was a little ſurprized at the firſt that was made. As I was conſcious of the Innocence of my Intentions, I could not but be ſurprized at my being accuſed of ſhewing, a Sort of Diſreſpect to the Crown, by moving for ſuch a Bill, without a previous Meſſage for that Purpoſe from the Crown. I am no Miniſter, Sir, I have no Share in any of his Majeſty's Councils, and therefore, I cannot certainly know what may be agreeable to the Crown; but as a Country Gentleman, and a Member of this Houſe, I ſuppoſed, that a Bill for promoting the Service of the Crown, could not but be agreeable to the Crown; and I could not ſuppoſe, that in ſuch a Caſe, it was neceſſary to wait for a Meſſage; eſpecially, when I conſidered, that Bills of the ſame Nature had before been brought in and paſſed into Laws, without any previous Meſſage from the Crown. Nay, the very Bill now intended was brought in two Years ago without any ſuch Meſſage, and not the leaſt Complaint made againſt it, on that Account. The offering of ſuch a Bill, at that Time, might, perhaps, by ſome be thought premature; but now it muſt be agreeable to every one who wiſhes to ſee the preſent War vigorouſly proſecuted, and honourably and ſpeedily concluded; and for this Reaſon, I am ſure, it will be agreeable to his Majeſty, if the Intention of the Bill be honeſtly and fairly repreſented to him, whatever it may be to ſome of thoſe that have a much more free Acceſs to him than I have.

So much I thought myſelf obliged to ſay, Sir, in my own Vindication; and as this Objection has already been ſhewn to be nothing but a Pretence, I have no Occaſion, I think, to take any farther Notice of it. The other Objections that have been made, are Objections of a different Nature: They are Objections againſt the Bill itſelf, as well as againſt the Motion; and were chiefly inſiſted on by the Hon. Gentleman that ſpoke laſt on the other Side of the Queſtion. Thoſe that ſpoke before him, inſiſted principally upon the Unſeaſonableneſs of the Motion; but he threw aſide all Diſguiſe, and directed his whole Artillery againſt the

the Bill itſelf; and therefore, I muſt add a little to what has been extremely well ſaid by my worthy Friend that ſpoke laſt, by Way of Anſwer to his Objections.

The Hon. Gentleman endeavoured, Sir, to ſhew a Difference between our preſent Circumſtances, and the Circumſtances we were in, when ſuch a Bill as this was paſſed in the late Queen's Time. Does he think, that, if the Grievances which were afterwards felt, had been foreſeen at the Beginning of that War, thoſe Bills would not have been brought in, and paſſed the very next Seſſion after that War broke out? The Inconveniences he has mentioned, would not, I am ſure, have been thought of any Weight by that Adminiſtration, whatever they may be by this. The Difficulty about Goods put on board an Enemy's Ship before the Declaration of War, or within the Time limited by Treaties, has already been fully anſwered; and, as to the Difficulty about Inſurance, I believe, all the *Spaniſh* Ships, upon which any Inſurance was made before the End of *May* laſt, are now arrived at their deſigned Ports. If the Inſurance was made ſince that Time, the Inſurer ought to ſuffer; becauſe it was then evident that there would be a Breach between us and *Spain*; but, in order to remove this Difficulty, and to gain the Hon. Gentleman's Approbation of what I propoſe, which, I believe, is extremely neceſſary for ſecuring its Succeſs, I ſhall be ready to agree, that the Bill ſhall not commence or begin to take Effect, till ſo many Weeks, in *Europe*, and ſo many Months, in *America*, after his Majeſty's Declaration of War, as are ſtipulated by Treaties between us, and any of our Friends, or Allies.

As for our Merchants, Sir, that ſuffered by the *Spaniſh* Depredations in Time of Peace, I wiſh we had ſhewn a proper Compaſſion for them ſeveral Years ago. If we had, I am ſure they would not have ſuffered ſo much; and they might probably have got full Satisfaction before this Time. But, when we are thinking of ſhewing Compaſſion for thoſe that have ſuffered by our peaceable Meaſures, we ought to think of ſhewing Compaſſion for our Merchants and Trade in general, which muſt ſuffer, and may be undone by a long Continuance of the War. If we do this, we ſhall think of nothing but of putting a ſpeedy and honourable End to the War. This ought to be our principal Aim, and if we allow ourſelves to be diverted from this, by a Regard for any Thing elſe, we may probably find ourſelves diſappointed of both, which in the End will be a much greater Loſs, even to our ſuffering Merchants, than the Advantage they can reap, by having a Share of ſuch Prizes as may be taken during the War. And as to our Land-holders, or any other Set of Men in the Kingdom, that may be relieved by applying a Part of the Prizes towards defraying the Expence of the War, if the Hon. Gentleman has a real Concern for their Relief, and for relieving them in ſuch a Way as may not interrupt our Proſecution of the War, he ſhould agree to this Bill; becauſe it may be the Cauſe of the War's being carried on principally at the Expence of private Men. It is remark'd by all Hiſtorians, as a Piece of good Conduct in Q. *Elizabeth*, that ſhe often got her War againſt *Spain* carried on at the Expence of private Adventurers, who did infinite Miſchief to the Enemy, without putting that wiſe Queen to any other Expence, than that of lending them a few of her Ships of War. But I queſtion much if this Example will be followed in the preſent War; for ſome People are ſo fond of touching publick Money,

that they are, I believe, afraid leſt any Money ſhould now be laid out in the Proſecution of the War, that does not paſs through their Fingers.

I believe, no Man will doubt of my rejoicing in the Succeſs we have already had in the War; but, A I muſt obſerve, Sir, that if it had been begun as it was, either in Queen *Elizabeth*'s or *Oliver Cromwell*'s Time, our Succeſs might probably have been much greater. We might have been, by this Time, in Poſſeſſion of ſome of the Enemy's B Provinces, as well as ſome of their Ships; and, if proper Care had been taken, I am ſure, they could not have been in Poſſeſſion of ſo many of our Merchant Ships as they are; for notwithſtanding the Succeſs we have had, I believe, C they are pretty equal with us upon the Balance, at leaſt in the Seas of *Europe*, whatever they may be in thoſe of *America*; for, as that Part of the World is not ſo immediately under the Influence of our domeſtick Councils, I do not know but that D the War may be carried on with a little more Vigour. But, whatever Prizes we may meet with, either in the Seas of *Europe* or *America*, I ſhould be for giving the Whole to the Captors, let it be of what Value it will. Whoever has E it, it will be ſo much taken from the Enemy, and added to the Wealth of this Nation; for, whatever belongs to private Men, belongs to, and may be reckoned a Part of the publick Stock of the Nation. If it be divided among F our Seamen, it will ſoon circulate, and if conſiderable, may contribute to reduce the Intereſt of Money, which will be an Advantage to our Trade in general, and to every private Man in particular, except Uſurers and Pawn-brokers. Suppoſe G ſome of our Seamen ſhould, by a rich Prize, get great Fortunes, and ſhould take ſuch Care of what they get, (which is ſeldom the Caſe) as to prevent their going to Sea any more: Inſtead of diminiſhing, it would encreaſe our Number of Seamen; for, if we ſhould loſe 2 or 300 Seamen, by ſuch a lucky Accident, their good Fortune would ſend 10,000 to Sea in their Room; ſo that the Nation can no way ſuffer by giving the Whole of every Prize to the Captors, and it will contribute a great deal towards a vigorous Proſecution of the War.

However, Sir, as I am willing to gain, at any reaſonable Rate, the Hon. Gentleman's Approbation to a Bill, which I think ſo neceſſary in our preſent Circumſtances, if he thinks it too much, to give the Whole of a *Galleon* or *Regiſter* Ship to the Captors, we may eaſily guard againſt this Inconvenience, by excepting ſuch Ships out of the Bill, which I ſhall, for the Sake of having his Concurrence, agree to; tho' I think it not quite ſo right, becauſe, I am afraid, it may be the Cauſe of ſome of thoſe Ships eſcaping, when they might otherwiſe have fallen into our Hands; which will be a double Loſs to us, by preventing our adding to our own Wealth, and by adding to the Wealth of our Enemies, whereby they will be enabled to continue the War longer, or to proſecute it with more Vigour againſt us.

I ſhall readily grant, Sir, that notwithſtanding the beſt Meaſures we can concert, and the utmoſt Care we can take, many of the Enemy's Ships may eſcape us, by various Accidents at Sea; but this, in my Opinion, ought to be an Argument for our giving the greater Encouragement to our Ships of War, to be diligent in cruizing and watchful in looking out for them; and therefore, I think, our giving the whole of every Prize that ſhall be taken, as an Encouragement, to the Captors, is the

beſt

beſt Uſe that can be made of thoſe Prizes we may have the good Luck to meet with. To this I muſt add, Sir, that this Uncertainty of meeting with their Ships at Sea, ought likewiſe to be an Argument for our reſolving to attack them at Land, as well as Sea; and, that therefore, in order to ſave the publick Expence as much as poſſible, we ought to encourage private Adventurers, to attack and make Conqueſts upon them at Land. So that this Uncertainty, inſtead of being an Argument againſt the Bill, is in every Reſpect an Argument in its Favour.

Thus, Sir, I hope, I have fully anſwered every Objection againſt the Bill, that was not before ſufficiently removed by other Gentlemen who have ſpoke in this Debate: I hope, I have ſhewn, that the Objections are either of no Weight, or ſuch as do not in the leaſt affect the Motion, becauſe they may be effectually removed by proper Clauſes and Expreſſions in the drawing up of the Bill, or by proper Amendments after it is drawn up; and therefore, if a Negative ſhould be put upon this Motion, I ſhall look upon it, I believe moſt Men will look upon it, as a moſt terrible Omen, with reſpect to our future Conduct in this juſt and neceſſary War. With moſt People without Doors, it will be a Confirmation of what his Majeſty has been pleaſed to tell us, in his Speech from the Throne. They will from thence conclude, that his Majeſty has ſecret Enemies, not only at home, but in his own Councils; and, I wiſh the Obſtinacy of *Spain*, and the Conduct ſhe has of late Years dared to hold towards us, may not be more owing to this, than to thoſe Diviſions and Animoſities that ſubſiſted amongſt us before the War broke out; for, as thoſe Diviſions and Animoſities were entirely owing to ſome of our People's ſhewing too great a Fondneſs for Peace, ſhe could from thence expect no Advantage after a Declaration of War, unleſs ſhe had Reaſon to believe, that thoſe very People would betray us into an imprudent, puſillanimous, and deſtructive Method of proſecuting the War, in order to juſtify, by our Misfortunes and Want of Succeſs in War, the Fondneſs they had before ſhewn for an infamous and ruinous Peace.

Having thus given you the Subſtance of all the Speeches that were made upon this important Debate, I ſhall give you an Account of a Debate which happened in our Club upon Tueſday *the 27th of* November *laſt, when (our Club having aſſumed that Character which they often do)* L. Junius Brutus *ſtood up and ſpoke to this Effect*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

HIS Majeſty, in his Speech from the Throne, having been ſo gracious as to tell us, that he had called us together, at this Time, ſooner than has been uſual of late Years, that he might have the immediate Advice and Aſſiſtance of his Parliament at this critical and important Conjuncture, I, from thence, thought it was the Duty of every Member of this Houſe, to conſider our preſent Circumſtances, and, if he could think of any Thing that might contribute to our Succeſs in the preſent War, to lay it before the Houſe, that, in caſe it ſhould be approved of, it might be offered as the Advice of this Houſe to his Majeſty.

For this Reaſon, Sir, I hope I ſhall ſtand excuſed, in what I am to offer to your Conſideration; for, I think, no Gentleman can be accuſed of Preſumption, when he does no more than what is his indiſpenſable Duty, and what his Majeſty

Majeſty has told us he expects from us, as Members of this Houſe. We have already in one Inſtance anſwered his Majeſty's Expectations. We have laid before him the Advice of his Parliament, with reſpect to the Concluſion of the War. What I am to offer, relates to the Method of conducting it. If the Advice I am to offer, be approved of by this Houſe, I am convinced it will be followed by his Majeſty; and, if it be followed, it will contribute towards the War's being brought to that Concluſion, which we have adviſed his Majeſty to aim at.

In the Proſecution of this War, Sir, there are two Things chiefly to be regarded. That is, the carrying the War on in ſuch a Manner, as may be moſt effectual for compelling the Enemy to ſubmit to reaſonable Terms of Peace, and the carrying it on in ſuch a Manner as may be leaſt burdenſome, and leaſt inconvenient to ourſelves.

From this Conſideration, Sir, I cannot but highly approve of what his Majeſty has likewiſe been pleaſed to communicate to us from the Throne: I mean the raiſing of a Body of Marines. At the Beginning of every War, we muſt neceſſarily be in ſome Diſtreſs for want of Seamen; becauſe, in Time of Peace, no more Men will breed themſelves up to Sea, than are neceſſary for ſupplying the Merchant-Service, and the few Guard Ships and Men of War we keep in Commiſſion in a Time of profound Tranquillity; which muſt of courſe occaſion a Deficiency of Seamen, when a War firſt breaks out; eſpecially after the Nation has been, for a great Number of Years, in a continued State of Peace. This Deficiency, which proceeds from the natural Courſe of human Affairs, we can no way ſupply at the Beginning of a War, but by ſending a Body of Land Soldiers or Marines, to ſerve on board our Men of War; unleſs we ſhould, for the Sake of ſupplying our Men of War with all thorough-bred Seamen, put an entire Stop to our Trade, which ought never to be done, but in the Caſe of imminent Danger from an impending Invaſion.

This is a Danger, Sir, which is far from being the certain Conſequence of every War we can be engaged in; and therefore, at the Beginning of every War which is not attended with any ſuch Danger, as we have then no Occaſion for keeping up a large Body of Land Forces at home, we ought to indulge our Trade, by ſending Land Men, or Land Soldiers, to ſerve as Marines on board our Men of War, in order thereby to leave a ſufficient ſupply of expert Seamen for our Merchant-Service, and for carrying on our Trade; for, as it is not our Intereſt to make any Conqueſts upon the Continent of *Europe*, the Protection of our Trade is the only Motive, peculiar to ourſelves, that we can have for going to War; and it would be very ridiculous in us to carry on a War for the Protection of our Trade, in ſuch a Manner as to deſtroy it. And this, of putting a great Number of Land Soldiers, by way of Marines, on board our Men of War, is the more prudent and the more neceſſary, becauſe, as few of our Merchant Ships carry more Men than are barely ſufficient for navigating the Ship, they can employ none but expert Seamen; whereas a Man of War does not require above one Half, or one Third, of her Complement, to be thorough-bred Seamen. With regard to the other Half, or two Thirds, as they are to be employed in Fighting, and are not neceſſary for navigating the Ship, Land Men may, in a few Days, be made as fit for the Service, as the moſt expert Seamen what-

whatever; and, if thoſe Land Men be ſuch as have been bred to military Diſcipline, they will be better, and more uſeful for making Invaſions and Incurſions upon the Enemy at Land, than the moſt expert Seamen, very few of whom are ever bred to that Sort of Diſcipline, which is neceſſary to be obſerved in Land Engagements.

Every Gentleman muſt therefore highly approve of his Majeſty's having reſolved to raiſe a Body of Marines; and the Manner of raiſing this Body of Marines, is what I am now to propoſe to you for your Conſideration. In my Opinion, Sir, this Body of Marines ought to be raiſed by making proper Draughts out of the regular Regiments now on Foot in *Britain* and *Ireland*; becauſe, I think, a Body of Marines raiſed in this Manner, will be more uſeful againſt the Enemy, and not only leſs expenſive, but more convenient to ourſelves, than a Body of raw, undiſciplined Men, newly raiſed for that Purpoſe. As the *Spaniards* have no Trade, and very few ſhips at Sea, we cannot propoſe to force them to agree to ſuch Terms as we can ſafely or honourably accept of, unleſs we attack them at Land, in ſome Part of their Dominions. I think we ought to attack them in every Part. When I ſay ſo, I do not mean, that we ſhould endeavour to make a Conqueſt of any Part of their Dominions in *Europe*; but, I think, we ought to have a Fleet, with 5 or 6000 Marines and Land Forces, continually hovering about the Coaſts of *Spain*, and making Invaſions at every Place, where they can find a proper Opportunity; for notwithſtanding the numerous Land Army now kept up in that Country, they cannot have 5 or 6000 Men at every Place where our Troops may land, and therefore, with ſuch a Body of Land Forces, we may plunder and deſtroy many Parts of their Country, and keep their maritime Provinces in a continual Alarm; and, for this Purpoſe, I am ſure a Body of Marines drawn from our regular and, I hope, well diſciplined Regiments, will be much more ſerviceable, than a Body of Marines compoſed of raw and undiſciplined Men.

As for the *Spaniſh* Dominions in *America*, Sir, I believe no Man queſtions but that we ought to attack them. We ought not only to attack them, but we ought to *take and hold* ſome of them, for the future Security of our Trade in that Part of the World; and, if diſciplined Troops are not better than raw and undiſciplined Men for that Purpoſe, I am ſure, we have been at a great Expence in keeping up a numerous Army for many Years to no Purpoſe. I indeed wonder, that a large Detachment of our regular Troops has not been already ſent into that Country. In my Opinion, if we had conſidered what we were about, or what was the moſt probable and effectual Way, either of diſtreſſing the Enemy or gaining an Advantage to ourſelves, we ſhould have begun Hoſtilities, by ſending a well provided Squadron and Army to *America*. This we might have done without declaring War. It was Time enough to declare War, when they were arrived there, and ready to attack the Enemy. If we had done this, we might in a ſhort Time, perhaps before now, have been in Poſſeſſion of what would have forced *Spain* to agree to our Terms.

But this, Sir, is Time paſt, which is not to be recalled; let us therefore look forward, and do the beſt we can, in Time to come. I have ſhewn, that a Body of Marines drawn from our regular Regiments, will be the moſt ſerviceable for attacking the Enemy, and 'tis certain, that

that this Method will be the leaſt expenſive, and moſt convenient for ourſelves. By this Method, the additional Charge will be but very inconſiderable; and the Country will be freed from the Inconvenience and Expence of quartering a great Number of uſeleſs Troops. I ſay uſeleſs, Sir, and, I think, I may moſt juſtly ſay ſo; for, in a War with *Spain*, every Man that is kept in this Iſland, above the Number that is abſolutely neceſſary, in a Time of the moſt profound Tranquillity, muſt be allowed to be uſeleſs. We cannot be in the leaſt Danger of an Invaſion from that Country, conſidering the preſent Circumſtances of the two Nations. We were never more united amongſt ourſelves, than we are at preſent. There is a moſt general, and, I am ſure, a moſt juſt Indignation againſt the *Spaniards*, ſtirred up in every Corner of the three Kingdoms, and among all Ranks and Degrees of Men; and therefore, we can be in no Danger of an Invaſion from thence, unleſs it were to be made with ſuch a Number of Troops as would be ſufficient to conquer the three Kingdoms. This we know they cannot accompliſh: There is not in all *Spain*, Ships enough for tranſporting ſuch a Number of Troops; and, if they had Ships, they could not, in the whole Kingdom of *Spain*, find Proviſions enough for victualling ſuch a numerous Fleet of Tranſports.

We can therefore, Sir, have no Uſe for ſuch a numerous Army here at home; and, ſince we have no Uſe for them here at home, for this Reaſon alone, if we had no other, we ought to ſend a great Number of them to ſerve as Marines on board our Men of War. But, I have already ſhewn, that they muſt be of more Service both at Sea and at Land, than raw, undiſciplined Men can be ſuppoſed to be; and therefore, I ſhall add no more, but conclude with moving, *That an humble Addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty, humbly to lay before him, as the Advice of this Houſe, that he would be pleaſed to give Directions, that the Body of Marines intended to be raiſed, may be done in the moſt frugal Manner, and put upon the leaſt expenſive Eſtabliſhment, by having as many private Men, and as few Officers, as the Nature of the Service will admit; OEconomy at firſt ſetting out, being abſolutely neceſſary to enable us to ſupport his Majeſty in the vigorous Proſecution of this War; and as Draughts from the preſent Regiments of Foot, which are all equally proper to be employed, either by Land or Sea, will be attended with the leaſt Expence, as well as be moſt expeditious for any immediate Service, humbly to recommend that Method to his Majeſty, in tender Compaſſion to his People, already burdened with many heavy and grievous Taxes; and, to aſſure his Majeſty, whenever he ſhall judge it neceſſary to encreaſe the Corps, from whence ſuch Draughts are made, that his faithful Commons will moſt readily enable him to do it; being fully convinced, that their Safety, and all that is dear to them, conſiſt in the Preſervation of his Majeſty and the Proteſtant Succeſſion.*

This Motion was ſeconded by Aulus Gabinius, *who ſpoke to this Effect*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,

S I R,

THE Method propoſed by my Hon. Friend for raiſing or forming a Body of Marines, I always thought ſo reaſonable, that when the Regiments were laſt Summer brought from *Ireland*, I imagined they were brought over for that very Purpoſe; and therefore, I could not but be in ſome Sort of Surprize to hear ſuch Complaints for want of Seamen, and to ſee our Trade

Trade ſo much interrupted and diſtreſſed by Preſſing and Embargoes, whilſt theſe Regiments, and all our other Regiments of Foot in *Great Britain*, were lying idle in their Quarters, and oppreſſing all the Inns and other publick Houſes in the Kingdom. Nay, even when I heard, by his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne, that we were to have a Body of Marines, I ſtill imagined, they were to be raiſed by ſending ſome of our Foot Regiments, or Detachments from all of them, to ſerve on board our Ships of War; and this continued to be my Opinion, till I ſaw the Eſtimates which have been delivered in to this Seſſion of Parliament.

But, Sir, when I ſaw theſe Eſtimates, I was aſtoniſhed to find, that what was to be called a Body of Marines, was to conſiſt of ſix Regiments of Land Forces, all to be new raiſed, and to conſiſt moſtly of Men never trained to any Sort of martial Diſcipline either at Land or Sea. This certainly is loading the Publick with a very great, and, in my Opinion, a very unneceſſary additional Charge, and it is forming a new Body of Land Forces, which are not, I hope, to be employed as Marines, or in any other Manner ſent againſt the Enemy; for ſurely, if we have a Mind to proſecute the War with Vigour, if we expect, or intend to have Succeſs in the War, we ought to employ our oldeſt and beſt Corps in the Proſecution of it, and keep our youngeſt, or new raiſed Regiments at home, till they have made themſelves ſo much Maſters of military Diſcipline, as to be fit to be employed againſt the publick Enemy. This was the Method we took in the Proſecution of the laſt War: We were not then ſo much terrified with Invaſions, tho' we were often threatned with them, by an Enemy that had ſome Sort of Power to put ſuch Threats in Execution; I ſay, we were not then ſo much terrified with ſuch Phantoms, as to keep our beſt Troops at home to defend us from them. If we had, we ſhould not have had ſuch Succeſs in the War abroad, and if we had been unſucceſsful abroad, the Danger of an Invaſion at home, would have become not only real but irreſiſtible.

If it be really neceſſary to raiſe new Regiments of Land Forces, let them be raiſed upon the ſame Footing with the other Land Forces, in order to re-place thoſe that are to be ſent againſt the Enemy, or employed on board our Ships of War. Even this would ſave the Publick ſome of that Expence I find calculated in the Eſtimate, for the ſix new Regiments, which are to be called Marines. But do not let us ſend raw and undiſciplined Men upon any Expedition againſt the Enemy, when we have ſuch a Number of old Regiments, that muſt be allowed to be more fit for that Purpoſe. Theſe we ought to ſend abroad, even ſuppoſing that we were in immediate Danger of being invaded with a formidable Number of Troops, and therefore obliged to keep ſuch a numerous Land Army at home as we now have in *Britain* and *Ireland*; becauſe by carrying the War to the Doors of our Enemy, we may prevent its being brought to our own. But, as I think we neither are, nor can be in any ſuch Danger, as long as *Spain* continues alone in the War againſt us, I cannot think we have as yet any Occaſion for raiſing any new Regiments: I muſt think, we can ſpare, out of thoſe we have now upon the Eſtabliſhment, a ſufficient Number for our Ships of War, and likewiſe for invading the Enemy both in *Europe* and *America*; and therefore I ſhall conclude with ſeconding the Motion, which my worthy Friend has been pleaſed to make.

L. Valerius Flaccus *then ſtood up, and ſpoke in Effect thus.*

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

I HAVE often heard that, according to the old Maxim of our Conſtitution, the King is inveſted with the ſole Power of making Peace and War; but from the late Conduct of ſome Gentlemen in this Houſe, I begin to doubt whether this ought to be allowed as a Maxim in our Conſtitution. There are ſome amongſt us who, of late Years, have taken upon them to preſcribe to his Majeſty not only when, but how he is to make both Peace and War. In laſt Seſſion, there were amongſt us, many Gentlemen who ſeemed willing to preſcribe to his Majeſty, when he was to make War: In this Seſſion, we have already, by an Addreſs, preſcribed to him how he is to make Peace, and now it is propoſed, that, by another Addreſs, we ſhould preſcribe to him how he is to make War. Our laſt Addreſs, tho' I could not think it altogether ſo decent, I did not oppoſe, becauſe I ſaw no bad Conſequences it could be attended with, and becauſe I believed, that what was thereby recommended, was what his Majeſty had previouſly reſolved on, as a Rule from which he was not to depart, in any future Treaty of Peace; and as I did not then oppoſe it, I ſhall not now find fault with it, eſpecially, ſince it is now become the Act of this Houſe, by being unanimouſly agreed to; for I ſhall never indulge myſelf in that Liberty, which is too often taken by others, of finding fault with any Thing that has once had the Sanction of this Aſſembly.

But as to the Addreſs now propoſed, Sir, I ſhall be extremely ſorry, if it ſhould be approved of by the Majority of this Houſe. Let it be conſidered in what Light you will, it is ſuch a one as I muſt oppoſe. If it be conſidered as a Rule to be preſcribed to his Majeſty, with Regard to the Methods of carrying on the War, I muſt look upon it as diſreſpectful to the Crown, and an uſurping of a Province, which, by our Conſtitution, does not belong to this Houſe. And if it is to be conſidered as an Advice humbly offered to the Crown by this Houſe, I muſt be againſt it, becauſe I think it would be a very bad Advice, and ſuch a one as might be attended with the moſt fatal Conſequences. But, ſuppoſe it did not appear ſo to me, ſuppoſe I could not determine whether the Advice be right or wrong, yet I ſhould oppoſe it, becauſe I ſhall always think it wrong in us, and inconſiſtent with the Dignity of this Houſe, to pretend to give Advice in any Caſe, where it is impoſſible for us to be proper Judges. We may judge of national Rights, and may adviſe his Majeſty not to agree to any Terms of Peace, unleſs thoſe Rights be fully eſtabliſhed; but, it is impoſſible for us to judge of the proper Methods for proſecuting a War, or of the Number or Nature of the Troops that ought to be employed in that Proſecution. It is impoſſible for us to be competent Judges in this Reſpect, without knowing all that ſecret Intelligence, both from *Spain*, and from the other Parts of *Europe*, which his Majeſty, and thoſe chiefly employed by him, may be ſuppoſed to be Maſters of; and this, I think, no Gentleman that wiſhes well to his Country, would deſire to be laid before us. If it were, we could not expect to make any future Advantage of that Intelligence, and much leſs could we expect to have any more ſuch Intelligence; for it generally comes from thoſe, who would never give any ſuch, if they thought it could ever be diſcovered from whence it came;

which would ſoon be the Caſe, if it were to be laid before ſuch a numerous Aſſembly.

Thus, I think, Sir, it is evident, that tho' the Advice now propoſed ſhould even appear to us to be right, it would be wrong in us to offer it; but, from the Confidence I have in his Majeſty's Wiſdom and Conduct, the Advice itſelf muſt appear to me to be wrong. I very well know, that publick OEconomy and Frugality are fine Topicks for Gentlemen to harangue upon. Frugality in the Management of publick Affairs will always, I know, be a moſt popular Pretence for finding fault with, and traducing the Conduct of Miniſters; and I ſhall readily grant, that it is in itſelf a very commendable Thing. But it muſt be allowed, that it may be puſhed too far; and then it becomes ridiculous. It then deviates into that contemptible Quality called Miſerlyneſs; which in publick as well as private Life may prove the Ruin of thoſe that are governed by it. Such Men often allow themſelves to be deſtroyed, rather than be at the Expence of ſaving themſelves. *Quid refert morbo, an furtis, pereamne rapinis?* was the Reflection long ſince put into the Mouth of a Miſer, who would not be at the Expence of purchaſing the Medicines that were proper for removing a moſt dangerous Diſtemper. War, I look on as a national Diſtemper, and it is always a dangerous one. The proper Medicines, are Fleets and Armies. If you will not be at the Expence of providing thoſe Medicines, you muſt be deſtroyed; and, if you do not provide a ſufficient Doſe, thoſe you are at the Expence of, loſe their Effect, and you ruin yourſelf into the Bargain.

This, I take to be our preſent Diſpute. For my own Part, Sir, I do not pretend to know, what Number or what Sort of Troops may be neceſſary, either for our Safe-guard at home, or for attacking the Enemy abroad; becauſe, I neither know the Danger we are in, nor how our Enemies are provided to repel our Attack. But I preſume, and, I think, I ought to preſume, that his Majeſty is well acquainted with both; and therefore, I am willing to ſubmit to his Judgment, both as to the Number and Quality of the Troops that are to be employed, either for our Safe-guard at home, or for attacking our Enemies abroad. This, I think, is a Submiſſion which is the Duty of every Subject; but with regard to the Nature or Quality of the Troops to be ſent abroad, or kept at home, I think we muſt conclude, even from the Nature of the Thing, that, if we are in Danger of being invaded, our beſt Troops ought to be kept at home for our Defence. The Circumſtances of the preſent War, are very different from thoſe of the great War in the Queen's Time. We had then a numerous and powerful Alliance: Our Enemies were attacked in their own Dominions, with as numerous Armies as they could provide for their Defence; ſo that they could not ſpare an Army for invading us: The Troops we ſent abroad, went but a little Way off from this Iſland, and therefore could be re-called at a ſhort Warning. All theſe Circumſtances are now directly otherwiſe; and therefore we cannot, in Prudence, hold the ſame Conduct. But, if our Conduct in that War, or in any other War we were ever engaged in, is to be a Rule for our Conduct in this, I am ſure, we cannot agree to the preſent Motion. In the War in the late Queen's Time, we were ſo far from making Draughts from our old Regiments, for the Service of our Navy, that we not only raiſed ſix Regiments of Marines, but alſo ſix Regiments of

Land Soldiers, to ſerve on board our Ships of War. I believe, no Precedent can be ſhewn for what is now propoſed: I am convinced no Example can be found, of our having ever made Draughts from regular, well diſciplined Regiments, in order to employ them as Marines on board our Navy. I muſt beg leave, Sir, to ſay, that, in my Opinion, it would be ridiculous; for, I cannot but think, that new-raiſed Troops are as good on board a Man of War, as well diſciplined Soldiers. In fighting a Ship, there are no Marches or Counter-marches: There is no Part of the Land Diſcipline required, but that of loading and firing the Muſket; and a Country Fellow from the Plough, may, in three Days, be taught to do this as adroitly as the moſt expert Soldier in the Army.

It ſeems to be granted of all Sides, Sir, that the raiſing of a Body of Marines is neceſſary. The only Queſtion is, whether that Body ſhould be formed by making Draughts from, and conſequently diminiſhing our Army, or by raiſing new Corps for that Purpoſe; and, the Determination of this Queſtion, muſt depend upon the Danger we ſeem to be in, of being attacked at home. I ſhould think we are in ſome ſuch Danger, if it were for no other Reaſon but becauſe his Majeſty ſeems to think, that we ought not to diminiſh our Army; but there are, in my Opinion, ſeveral other very ſufficient Reaſons for thinking ſo. I ſhall admit, that *Spain* cannot invade us with ſuch an Army as would be ſufficient for conquering the three Kingdoms; but, even *Spain* may invade us with ſuch an Army as may be ſufficient for ſtirring up a Civil War in every one of the three Kingdoms. We appear, 'tis true, at preſent, very much united amongſt ourſelves; but, I doubt much if we are ſo. There are ſtill great Numbers of Men, in every one of the three Kingdoms, diſaffected to his Majeſty and his Family. This Diſaffection, all ſuch of them as have any Wiſdom, will take care not to ſhew, till they have a good Opportunity: They will appear united, and will join with the reſt of their Countrymen, in the general and juſt Out-cry againſt the *Spaniards*; but, if even a ſmall Body of *Spaniſh* Troops were landed in their Neighbourhood, they would ſoon change their Note: They would then take off the Maſk, and would join with that Body in endeavouring to force the Pretender upon us. Thus the Flames of a Civil War would be blown up in the Kingdom, and whilſt we were engaged in a Civil War at home, I believe it will be allowed, that we could not proſecute the War with Vigour abroad.

I muſt, upon this Occaſion, Sir, obſerve, that Miniſters are generally treated in a Manner not quite ſo candid. With regard to Dangers, and Preparations againſt thoſe Dangers, it is impoſſible for them to guard againſt thoſe who are willing to find fault with their Conduct. If impending Dangers are prevented from falling upon the Nation, by the Preparations our Miniſters make againſt them, which, I have good Reaſon to believe, has often been the Caſe within theſe twenty Years, it is then aſſerted, with great Confidence, by thoſe who have a Mind to find fault, that no ſuch Dangers ever exiſted; and, that therefore, the Nation was put to a needleſs Expence, by thoſe Preparations that were made for preventing them. On the other hand, if any Danger or Misfortune ſhould actually fall upon the Nation, tho' proceeding from the moſt ſudden, unforeſeen, and unexpected Cauſe, which, thank God! has not been our Caſe for theſe twenty Years, it would then be

be pretended, that the Danger or Misfortune might eaſily have been foreſeen, and our Miniſters would be blamed for not having foreſeen and provided againſt it. In our preſent Caſe, the Dangers of this War may blow over, we may at laſt force *Spain* to agree to reaſonable Terms, without being invaded by that Power, or attack'd by any other Power in *Europe*; and, if this ſhould be our good Fortune, as I hope it will, I ſhall expect to hear warm Harangues againſt the needleſs Expence the Nation was put to during the War, by maintaining greater Armies and Squadrons than were neceſſary in a War againſt *Spain*. But, I ſhall never allow ſuch Harangues to have any Effect upon me. I believe, we are now in no great Danger of being invaded by *Spain*. I hope, we are in no great Danger of being attack'd, during this War, by any other Power in *Europe*; but, I am fully convinced, that this happy Security proceeds from the Preparations we have made, and the Meaſures we have taken. At the Beginning of the Rupture, *Spain* ſeemed to have ſome View of invading us. This we muſt ſuppoſe, from their having marched ſo many of their Troops into *Gallicia*, which is the Province that lies next to, and moſt convenient for invading *Britain*, or *Ireland*. By the Preparations we have made, they now ſee, they cannot carry their Deſign into Execution; but, if we ſhould diminiſh our Army, by ſending a great Number of our Troops to ſerve on board our Men of War, or to attack the *Spaniſh* Dominions either in *Europe* or *America*, they would certainly reſume their firſt Deſign, and might land ſuch a Body of Troops, as, with the Conjunction of the Diſaffected at home, might ſtir up a dangerous Conflict in the very Bowels of our own Dominions; and in that Caſe, I do not know but that thoſe very Gentlemen who are now for ſending our Troops out, would reflect upon our Miniſters, for having adviſed his Majeſty to comply with their Requeſt. They would then of courſe ſay, that our Miniſters ought to have known better than they, and that they ought to have informed them of the Danger, in which Caſe they would not have made ſuch a Requeſt.

This, Sir, might be the Conſequence of our diminiſhing our Army, with regard to *Spain*; but there is another Danger we lie expoſed to, and which we ought to guard againſt. *Spain* is as yet alone in the War againſt us, and while ſhe continues ſo, I hope, we may with Reaſon flatter ourſelves, that ſhe will find herſelf very unequally matched; but, there are other Powers in *Europe* who would be glad to ſee this Nation humbled, and conſequently would be glad of an Opportunity for bringing it about. If we ſhould leave ourſelves defenceleſs at home, it might encourage them to join with *Spain* againſt us; for, the firſt Effect of that Confederacy would certainly be, an Attempt to invade this Kingdom. For this Reaſon, we ought to be ſo much upon our Guard, as to be prepared againſt all poſſible Events. Nay, I do not know, but that the Preparations we have made, and the other wiſe Meaſures his Majeſty has been pleaſed to take, are the chief Cauſe of *Spain*'s being yet alone in the War againſt us.

From theſe Conſiderations, Sir, I muſt be of Opinion, that this Motion really is, humbly to deſire his Majeſty, that he would be pleaſed to leave his Kingdoms defenceleſs, and our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment again expoſed to the doubtful Chance of a Civil War. It has been once already expoſed to this Chance; and, we muſt ſtill reflect

fleet with Terror, that the Scales were pretty near equal, tho' the Diſaffected had then no foreign Aſſiſtance, nor were ſo much as countenanced by any Potentate in *Europe*. God knows what might be the Conſequence, if a Body of foreign Veterans were thrown into the Rebel Scale, and the Rebels countenanced and ſupported by one at leaſt, perhaps by two of the moſt formidable Potentates in *Europe*. I am far from thinking, Sir, that the honourable Gentleman who made, or the Hon. Gentleman who ſeconded this Motion, had any bad Intention, or that they viewed their Motion in the Light I do; but as I view it in the Light I have mentioned, I muſt think it would, in me, be contrary to my Allegiance to agree to it.

The next Speech I ſhall give you, was that made by Mecænas, *who ſpoke upon this Occaſion in Subſtance as follows*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

I HOPE I need make no Profeſſions of my Attachment to the King and his Family. The Honour and Duty I owe to their Perſons (though no Man living has more) are yet the leaſt and weakeſt Bonds to confirm that Attachment. It is the Conſtitution of my Country, which they came to preſerve, that ties my Allegiance to them, for the Sake of the Whole. This, Sir, is my Principle; and upon this, I hope, I may found as high Pretenſions to Zeal for their Service and Glory, and for the Support of his Majeſty's Government againſt all his open and ſecret Enemies, and be believed as ſincere and warm in them, as any Gentleman here. And therefore, if I could think, that my Compliance with the Motion made by my worthy Friend, could poſſibly affect the Security of his Majeſty's Crown, by leaving him without a proper Defence, the Hon. Gentleman himſelf could not be more averſe to it than I. But ſure, Sir, out of an Army of eight or nine and twenty thouſand Men, Draughts might be made for our Sea-Service, without leaving the Kingdom defenceleſs. Sure, there would remain diſciplined Troops enough to ſecure us till Recruits could be raiſed. If the Hon. Gentleman thinks not, it is the worſt Compliment that ever was made to the Army.

No Man can be more zealous than I, for ſtrengthening his Majeſty's Hands as much as is poſſible; but, upon the ſame Principle from which I declare for ſupporting the War, from the ſame Principle from which I ſhall agree to the Number of Men aſk'd by his Miniſters, I am for raiſing them in the Manner that has been propoſed by this Motion. We may play with Words as we pleaſe, but this and Marines that are to be raiſed, are no more Marines than every Regiment of Foot in the Kingdom: The only Difference is, that the new raiſed Men will have all their Buſineſs to learn, whereas, the others have learn'd half of it, and are ready at hand; the laſt are Soldiers though not Sailors, but the others are neither Soldiers nor Sailors, and to make them either, will take up a great Deal of Time; ſo that if there is any Service to be done by them, it is very evident which we ſhould chuſe. If you had a Journey to make, and ſix good Horſes well in the Stable, would you ſtay to buy and break ſix new ones before you ſet out?

But to talk of this Thing upon the Foot of the Expence of it alone; as the Nation gives wherever it ought, this Miniſtry ſhould ſave wherever they can. We are moſt willing to furniſh his Majeſty with all

all the Money his Service requires; but certainly, Sir, we have not more than we want, and therefore good Œconomy, though it be at all Times a neceſſary Virtue, is more indiſpenſably ſo now, when our Expences muſt be ſo great, and when we may feel the Loſs of every Shilling that we throw idly away, in ſome eſſential Service that may ſuffer for want of it. Sir, God forbid that in a War like the preſent, which our Miniſters did not enter into lightly or wantonly, but in mere Conformity to the known Sentiments and Deſires of the Nation, God forbid that, if any ſiniſter Accident, any Misfortune ſhould happen, they ſhould be charged with it, or be to anſwer for any Event which, it ſhall appear, they could not command; but, what they are juſtly reſponſible for is, that the publick Money ſhould not be ſquandered; and, if in any Particular it be found, that they have failed in this Part of their Duty, that they have not adviſed his Majeſty with a due Regard to this Principle, then ſhould this Great Council interpoſe, and give ſuch Advice, as they owe to their King and Country in this important Conjuncture; and, in this Light, I ſee the Motion made by my Hon. Friend.

But, it is not only the Expence, preſent or future, the needleſs Pay of ſo many Officers, their Half-pay hereafter, Pay-Maſter, Deputies, and all the reſt of that Equipage, it is not only this which we have to conſider: There is another Point before us of ſtill greater Importance. What, Sir, at a Time when the whole Nation is ſo ſtrongly alarmed at the Influence attending ſo many Places, civil and military, without any Colour of Neceſſity, againſt all Rules of Œconomy, wantonly to add to that Influence, to create new Places, new Dependences! How will this be thought of, how will this appear to the World? Won't it look like taking Advantage, an unfair, indecent Advantage of the generous Confidence placed in his Majeſty by his People and Parliament, upon all Demands made by him for the Support of this War, to encreaſe that Power in the Crown, from the Growth of which they dread ſo many Miſchiefs?

Sir, not for the preſent only, but for all our future Deliberations concerning Supplies, there is one Caution I beg leave to recommend to this Houſe, and that is, always to have it in our Thoughts, that to a free Conſtitution of Government, there is no Seaſon ſo dangerous, as the Time of a popular War; for, it has been in the Heat of ſuch Wars, that almoſt all free States, ancient and modern, have been induced to make Conceſſions, wink at Incroachments, and eſtabliſh Precedents, that have ended afterwards in the entire Loſs of their Liberties. Sir, I hope the very Reverſe will happen here, and that we ſhall, at the ſame Time, attend to the Recovery of ſuch of our Rights as have been invaded abroad, and to the ſecuring of ſuch as may have been weakened at home. I think it is the Deſign of this Motion, to prevent our being in Danger, from the further Increaſe of Influence, of their being weakened yet more.

As to the Practice of former Times, it muſt be conſidered, that we never had any Thing like ſuch an Army at home in theſe Kingdoms before, and therefore large Draughts out of the Forces here, could not have been made then, ſo ſafely as now; the Remainder would not have been a ſufficient Guard to us till Recruits could be raiſed; but, I apprehend, we may make ſuch Draughts in full Security now; and this, I think a ſufficient Anſwer to what was ſaid by the worthy

thy Member who ſpoke laſt. Sir, I ſhall trouble you no farther now, but heartily concur with this Motion.

[*This* DEBATE *to be concluded, and this* JOURNAL *continued in our next.*]

A DISSERTATION *on four Wheel* CARRIAGES.

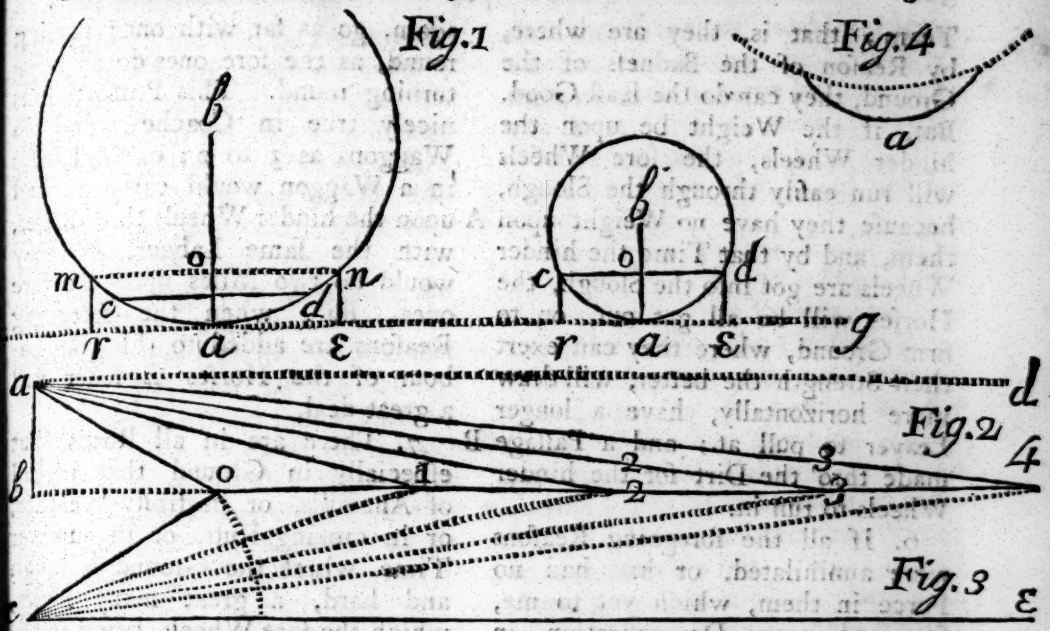
SIR,

I HAVE been diverting myſelf with drawing up Reaſons to ſhew, that Coaches, Waggons, and other four Wheel Carriages, whoſe fore Wheels are leſs than the hinder ones, go eaſier when the Weight, contrary to common Practice, is laid upon the hinder Wheels. They are as follows.

1. Becauſe the fore Wheels cut the Road, and then the hinder Wheels follow in a Track ready cut and ſmoothed for them. This Reaſon is vaſtly ſtrong in froſty Weather, or ſoft Ground: But, it has great Strength even in Summer Time, and dry Roads; for then the Clods fall into the Ruts, which will be all broken by the Wheels that firſt go over them: But it is plainly eaſier for the hinder Wheels to carry the Load, where the Ground and Clods are cut and broke for them, than for the fore Wheels to do both Offices. Countrymen reckon that there is one Horſe's Draught difference between going firſt and ſecond in a Road; and therefore they always ſtrive to let ſome Cart go before them, to draw the Road.

2. The fore Wheels will cut deeper into the Ground than the hinder Wheels will do, with the ſame Weight upon them. Becauſe, the broader or longer any Thing is, the leſs Way will a Weight preſs it into the Ground; but, the hinder Wheels being larger, muſt make a longer Hole in the Ground than the fore ones; but it requires a greater Weight to make a longer Hole, than it does a ſhort one. Therefore, the ſame Weight will not croud the hind Wheels in ſo deep, as it will the ſmall ones. See Fig. 1. *b b* are the fore and hind Wheels of a Coach, Waggon, &c. running from *f* to *g*, with one Spoke drawn perpendicular to the Ground. Suppoſe the Weight be ſufficient to croud a Yard of Rim into the Ground, that is, in each Wheel, from *c* by *a* to *d*; 'tis plain, by Inſpection, that the hind Wheel is not ſo deep in the Ground as the fore one; if it was, it would be into the Ground up as high as *o*. Draw the prick'd Line *m o n*, let Perpendiculars fall from *m n*; the Hole then each Wheel would make in the Ground, is from *r* to *e*. But *r e* in the hind Wheel is far longer, than in the fore one; which is more than the Weight is, by Suppoſition, capable of making. And many a Time it will happen, that the fore Wheels, if the Weight be upon them, will cut in, when the hinder Wheels, if they carry'd the ſame Load, would not cut in at all, but run upon the Nail. But, if the Weight be ſo great, as to make the hind Wheels cut in, then, the firſt Reaſon comes in to eaſe them, *viz.* they will run in a Track ready cut for them. Beſides, how very hard muſt the fore Wheels come loaded, when the Ground is ſo ſoft, that the Axletree, or Nave, ſlide upon the Ground, and ſometimes drive the Ground before them? Whereas, if the Weight was on the hind Wheels, the fore ones would not ſink in ſo deep, and the hinder ones being higher, would trip after them clear of the Dirt.

3. Every Body knows, that a Power apply'd at the End of a long Leaver, will raiſe a Weight eaſier, than at the End of a ſhort one. To apply this to the Caſe of a Coach or Waggon going up Hill, or getting out of a Hole, or drawing over an Obſtacle in the Road, which are



all one and the ſame Thing. Now, the Length of the Spoke, or Diſtance from the Ground to the Axletree, may be call'd a Leaver; which, being longer in the hind Wheels than in the fore ones, the ſame Power apply'd at the Axletree of the hinder Wheel will have a greater Force, than at the Axle of the ſmall Wheel. See Fig. 1. *d e* is a Stone or Block before the fore Wheel, and *n e* is the ſame Stone or Block before the hinder one. But the Leaver *o b*, by Help of which the Wheels muſt be drawn over the Stone, is vaſtly longer in the hind Wheel, than in the fore one; therefore, a leſs Power will draw it over.

4. 'Tis likewiſe certain and well known, that a Power apply'd to a Leaver at right Angles, has a greater *Momentum* or Force, than if apply'd obliquely on either Side. To apply this: All Coaches and Waggons have their fore Wheels ſo low, that the Harneſs or Shafts are lower, where they are faſten'd to the Coach or Waggon, than the Horſes Breaſts; conſequently the the Horſes draw, not horizontally or at right Angles, but upwards; that is, Part of the Weight or Load hangs continually upon their Breaſts or Necks. The Leaver of a Wheel, which is the Spoke, or Diſtance from the Ground to the Axletree, ſtands perpendicular to the Ground; the Power, that would act with the greateſt Force, ſhould be apply'd horizontally or level with the Ground; but the higher the Wheel is, the nearer to a horizontal Direction would the Power act. Therefore, a Power apply'd to the great Wheels, brings them on eaſier than the ſmall ones.

5. When the fore Wheels, with the Weight upon then, are in a Hole or Slough, the foregoing Reaſon has great Force, becauſe the Horſes draw then more upwards, or further from right Angles, than when the Coach or Waggon went upon level Ground; and conſequently, a greater Part of the Load lies upon their Breaſts or Necks. What I would add, to lay the Load upon the hinder Wheels, is this: When the fore Wheels, with the Weight upon them, are in a Hole or Slough, the Wheel-horſes in a Coach, or in a Waggon the Shaft-horſe to be ſure, if not the next Horſe to it, are in the Slough too, which are the beſt Horſes in the

Team; that is, they are where, by Reaſon of the Badneſs of the Ground, they can do the leaſt Good. But, if the Weight be upon the hinder Wheels, the fore Wheels will run eaſily through the Slough, becauſe they have no Weight upon them, and by that Time the hinder Wheels are got into the Slough, the Horſes will be all got out, on to firm Ground, where they can exert their Strength the better, will draw more horizontally, have a longer Leaver to pull at; and a Paſſage made thro' the Dirt for the hinder Wheels to run in.

6. If all the foregoing Reaſons were annihilated, or had had no Force in them, which yet to me, ſeem to carry Demonſtration in them; there is ſtill another Reaſon, which would alone prove, that a Coach or Waggon follows the Horſes, when the Load is upon the hind Wheels, with half the Labour, as it would do upon the fore ones; and that is this: While a Wheel is turning round once, all the Parts of of the Fur or Box in the Nave, rub againſt the Axletree. The Horſes Work, is to overcome this Rub or Friction. To make it eaſy, it is daubed with Greaſe. The Fur or Box in the hinder Wheels, is no bigger than the Fur or Box in the fore Wheels. Now, if the hind Wheels be as high again as the fore ones, (as they commonly are in Coaches, tho' in Waggons not quite ſo much) the rubbing round the Fur or Box in the hind Wheels, will carry the Load twice as far as the fore Wheels. Or thus: If the Load be upon the fore Wheels, the Rub or Friction muſt be twice round the Fur or Box, to carry the Load as far as once rubbing round would do upon the hinder Wheels; that is, the Load will go as far upon the hind Wheels, with half the Labour as it will go upon the fore ones: For the hind Wheels, if as high again, go as far with once turning round, as the fore ones do at twice turning round. This Proportion is nicely true in Coaches, and in Waggons as 3 to 2; or the Horſes in a Waggon would carry a Load upon the hinder Wheels three Miles, with the ſame Labour, as they would do two Miles upon the fore ones. But, when the foregoing Reaſons are added to this, the Labour of the Horſes is leſſer ſtill a great deal.

7. There are in all Roads, but eſpecially in Ground that is full of Ant-hills, or in froſty Weather, or in croſſing Ruts, or in Summer Time, where the Ground is rough and hard, a great many Holes, which the fore Wheels, being ſmall, will go to the Bottom of; but the hind Wheels, being of a larger Compaſs, will only touch the Sides, without going down to the Bottom; and conſequently, not ſinking down ſo deep as the fore Wheels, are eaſily drawn over. See Fig. 4. *a* is the Bottom of a Hole, where a fore Wheel will go to the Bottom; the prick'd Line is the hinder Wheel, that will only touch the Edges of the Hole, and not go down ſo deep.

8. It has been commonly believed, that the nearer the hind Wheels are to the fore ones in a Waggon, or the ſhorter the Carriage of a Coach is, the eaſier it is for the Horſes: But what follows will prove, not only that the Load ought to be upon the hind Wheels, but that the further the hind Wheels are from the fore ones, and the longer the Carriage is, the better it is both for the Horſes and the Riders. For the Horſe, that is in the Shafts of a Waggon, is moſt barbarouſly thump'd this Way and that Way by the Shafts, when the Load is upon the fore Wheels, juſt at his Tail; but when the Load is upon the hinder Wheels, and they as far off as poſſible, the Motion

the fore Wheels will be much eaſier againſt his Sides, becauſe there is no Weight upon them, and the Draught of all the Horſes will keep the fore Part of the Waggon ſteadier, and the Motion of the hind Wheels will be almoſt loſt before it reaches the Shaft-Horſe.

9. The longer the Diſtance is between the fore and hind Wheels, or the longer the Carriage of a Coach is, the eaſier will be the turning out of the Road, or into a Yard, or another Street; becauſe the Length of the Waggon or Carriage may be called a Leaver, and the longer that is from the hind Wheels, which carry the Load, the leſs Power is required.

Beſides; for it would be endleſs to count the Reaſons, that may be given in ſo plain a Caſe; it is the ſafeſt Way to prevent overthrowing. For when one of the fore Wheels, with a Load upon it, goes into a Hole, it falls down with a great Force, the Coach or Waggon ſtands, as it were, upon its Head, and eaſily brings over the hind Part, becauſe it is light and near: But if the Load be removed to the hind Wheels, and they at a good Diſtance, then the fore Wheel dropping into a Hole could not ſo eaſily draw over the hind Part, becauſe it is now heavy and further off. And if one of the hind Wheels, with the Load upon them, falls into a Hole, it can't draw over the fore Part, becauſe the Draught of the Horſes will pull it down, or rather keep it from riſing up.

And again; a Coach or Waggon is in little Danger of overturning, unleſs a Hole be ſo long, as to take in both the Wheels on the ſame Side, at the ſame Time; for if the Hole be not ſo long, then when one Wheel is in the Hole, there are three ſtand level: And by that Time the hind Wheel comes to the Hole, the fore Wheel is out, and then there are three ſtand level again. So that, the further the Wheels are from one another, the better Chance you have, not to have both the Wheels on one Side in a Hole at the ſame Time, that is, of not being overthrown.

I will give but one Reaſon more, and that is, a Coach will go a vaſt deal eaſier to the Perſons that ride in it, for having the Carriage long; for the Shocks will not come ſo quick, nor be ſo great, nor ſo many: For when the hind Wheels are at a good Diſtance, and the Coach hangs as near them as poſſible, the Motion of the fore Wheels will be ſcarcely felt. When one of them goes into a Hole, there will, by Reaſon of the Diſtance, be perceived in the Coach only a gentle Sinking on that Side, or at moſt an eaſy Swing, which will give the Riders no Trouble, but rather a Pleaſure.

From theſe Reaſons it follows, contrary to common Practice and Opinion, That the longer the Carriage of a Coach is, the better it is both for the Horſes and the Riders.

That the Coach ought to hang as backward, and as near the hind Wheels, as poſſible.

That no heavy Luggage ſhould be put into the Boot under the Coachman, but all Boxes, Portmantles and Servants ſhould be behind; not between the Back of the Coach and hind Standards, but upon a Board beyond the hind Axletree; becauſe what Load is placed there, will help to poiſe up or leſſen the Load upon the fore Wheels.

That the fore Wheels ought to be as high as the Convenience of turning will allow; and what is wanting in the Height of the Wheels, ought to be remedied, as far as it can, by raiſing the Hamel-tree ſo high, that the Horſes may draw as near to a horizontal Line as poſſible.

In Waggons, the fore and hind Wheels ſhould be placed as far as poſſible from one another.

That a ſtrong Ladder ſhould be behind, and never any before, that the greateſt Part of the Load may be laid upon it beyond the hinder Axletree: And if any Part of the Waggon be empty, let it be the fore Part.

That the Shafts ſhould be raiſed, where they are faſtened to the Waggon, rather higher than the Horſes Breaſts or Shoulders; that ſo the Horſes may draw in a horizontal Line, even when the Wheels are in Ruts lower than the Horſes Feet.

Countrymen object, that if the Load be laid upon the hind Wheels, the Waggon will come harder, becauſe the Load will be the further from the Horſes: But I muſt tell them, they are miſtaken. If there be any Force in the Reaſons I have given, inſtead of coming harder, it will come eaſier; and then Reaſon is againſt them; and Experience confirms my Reaſons, as may be ſeen by drawing a ſmall Waggon with a Line and Weight over a Pully. They urge, that a Weight at the End of a Cart Rope, drawn over Wheat Ricks, would come hard. Yes, I ſuppoſe it would; but what is this to the Purpoſe? In this Caſe, no Wheels are uſed, and therefore the Caſes are different. Beſides, I have not ſaid one Word, that the Horſes ſhould go a great Way, the Length of a Cart Rope, before the Coach or Waggon; and therefore this is nothing to what I have ſaid. However, I will ſpeak of this by and by.

But the grand Objection is their own Experience: When the fore Wheels of a Waggon are faſt in a Hole, they take ſome of their fore Horſes off, and hang them upon the Shafts, and then they can draw out: From whence they think it plain, that the nearer the Horſes are to the Load, the more Force they have. But they forget what was ſaid in Reaſon 4th, that as Coaches and Waggons are made now, the Horſes draw upwards; and, that Part of the Weight of the Load hangs perpetually upon the Horſes Necks or Breaſts, even when the Waggon goes upon level Ground: And that, when the fore Wheels are in a Hole, the Horſes draw more and more upwards, or leſs and leſs forwards; and therefore the Horſes do not ſo properly draw the Wheels out of the Holes, as lift them out; they lift the Waggon up by their Necks. The Countryman is apt to praiſe his Horſes, how bravely they ſtoop'd to their Work, and took the Waggon out of the Hole. Yes; they muſt needs ſtoop with ſuch a Load upon their Necks, the Weight oftentimes pulls them down to the Ground; the Chafing of their Necks tells what a Load they bear. But the Method here propoſed, the laying the Load upon the hind Wheels, would prevent their lifting the Load at all, and make the Wheels come eaſier thro' the Hole too. I think this is very plain, but ſtill the Countryman will hardly believe it: He has ſo often and ſo long heard, that the nearer the Horſes are to the Load, the more Force they draw with, that it will be very hard to get it out of his Head. What will he ſay to me, if I ſhould tell him, that where Horſes draw upwards, as they do in all Coaches and Waggons, the further the Horſes are from the Load, the more Force they draw with? If this ſtartles him, let him look on Fig. 3. Suppoſe the Shafts are faſtened to the Waggon at the Point *c*, and the Height of the Horſe that is in them, raiſes them up to *o*; the Shaft-horſe draws then in the Line *c o*, the Horſe 1 in the Line *c* 1, the Horſe 2 in *c* 2, the next in *c* 3, and the

the furtheſt in *c* 4. Now, the Line in which the greateſt Force can be exerted, is the horizontal or level Line *c e*; therefore the nearer any Horſe draws to this Line, the greater Force he draws with; but *c* 4 is nearer to it than any other, and *c o*, where the neareſt Horſe to the Waggon is, is furtheſt off. Therefore the Horſe neareſt the Waggon draws with the leaſt Force, and the furtheſt off with the greateſt. If the Countryman don't underſtand this, I would fain have him obſerve his Child playing with a little Cart, or rather Waggon, becauſe it has four Wheels; when a little Boy has loaded it with Dirt or Stones, he don't, as the Countryman thinks he ſhould, take hold of the String cloſe to the Waggon, becauſe he would find the Weight of the Waggon lay heavy upon his Arms, as I ſaid before, it does upon the Horſes Necks; nay, he would even lift the fore Wheels up from the Ground; but he gets to the End of his Line, as far off from the Waggon as he can, becauſe there he finds it comes eaſieſt. If indeed at any Time the fore Wheels drop into a Hole, where he can't drag them out, then he comes up to his Waggon, and takes ſhort Hold, that he may lift his Wheels out; as ſoon as that is done, he runs to the End of his String again, without taking any Care for his hind Wheels; thoſe he knows will come on, tho' the greateſt Part of the Load lies upon them. If the Countryman would vouchſafe to play a little with his Child's Cart, he would find and feel all I have ſaid to be true. Strange! that he himſelf ſhould be a better Carter when he was a Child, than he is now. The Caſe is the ſame, if the Draught be downwards; the further the Horſe or Man is from the Thing drawn, the greater the Force; as in pulling a Rope faſtened to the Top of a Timber-tree, when Men are felling it. If the Countryman's Notion was true, that the nearer the Drawer ſtands to the Tree, the more Force he draws with, then they that pull at the Rope ought to ſtand cloſe to the Tree, at the Bottom of it; but they would have little or no Force there, and therefore we always find, they get as far off as they can, to the very End of the Rope; not ſo much to avoid the Tree falling upon them, but becauſe the further off they get, the more Force they pull with: The Reaſon is the ſame as before. Let the laſt Fig. be inverted into Fig. 2. the Line where the greateſt Force can be exerted, is the Line *a d*; but the further they ſtand from the Tree *b a*, that is, in the Line *a* 4, the more the Rope riſes, and comes nearer to *a d*.

I would willingly ſet the Countryman right in one Notion more, which ſhews his great Ignorance, and is a monſtrous Piece of Barbarity. He thinks, that the Shaft-horſe in a Waggon bears no more Weight on his Back, than the Weight of the Shafts only, and that every Horſe that goes before him, draws horizontally. But, ſee Fig. 3. the Shaft-horſe is between the Shafts *c o*, the other Horſes are hang'd on at *o*. If there was no Horſe in the Shafts to hold the Shafts up, the Horſe 1 would draw them down to *c* 1; therefore, the Horſe in the Shafts, bears upon his Back, the Force with which the Horſe 1 draws them downwards. The Horſe 2 would draw them lower yet, to *c* 2; now, therefore, the Shaft-horſe bears on his Back, the Force of two Horſes pulling them downwards. The ſame may be ſaid of every other Horſe. But the united Force of all the Horſes, every Horſe pulling them lower and lower, muſt make a monſtrous Weight upon the poor Shaft-horſe's Back, enough to break it, or preſs him

him to the Ground. And what ſhews the Ignorance of the Country-man, is, that all the Force, with which all the Horſes draw the Shafts downwards, is loſt from the Waggon. What is exerted in pulling downwards, is loſt from pulling forwards. But, if the Maker of Waggons would be ſo wiſe, as to faſten the Shafts to the Waggon at *b*, that is, as high as the Horſes Shoulders, the poor Shaft-horſe would be eas'd of his Load; and every Horſe would exert all his Strength in drawing the Waggon forwards. But, at preſent, this Load upon his Back, and the Thumps and Bangs againſt his Sides, occaſion'd by the Load lying on the fore Wheels, is intolerable. Tho' I have here ſpoken to Waggoners only, I would not have Coachmen think themſelves unconcerned in this Reaſoning. The Lowneſs of that croſs Piece of Wood, to which the Wheel-horſes in a Coach are faſten'd, which I call a Hamel-tree, and the loading the fore Part of the Coach with Boxes, occaſion the Horſes a vaſt Deal of needleſs Labour, and Pain too, from the preſſing of the Pad hard againſt, and chafing their Backs. It can't be expected that Waggoners and Coachmen ſhould think much of theſe Things; it therefore Concerns the Owners of Waggons, and Gentlemen, to take care ſo to order Matters, that their Horſes may do their Work with the greateſt Eaſe.

Craftſman, July 26. N° 734.

Of the King of Pruſſia's *Acceſſion to the Throne, and the popular Meaſures he has begun with.* (*See p.* 303, 355.)

IT was juſtly obſerved by a *late worthy Prelate*, who lived to a good old Age under ſeveral Reigns, *that all of them begin well; but that no right Judgment can be form'd, from the firſt gracious Declarations of a* new King, *how he will behave when the Crown is ſettled upon his Head; any more than we can depend upon the Courteſy and Hoſpitality of a* young Heir, *juſt come to a good Eſtate.*

I could eaſily illuſtrate the Truth of this Obſervation by diverſe Inſtances from our own Hiſtory; but I will mention but two; that is, the Reſtoration of K. *Charles* II. which was attended even with a Madneſs of Tranſport; and the Inauguration of his Brother, K. *James*, whoſe ſolemn Promiſes to maintain his Subjects in their *eſtabliſh'd Religion, Rights* and *Liberties*, upon his Acceſſion to the Throne, had almoſt eradicated their former Jealouſies of him, and his Reign began with general Acclamations of Joy and Loyalty.—How theſe Promiſes were afterwards fulfill'd, by *both Brothers*, and what were the Conſequences of their Conduct, are ſo well known, that they do not ſtand in Need of any particular Explanation.

Theſe Thoughts were occaſion'd by the preſent King of *Pruſſia*'s Acceſſion to the Throne, which hath given his Subjects ſuch an happy Proſpect of a mild, gracious and glorious Reign; for, if we may confide in any of the *publick Papers*, from the *Farthing Poſt* down to the *Gazetteer*, he hath not only made the uſual ſolemn Declaration, that *their Intereſts and Happineſs ſhall be inſeparable from his own*; but that, *if any Competition ſhould happen to ariſe between them, the Good of* his People *ſhould have the Preference.*—This is worthy of a *great*, a *good*, and *wiſe Prince*. Nor hath he confined himſelf to *bare Words* and *Aſſurances only*, but ſeconded them already, if we may give any Credit to the publick Accounts, by ſome actual Marks of his Sincerity, and his Reſolution to purſue the ſame Steps.

What I ſhall mention firſt, is the diſcarding and baniſhing of his *late Father*'s chief Favourite and Privy Counſellor, who had *betray'd his Maſter*, and *abuſed his Truſt*, to the great Prejudice and Scandal both of the *Prince* and his *People*.—Nothing can be a better Omen of a good Reign than diſmiſſing ſuch *wicked Miniſters*, however they might have found Means to inveigle themſelves into the Favour and Confidence of an *indulgent Maſter*, contrary to the general Inclination, and Intereſt of their Fellow-Subjects.

The next Point worthy of Conſideration is, *that the King takes Cognizance of every Thing, and determines* himſelf *what ſhall be done in the moſt important Affairs of Government*.—If all Princes would follow this Example, and not blindly follow the Dictates of a *ſelf-intereſted*, and perhaps a *corrupt Miniſter*, they would have the hearty Affections, Concurrence, and Eſteem of their Subjects, inſtead of ſecret Murmurs, Diſcontent, and ſometimes open Oppoſition, when all other Meaſures are found to be ineffectual.

The Liberty, which his *Pruſſian Majeſty* hath granted to the *tall Grenadiers*, who conſiſted chiefly of *forced Men*, to return into their native Countries, unleſs they chuſe to

continue

continue in his Service, is another Instance of a truly magnanimous Spirit; and his Orders, that no Recruits shall be admitted for the future, whose Stature shall exceed *five Foot ten Inches*, is a Proof, that he considers the *proper Use of an Army* more than the *Pageantry of it*. But what I think the most glorious Instance of his paternal Affection, under this Head of *military Affairs*, is, his suppressing the Custom of *registering Infants*, as soon as they are born, for obliging them to serve in the *Army*, when they arrive at a proper Age.—This must put every Man of the least Knowledge and Reflection in Mind of a *late Bill*, for a compulsive Register of all our *Seamen* and *Sea faring Men*, from *one certain Age to another*, which would have converted them from *free-born Subjects* into the *most absolute Slaves*. (See p. 221.)

The Assurances, which his *Prussian* Majesty hath already given to all his Protestant Subjects, whether *Natives* or *Foreigners*, that they shall be protected in their *Religion*, are happy Prognosticks that he is a Friend to *Liberty of Conscience*, an Enemy to *Persecution*, and free from the venomous Taint of *Enthusiasm* and *Bigotry*.

His tender Regard and Compassion for the Distresses and Calamities of his Subjects, appear sufficiently from his having order'd all his *Magazines* and *Granaries* to be set open for Relief of the *Poor*, who have been Sufferers by the Scarcity of Corn, since the late severe Winter.

We are likewise told, that there having been an Order in *Prussia*, intitled the *Order* FOR FAVOUR, which hath made the *Gentility* very common, the *present King* hath instituted another, the Badge of which is a *golden Cross*, and a *Crown* over it, with this Inscription, FOR MERIT.—This *new Order* is certainly founded on Virtue, Justice, and good Sense; for *Merit* ought to be the sole Recommendation to all Titles of Distinction and Honour; tho' it is notorious, that the *Order for Favour* hath been scandalously prostituted in more Courts than that of *Prussia*, and confer'd on the *most undeserving of Mankind*.

I hope the Reader will excuse my taking Notice of one Circumstance more, upon this *new Reign*; for as I have the Honour to be a *Free Mason*, I cannot omit paying my poor Tribute of Thanks to his *Prussian Majesty* for that gracious Toleration and Indulgence, which he hath granted in his Dominions to *our antient and honourable Fraternity*. This Instance, as ridiculous as it may seem to some People, is a Proof that he is not possess'd with any of those mean and groundless Jealousies, which have drawn a Persecution upon *our Brethren* in several Kingdoms and States of *Europe*.

In short, what he hath already done, and the farther Regulations, which he proposes to make in the Administration of his Government, have justly gain'd him the Hearts and Affections of all his People. I am very cautious of flattering *Kings*, or answering for their *future Conduct*; because very few Courts are without *such Ear-wigs* and *Sycophants*, who too often succeed in their wicked Designs, against the Interest of the *People* and their *Royal Master*; nay, sometimes to the utter Ruin and Destruction of *both*. But when a *young Prince* hath discover'd such an early good Disposition to render *his People* happy under his Government, and to make *their Interest* inseparable from *his own*; nay, even to give his *Subjects* the Preference, whenever *their respective Interests* may happen to clash; in such a Case, I say, it is a Sort of Duty incumbent upon all *true Friends of Liberty*, in whatever Station they are, to acknowledge his *Virtues* and *Prudence*, as an Encouragement to pursue the same laudable Measures, and for setting a good Example to *other Princes*, who may hereafter succeed to the Royal Dignity.

Common Sense, Aug. 2. N° 182.

Of the present PRACTICE *of the* LAW.

AMONG the numerous Correspondents who have favour'd us with Letters and Hints for the better carrying on this Paper, we have receiv'd not a few from Persons complaining of the Expences and Delays of the Law.

Many of them speak with so much Feeling, that I can plainly perceive they have been Sufferers themselves: One particularly is so frank to own, that he has got the better in so many Law-suits, that he has been obliged to mortgage a very good Estate to pay the Expences; and he may truly say, like *Hannibal*, a few more such Victories would undo him.

Another tells me very pleasantly, that he hath now the good Fortune to have seen an End of a Chancery Suit, which hath been no more than 13 Years depending; that the original Sum in Dispute was 3000*l.* and that having a Decree in his Favour, and having receiv'd his Money, he is so lucky to be no more than 1000*l.* out of Pocket; which just answers *Hudibras*'s Description of a Law-Suit.

> He that by injury is griev'd,
> And goes to law to be reliev'd,
> Is sillier than a sottish chouse,
> Who when a thief has robb'd his house,
> Applies himself to cunning men
> To help him to his goods again:
> When all he can expect to gain,
> Is but to squander more in vain.

A little *German* Prince may as well go to War

War with the Grand Monarch, as a poor Man contend with one who is very rich. What avails the Clearneſs of a Mans Right, and the Juſtice of his Cauſe, if he is not able to go thro' the Expence of the Suit? A Man that has not Strength to hold out to the End of his Journey, had better ſit ſtill, and ſave his Money and his Conſtitution.

Among the *Turks*, where Juſtice betwixt Man and Man is done in a conciſe and ſummary Way, there are no Advocates or Pleaders allow'd; it cannot enter into their Heads, that when the Plaintiff hath produced the Proofs of his Right, and the Defendant own'd or denied theſe Proofs, a Man talking for an Hour either one Way or the other can be of any Uſe to the Juſtice of the Cauſe.

Formerly one or two Counſel was thought ſufficient of a Side in this Nation; but now they are encreaſed to ſuch a Number, that, if it goes a little farther, we may expect to ſee the whole Bar, in every great Cauſe, drawn up in Battle-array, like two Armies againſt each other; and I believe the Expence will be very little ſhort of that of an Army.

If the Cauſe, like a Battle, was to be decided in one Day, it would not be ſo bad for the poor Clients; but the Miſchief of it is, the Suit often laſts as long as the contending Parties have Money to go on with it; which, I think, is truly and pleaſantly ridicul'd by the Author laſt quoted.

For lawyers, leſt the bear defendant,
And plaintiff dog ſhould make an end on't,
Do ſtay and tail with writs of error,
Reverſe of judgment and demurrer,
To let them breathe a-while, and then
Cry *whoap*, and ſet them on again:
Until, with ſubtil cobweb cheats,
They're catch'd in knotted law, like nets;
In which, when once they are imbrangled,
The more they ſtir the more they're tangled:
For while their purſes can diſpute,
There's no end of th' immortal ſuit.

The Laws are for the moſt part good; the Abuſes and Grievances have crept into the Practice.—I cannot better illuſtrate this Matter than by the following Petition, lately ſent me by a Correſpondent.

The humble Petition of Common Law *to* Common Senſe, *ſheweth*,

THAT your Petitioner is deſcended from the antient and venerable Family of the *Lawes*, a *Norman* Family, which firſt came into this Kingdom with *William the Conqueror*.

That he has been inform'd, that in his Infancy he was committed to the Guardianſhip of a reverend and wiſe Perſon, known by the Name of *Recta Ratio*; but his ſaid Guardian happen'd to die when your Petitioner was ſo very young, that he freely owns he does not ſo much as remember him.

That ſome Time after the Deceaſe of his ſaid Guardian, your Petitioner had the Misfortune to fall into the Hands of one Serjeant *Chicane*, an old Practitioner in the Profeſſion, who, with a very bad Character, got a great Eſtate, and roſe to the higheſt Preferment in the Law.

That the ſaid Serjeant *Chicane* hath taken all the Methods he poſſibly could to embarraſs and perplex his Affairs; and, by various Tricks, hath almoſt ruin'd your Petitioner's Credit and Reputation in the World.

That he hath, for many Years, employ'd an infinite Number of Serjeants, Barriſters, Attorneys, Bumbailiffs, Solicitors and Hangmen, in your Petitioner's Affairs; by which, honeſt People are ſo intimidated, they are afraid to keep him Company.

That he hath not only wheedled and cajoled your Petitioner, but even ſometimes tortured him, in order to oblige him to appear as an Evidence in ſeveral Cauſes in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, on the Side where the ſaid Serjeant *Chicane* was retain'd as Counſel.

That by the Arts and Contrivances of the ſaid Serjeant *Chicane*, your Petitioner hath ſometimes made ſo ſcandalous a Figure, that many well-meaning People have quite renounced him, chuſing to loſe their Right, rather than have any Thing to do with him.

That your Petitioner hath heard, that there are two Relations of his ſtill living, who are in a very flouriſhing Condition, who, tho' one in *Denmark*, the other in *Savoy* or *Piedmont*, (they are call'd in thoſe Countries by the Name of *Equity*,) are Branches of the ſame Family. He therefore deſires to know the Opinion, and have the Advice of *Common Senſe*, whether he had not better retire to one of thoſe Countries for Protection?

That if you ſhould not approve of your Petitioner's Deſign of leaving his own Country, his moſt earneſt Requeſt is, that *Common Honeſty* (whom he hears to be at preſent in your Service) may be appointed his Guardian, in the Place of Serjeant *Chicane*, who, having thruſt himſelf into this Employment without your Petitioner's Conſent, ought, he thinks, to be removed from all Power, Truſt, and Authority over him.

And your Petitioner ſhall ever pray.

Craftſman, Aug. 9. N° 736.

Οὐ πολεμῶμεν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς.

That is to ſay, *We fight not with our Enemies*, as ſpeaketh one of the *Fathers*, commonly ſo called.

To the Man called the CRAFTSMAN.

Friend Caleb,

FORASMUCH as I have been a conſtant Reader of thy Lucubrations, and have hitherto

hitherto admitted one of thy Papers into mine House weekly, under a Perſuaſion, that thou didſt endeavour to reform our Doings, and make ſtraight the crooked Ways of the Men called *Politicians*; ſo I *found it upon my Spirit* to *withſtand thee to thy Face*, for that I now underſtand thou art *walking in the Counſel of the Ungodly*, and *ſtandeſt in the Way of Sinners*.

It grieveth me to obſerve, that thou, with the reſt of thy *Craftſmen*, haſt been *envious of the Peace of thy Brethren*, and doſt accompany with the *People, who delight in War*.—Verily, *Caleb*, thou art *carnal-minded*, and loveſt the Things that belong unto the *natural Man*. Thy *Communing is not for Peace*; thou *deviſeſt deceitful Matters againſt them that are quiet in the Land*.—As to our *Rulers*, it is not ſo with them, who Day and Night ceaſe not to *pray for the Peace of our Jeruſalem*. They do now at leaſt perceive, that *we* have held forth the Truth, ſaying, that *Revenge* and *War* are not of the Fruit of the Spirit; and the Light, which hath of late ſprung up in their Hearts, hath ſo inclined them to our Ways, that tho' thro' the Inſtigation of the wicked one, our late moſt godly Attempt to aboliſh the *Tithe Offering*, did not attain unto its Completion; we now conceive great Hopes, that we ſhall not only at length be delivered from that Abomination, but likewiſe, that all they who are ſet over us will, in the appointed Time, become *not only almoſt, but altogether ſuch as we*; for they have already receiv'd our wholeſom Doctrine of *Peace*, and, in Reſpect to *Wars* and *Fightings*, are become *Quakers* in Deed and in Truth.

Knoweſt thou not that the *Weapons of our Warfare are not carnal?* but the Weapons of thy Warfare are *very carnal*, as thou mayeſt learn, by calling to thy Remembrance, that they are *Muſkets* and *Cannons*, of which, *Caleb*, there is verily no Mention made in the Armour deſcribed by *Paul*.—This our *Rulers* know.—Go to the City of our *great King*; mark well the *Tower* thereof. Are not all *carnal Weapons* laid up there, ſecure from *thee* and *thy Craft?* Do not the *Forms* and *Figures*, in which they are ſo ingeniouſly diverſified, declare unto thee the *peaceful Inclinations of our* Sion?

Peradventure, thou wilt tell me, that Defence is a *natural Right*. Alas! thus dreameth the *natural Man*! Verily, *Caleb*, thou haſt no Rights at all. Didſt thou not deliver them into the Keeping of the Men of *Stephen's Chapel*, who bow the Knee to *Haman?* Behold, they have given them to the *Man, whom the King delighteth to honour*; and if thou requireſt to know what he hath done with them, Friend *Piſtol* will tell thee, he hath *kick'd 'em o'er the Moon*.

If thou ſayeſt that we are only prohibited *private Revenge*; but not forbidden to *defend our Country*, when the *Magiſtrate commandeth*; lo! this is the Cant of *Prieſts*, and the Gloſs of *Patriots*. Verily, if thy Magiſtrate be a *Chriſtian*, he will obey that Command, *Love thine Enemies*; and how then can he command thee to *kill* them, which, I wot, is not *loving* them? But what availeth this Plea unto thee, peradventure it were true? Did *thy Magiſtrates* command thee voluntarily to go to War? I trow not. No, *Caleb*, it is thou, that of malicious Wickedneſs haſt ſtirred up the People, to demand Leave by War to *defend their Country*, which thou knoweſt, yea all the World knows, was a Thought, which never harboured in the peaceful Breaſts of our *moſt Chriſtian Magiſtrates*. It therefore ill beſeemeth thee, to make them a Party in thy blood-thirſty Intentions; for if thou hadſt abſtained from War, until *thy Magiſtrates* had of their own Free-will commanded thee; verily, I do believe, thou hadſt ſtaid even until the *Day of Doom*.—It is true, Friend *Vernon*, by the Inſtigation of thee and thy bloody-minded Fraternity, was ſent into the *Weſtern India*, where he hath been plundering, and making Havock of *Towns* and *Caſtles*, which thou vainly calleſt *retrieving the Honour of the* Britiſh *Flag*.—But *art thou a Maſter in Iſrael*, and knoweſt not that it cauſeth great Sorrow of Heart that this *deſtroying Angel is abroad?* Is it not notorious, that thy Betters diſapprove of his Piracies, and had much rather he had *loſt his Ears*, than taken *Porto Bello?* Are they not famous all over the World, for their *Patience* and *Long-ſuffering?* Have we not had *Trials of cruel Mockings and Scourgings, of Bonds and Impriſonment?* And have not our *Chriſtian Rulers* born it all without any Retaliation or Satisfaction, which is certainly more evangelical to *give*, than to *receive?* They have ſhewed their *Magnanimity* by their *Patience*; and ſeem to be of Opinion, that the *Britiſh Lion* will be the more reſpected, the nearer it approacheth to the *Lamb*. Have not even our *warlike Preparations* been *peaceful?*—Have we not fitted out whole Fleets at an immenſe Expence, with a *ſeeming Deſign*—— *to do* * * * * * *?—Have we not ſent one Squadron after the *Galleons*, with *full Powers to let them* * * * * *? And diſpatched another after the *Aſſogues*, with as *full a Commiſſion* —— *not to* * * * * * * * * * * * * *? Thus do we demonſtrate our Charity for thoſe, who *hate us, deſpitefully uſe us, and perſecute us*; thoſe, who call themſelves the Sons of *Peter*, tho' they follow his Steps in nothing, except it be in *cutting off an Ear*.

But let not the Mention of this Indignity excite in thy cruel Breaſt the Thought of Revenge.—It was ſaid, indeed, by thoſe of old Time, *an Eye for an Eye*, and a *Tooth for a Tooth*; and thou, like unto them, art continually crying out, *an Ear for an Ear*;

which verily, *Caleb*, doth beſpeak thee to be an unregenerate Man.—Is it not ſaid, *whoſoever ſhall compel thee to go a Mile, go with him twain?* Why then contendeſt thou with the Men of *Spain*, to fix the *exact Number of Leagues*, which they may compel thee to go? I make no Doubt but that one *Benjamin* is a better Chriſtian, and hath aſſured them, that if they ſhall compel us to go with them *one League*, we will go with them *twain*; and that if they ſhall be ſo gracious, as to cut off but *one of our Ears*, verily, like good Chriſtians, we will turn unto them the *other* alſo.—Alas! for this Chriſtian Procedure, how haſt thou threatened poor *Benjamin!* Thou didſt talk of *bloody Revenge*, which is an unchriſtian Saying, and ſavoureth much of the *heathen Man*. If I had occupied the Place of the ſaid *Benjamin*, before I would have ſigned the *Covenant of Peace*, I would have begged the Favour of them to *cut off both my Ears*, were it only to diſappoint thee of thy Threatning, which thou didſt breathe forth, to *fix a Knot under one of them*.

Our *Rulers* were induſtrious to cultivate *Peace* with the Man, that ſitteth on the Throne of *Spain*. He gave us his *Covenant of Peace*, and we did accept thereof.—What mean then theſe *Rumours of Wars*; and why are the People *riſen up as an Enemy?* What means the *Neighing of the Horſes* I hear in mine Ears? And why are they gone forth to encamp upon the Plains, to the great Terror of—*Pigs* and *Poultry?*—Thou Hypocrite! Thou haſt *broken the Covenant*, and when *thy Words were ſmoother than Butter, War was in thine Heart.*—But oh! conſider, what Deſtruction thou art bringing upon *thy Country*, yea, upon thine own ſelf.—When the Men of *Spain*, thoſe Sons of the *great Whore*, ſhall paſs over the *many Waters*, woe unto thee, *Caleb*, in thoſe Days! for behold! thoſe *carnal Men* will neither ſpare thy beloved Daughter *Tabitha*, nor *Suſanna* the *Wife of thy Boſom*.

Peradventure, thou wilt ſay, that *we are mighty and ſtrong Men for the War*. But they, who are wiſer than thou, have thought fit to acquaint the World, that thou art a *Liar, and the Truth is not in thee*. Knoweſt thou not the Man famous for the *Cleanlineſs of his Hands?* Doeſt *thou* underſtand our Situation better than *he*, who hath *pulled up his Breeches* in all the Courts of *Europe?* Verily, that *Adverſary* of thine hath written a *Book*, wherein he holdeth forth unto us, that our *Moab is ſpoiled*; that he hath himſelf, to his own Knowledge, *negotiated* us out of *all our Allies*, inſomuch that we have none left, *no not one*. Did not alſo the *Levite of Peace* declare unto us the ſame Thing, in another little Book, of the like wonderful Kind? For which *peaceful Performance*, we ſhould never have denied *him* our *Tithe-Offering*, even to *Mint* and *Cummin*.—But he is gone to his own Place.

I know thou ſayeſt in thine Heart, that there ſhall be yet *no Peace unto the Wicked*; and, in the Bitterneſs of thy Soul, loveſt to liken our *Covenant of Peace* unto thoſe *Viſions of Peace*, mentioned by *Ezekiel* the Prophet, which are there compared unto a *Wall daubed with untempered Mortar*, which was thereſore to *fall*, and cruſh the *Builders* thereof.—But, Friend *Caleb*, underſtand that tho' there might perchance be a ſmall Flaw in the *Wall*, which was lately built, yet none are more dextrous at *ſtopping Holes*, than they who *ſit in the King's Gate*; and to make amends for the *untempered Mortar*, lo! *our Daubers* are now tempering *new Mortar*, and it ſhall come to paſs, that they ſhall *daub the Wall* with that *impenetrable Cement*, that *Catholicon* for *all Breaches*, the moſt celebrated *Plaiſter of Paris*.—In ſpite of thee and thy *Craft*, our Rulers *ſeek Peace and enſue it*, and their *ſole View*, in which they exerciſe themſelves Day and Night, is to have *Peace within the* Walls, *and Plenteouſneſs within the* Palace.—In ſpite of thee, we ſhall have *another Covenant of Peace*.—Our Ships ſhall go again to *Ophir* for Gold, and no more be broken at *Ezion-Geber*.—Our *Solomon* ſhall *have Peace on all Sides round about*.—He is *a Man of Reſt, his Name ſhall be peaceable*, and maugre all thy crafty Machinations for *War*, we ſhall have *Abundance of Peace, ſo long as the Moon endureth*.

Thine *(if thou turneſt to the Ways of* Peace,)

AMINADAB.

Univerſal Spectator, Aug. 9. N° 618.

Mr. Stonecaſtle,

I AM Chambermaid to a Lady, who, if I obey her Commands, or diſobey them, is equally diſſatisfy'd; and *finding Faults* is the Buſineſs, as well as Joy of her Life. As there are innumerable Examples of this ridiculous Peeviſhneſs of Temper in *Maſters* and *Miſtreſſes*, by your Cenſure on ſuch Conduct you wou'd do a publick Service, and moſt particularly oblige

Your conſtant Reader,
SARAH WAITWELL.

Nothing is more unjuſt, as well as tormenting to themſelves, than this diſſatisfy'd Temper which Mrs. *Sarah* complains of: I ſhall make no ſerious Diſſertation on it, but ſhew the Folly of it in the ſtrongeſt Light, by an Extract of a Scene from a *French* Play, where this peeviſh Humour is pleaſantly expos'd.

POLYDORE, AURELIA, TOILETTE.

Polyd. IS my Father come home, *Toillette!*
Toilette. No, Sir.

Aurelia,

Aurelia. When he comes, let him ſay or do what he will, we are reſolv'd to pleaſe him.

Toilette. Pleaſe him! They muſt be cunning, who can do that.—He is a terrible Mortal upon my Word.—No Servant, Male or Female, can ſtay with him above five or ſix Days. When we want a Servant, it's in vain to think of getting one in the Neighbourhood, or even in the whole City: We are forced to ſend into the Country, where they never heard of Dr. *Chagrin*, the Phyſician.——Somebody knocks, and ſmartly too.

Polydore. See who it is.

Aurelia. Undoubtedly, our Father.

Toilette. No, thank our Stars, 'tis your Uncle *Gentle.*

Enter Gentle.

Polydore. Have you heard of my Father's Reſolution of marrying us ſuddenly againſt our Inclinations?

Gentle. I have juſt now been talking to him on that Subject.—He is juſt at my Heels; leave him to me, and I will endeavour to reduce him to Reaſon.

Dr. Chagrin within] *Thomas*—*Toilette*—*Toilette, Thomas!*—*Polydore, Aurelia*—Rogue, Huſſey—where are you all?

Gentle. Begone, I ſay; *Toilette* ſhall bring you an Account— (*To* Polydore *and* Aurelia.

Chagrin within.] —Sirrah—Sirrah—I'll make you an Example.

Gentle. Fly, he is here——

(*A Noiſe heard within.*

Toilette.—I ſay fly too, for here he comes, Storm, Tempeſt, Hail, Thunder and Hurricane.—As for me, I'll weather it out.

[*Exeunt* Polydore *and* Aurelia.

Enter Dr. Chagrin, *driving a Footman before him.*

Chagrin. Rogue, Raſcal, Villain, will you always make me knock two Hours together at the Door?—

Thomas. I was at Work in the Kitchen, and at the firſt Stroke of the Knocker, I made ſuch Haſte up Stairs, that I fell upon my Noſe.

Chagrin. Wou'd thou had'ſt broke thy Neck, Hang-Dog.—Why have I ſo much Patience! Oho! Madam (*ſeeing Toilette*) are you there?—I thought I told you Yeſterday, that I wou'd have the Door left open?———

Toilette. You was angry Yeſterday, Sir, becauſe it was open.

Chagrin. And I am angry now, becauſe it was not open.

Toilette. So that when it is open you are offended, and when it is ſhut you are no leſs offended.—For my Part I know not *what* to do.

Chagrin. What to do!

Gentle. Brother, will you——

Chagrin interrupting.] Pray be quiet—*What* to do!——

Gentle. What can they do?——Pray ſuffer me to ſpeak——

Chagrin. Sir, Brother, when you chide your Servants, you do it without Moleſtation.—*What* to do, Huſſey!

Toilette. Sir—when you go abroad, will you pleaſe to have the Door left open?

(*Courtſying.*

Chagrin. No.

Toilette. Will you pleaſe to have it kept ſhut? (*Courtſying lower.*

Chagrin. No.

Toilette. But, Sir——

Chagrin. Do you argue, you Jade?

Gentle. Methinks, Brother, after all, ſhe does not argue amiſs; a Man wou'd be glad to have a rational Servant.

Chagrin. And methinks, Brother, you argue very ill—Yes, a Man wou'd be glad to have a reaſonable Servant, but not a Servant that will reaſon.

Toilette. Ads'life, I wiſh I had no Reaſon at all, if this is the Trade.

Chagrin. Will you hold your Tongue, Mrs. *Obſtinate.* (*Holds up his Cane.*

Toilette. Ay, ay, ſtrike, beat me to Mummy if you will, or, Sir, cut me as ſmall as minc'd Meat; a Door muſt be either open or ſhut.

Thomas. It muſt ſo, Sir.

Chagrin. I have told you, ye Rogue, above a thouſand Times—I have told you, ye Slut, as many, I'll have it—I'll have it—

Toilette. Ay, how?—

Chagrin. What? does it become you to aſk me Queſtions? If I take ye both in Hand, I'll ſhew you how I'll have it—You laugh methinks, Mr. Brother.

Gentle. I? not I—I know Servants are ſometimes in Fault.

Chagrin. Yet you ſneer: But ſee if I am angry without a Cauſe—You ſhall ſee, you ſhall ſee—Pray, Madam, have you ſwept my Cloſet out?

Toilette. Yes, and your Study and Bed-Chamber, as you order'd me.

Chagrin. And you the Garden?

Thomas. It is in the utmoſt Nicety, or I'll loſe my Wages.

Chagrin. You did not deliver the Meſſage to my Daughter.

Toilette. Yes, and gave an Anſwer to it as you was going out.

Chagrin. Did you water my Horſe?

Thomas. Mr. *Polydore* ſaw me.

Chagrin. But you have not pleated my fring'd Turnover.

Toilette. It lies ready for you.

Chagrin.—(*Pauſes*) O! my Letters; did you put them into the Poſt?

Thomas. At the General Poſt-Houſe with the utmoſt Care.

Chagrin. Huſſey, I have a hundred Times forbad you thrumming on the old Spinnet in

the Parlour, and you was at it again this Morning—Thrum, Thrum, Tweedle dee—

Toilette. This Morning! Lard, don't you remember you broke it Yesterday into a thousand Pieces?

Chagrin. But I'll be hang'd if you have air'd my Flannel Night-cap.

Toilette. Yes, and your Flannel Night-shirt too.

Chagrin. Oh! I must put this Slut and this Rogue away, never did Servants make a Master so mad as they do me—They will kill me with Vexation; away! out of my Sight.

Gentle. Get out of his Way—I'll let you know what I can do with him in your Mistress's Apartment. (*To* Toilette.

Toilette. I know what I'll do with him, and about it instantly.

[*Exeunt* Thomas *and* Toilette.

Chagrin. Oh! the intolerable Fatigue of Servants! (*Walks about in a Passion.*

Gentle. Indeed, Brother, you take Servants not to have the Benefit of their Service, but the Pleasure of growling at them; and are angry because they give you no Reason to be angry.

Chagrin. What, Mr. Adviser, do you come to controul my Actions?

Gentle. I came for no such Purpose, but I can't help pitying you, when I see, that with all the Reasons in the World to be content, you are always out of Humour.

Chagrin. It is my Pleasure to be so.

Gentle. I see it is; for when every Thing smiles upon you, when you have a good State of Health, agreeable dutiful Children, a very plentiful Estate, yet ever fretful, testy, and contradictious, you incessantly torment yourself, and consequently torment all who are oblig'd to live with you.

Chagrin. There is some Truth in this. (*Aside*)—But—But what can you have to object to my Reputation or Morals? I am not, I think, a Knave, nor a Drunkard, nor a Miser, nor a Liar, nor what you are, an impertinent Busy-body, nor am I—

Gentle interrupting him.] It is true, you have not those Vices which strike the Eyes of the World; but you have one which poisons all the Sweetness of Life, and which, perhaps, is more offensive to Society than all the rest. For in short, a Man may sometimes at least live at Peace with a Knave, a Drunkard, a Miser, or a Liar, but there is not one Moment's Ease to be enjoy'd with those, whose unhappy Temper inclines them to be always dissatisfied, who are put in a Passion with a Trifle, and who take such a wretched Delight in scolding, and making an eternal Noise.

Chagrin. Nor with them who are eternally moralizing.

Gentle. I have done, Brother; let us call another Subject.

Common Sense, Aug. 16. N° 184.

A SUMMARY *of the Objections and Answers in a late Dispute upon the* PLACE-BILL.

Objection I.

ARE Gentlemen less capable, or less worthy to serve the People, because they are intrusted, by some Place or Preferment, with the more immediate Service of the King?

Answer I.

THIS Question is best answer'd by asking another; Have there been Instances at any Time, or rather are there not some of a very modern Date, strong enough to induce a Belief that Places depend on Votes?

II.

We shall condemn ourselves by passing such a Bill into an Act.

II.

We are either guilty, or not; if guilty, it is a false Modesty that makes us conceal our Crimes, in order to sin on; if we are not guilty, there is no better Way of proving, and perhaps no other Way of securing our Integrity, than by removing what is but too just a Reason for suspecting it.

III.

There are not so many Placemen as the World imagines.

III.

I speak to my own Knowledge, there are two Hundred.

IV.

This Bill takes its Original from seditious Instructions.

IV.

Tho' the People have no Right at all to use those Compulsories of *require* and *insist*, yet they have an undoubted one to instruct their Representatives.

V.

To desire the Abolition rather than the Continuance of Parliament, if Placemen sit in it, must be imputed to an incautious Zeal.

V.

Any Government is preferable to that which destroys the Community under the venerable Appearance of Law, and according to Act of Parliament.

VI.

This Place-Bill is of dangerous Consequence, because it separates the Interests of the King and People.

VI.

This is an *Erratum*, and for *King* we must read *Minister*. The true Interests of the King and People are inseparable: Whoever is a Friend to either, is so consequentially to both.

VII.

What is the Reason, that this Bill is so much insisted on now? Is any Thing apprehended from his Majesty, that makes it ne-

VII.

Every Body is not satisfied, that no Mischief has been done; supposing none has, a great deal may: But this is not a proper

cessary

ceſſary, and as ſuch, urged with ſo much Vehemence?

Queſtion, ſince no Man dares anſwer it. It is ſomething like the Champion's throwing down the Gauntlet in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, which no Man dares take up. If the Queſtion be ſtated fairly, not whether the King or Parliament have done wrong, who in Truth cannot, but whether the Miniſter has, I ſay, yes.

VIII.

This is a Scheme of the Gentlemen in the Oppoſition, to ſupplant the preſent Miniſter.

VIII.

This is an Objection made uſe of by Gentlemen in the Adminiſtration, and by conſtant Uſe grown thread-bare; but never ſo miſapplied, as in the preſent Caſe. What an inverted Piece of Policy is it, to deſtroy a great Part of that Power, which they hope one Time or other to be poſſeſſed of!

If an unhappy Situation of Affairs ſhould at any Time fore-bode the inevitable approaching Ruin of one Man, or three Kingdoms, common Senſe will point out the Alternative we ought to chuſe.

To the AUTHOR of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR,

THERE was never any Thing gave me greater Pleaſure, than to hear, that the *Heir Apparent to our Crown* was entertaining himſelf with a *Maſque*, wherein our great King *Alfred* was repreſented, as riſing from the *utmoſt Diſtreſs*, to redeem and eſtabliſh the *Liberties* of his Country.——It is to that great and wiſe King we owe that *Spirit of Liberty*, which has for ſo many Ages animated the Breaſt of every *true Briton*, and ſtill makes this glorious Country the Dread of its Enemies, and the Envy of the World.——May that Spirit ever prevail!——May juſt Heaven forbid,

'A *Britiſh* man ſhould ever count for gain,
'What villainy muſt earn!' *

A *Prince of Wales*'s pleaſing himſelf with ſuch a Repreſentation, is a Sort of Pledge, that he will join ſincerely in *Alfred*'s Prayer in the *fifth Scene* of the *firſt Act* †; that he will endeavour to build the publick Weal *on Liberty and Laws*; and that he will diſdain to think of eſtabliſhing his Throne upon the *Tongues* or *Swords* of thoſe, who count for Gain, what they villainouſly earn by ſacrificing the *Conſtitution* and *Liberties* of their Country.

Of all arbitrary Governments that is the worſt, which is eſtabliſhed upon *Corruption*.——In other Sorts of arbitrary Governments, a People may flouriſh, may gain Glory and Renown, and may endure as a People for ſeveral Ages; but an arbitrary Government founded upon *Corruption*, muſt ſoon ruin and impoveriſh the People, and by that Means *ſap its own Foundation*; ſo that the *very Support* of ſuch a Government, is the neceſſary Cauſe of its *ſudden Deſtruction*.

I have often wondered, that the Hiſtory of *Alfred*'s Reign has not been more ſtudied, and more warmly recommended by true Patriots, than it has been hitherto; and therefore I was glad to find ſome Parts of that Reign ſo fully explained in a Debate upon the *Original and true Nature of our Conſtitution*, which was publiſhed in your *Magazine*, for the Months of *January*, *February*, *March*, and *April*, 1739.

It is certainly true, as you there obſerve, that our Conſtitution was from Top to Bottom overturned by the *Conqueſt*, and that all we have been doing ever ſince, has been, to get reſtored the Laws of *Edward the Confeſſor*, that is to ſay, the Form of Government eſtabliſhed by King *Alfred*.——We have ſucceeded in Part; and the chief Reaſon why we have not fully ſucceeded, may juſtly, I believe, be aſcribed to our being ignorant of that Form of Government, we have ſo long aimed to reſtore; therefore, I hope, this *Maſque*, and what you have publiſhed upon the Subject, will give every Man, eſpecially thoſe who have an Influence upon *our Legiſlature*, a Curioſity to ſtudy the Hiſtory of that Reign, and to make as ſtrict an Enquiry as poſſible into the Nature of that Form of Government eſtabliſhed by that great and wiſe King.——It is not *Patch-work* that will prevent the Danger we are now threatned with:——We muſt ſearch to the Bottom, and in that Reign we ſhall find a ſolid Foundation, whereon we may raiſe a laſting and a beautiful Edifice.

I do not ſay, that the Form of Government eſtabliſhed by King *Alfred*, and improved, perhaps, by *Edward the Confeſſor*, ought to be reſtored in every Part.——Such a thorough Reſtitution would not, I believe, agree with our preſent Circumſtances; but the true Spirit of that Form of Government ought to be reſtored, which conſiſted in ſuch a Diſtribution of Power between the King and the People, as prevented the latter's being oppreſſed, and preſerved the Grandeur of the former.

That the whole executive Power of our Government ought to be lodged in the Crown, was a Maxim then not ſo much as heard of; for it is evident, that the greateſt Part of the executive Power, was then lodged in Magiſtrates and Officers choſen by the People in their ſeveral Diſtricts; and even our ſupreme Magiſtrates and Officers, next under the King, were appointed by King and Parliament,

* Alfred, *a Maſque*, *p.* 9. † *Ibid. p.* 19.

ment, or by the King with the Consent of his Parliament.

This made every man just, exact, and diligent in the Execution of that Part of our Government committed to his Charge; because each was a Check upon the other, and, by their being appointed or chosen *by distinct and separate Interests*, they could not *all unite together* in oppressing or betraying the People, nor in protecting one another against the Resentment and Vengeance of the Nation.—— If this were now the Case, we should have no Occasion for a *Place-Bill*; and unless this Regulation be in some Degree restored, I am afraid, a *Place-Bill* will be found ineffectual.

I am, *SIR*,
York, *Your constant Reader*,
August 20, *And humble Servant*,
1740. PHILOMATHES.

Craftsman, Aug. 23. N° 738.

THIS *Paper contains an* Address *from a Correspondent of Mr.* D'Anvers, *to the* FREEHOLDERS *and* FARMERS *of* England.

I shall first desire you (says he) to consider how greatly the Expences of *Farming* have increased within these 50 *Years*. I don't mean in *Luxuries*, but in the *common Necessaries of Life*. I know it is said, that *Farmers* live higher now than they formerly did: If by such Management, more *Farmers* are ruin'd now than formerly, I am afraid it is, because *Farmers* are more easily ruin'd now than in former Times; for I am sure (those within the Influence of the *London* Markets excepted) they can't afford to live so well. You are the best Judges yourselves, whether more of you don't suffer for Want of *Necessaries*, than are ruin'd by the Use of *Superfluities*. I appeal to the Memory of the most ancient amongst you, whether the many Articles in *House-keeping*, (that is, *Cloathing*, *Workmanship*, *Labourers* and *Servants Wages*) are not within these 50 *Years* advanced a 3d or 4th Part. These Expences have increased by slow Degrees, as different *Taxes* and *Excises* have been laid on; and as they go away in small Parcels, and various Shapes, they don't make so deep an Impression, as if issuing out in *one Sum*, tho' the Sum is really the same, whether paid in *one* or 12 *Months*, or whether paid in *Guineas* or *Farthings*.

People, who are not used to think of *these Things*, are easily deceived in their Computations. If, for Example, a *Farmer* hath a Mind to cast up what Excise he pays upon *Leather* in a Year, he informs himself at how much in the Pound *Leather* is tax'd; and he thinks the rest is easily done, by knowing the Quantity of *Leather* he uses in that Time. But he is very short in his Reckoning; since all *Excises* magnify thro' every Hand they pass, till they come to the last Customer, or Consumer; for a Tradesman must enlarge his *Profit*, in Proportion to the Money he lays out, and not only magnify the Price of the *Commodity*, upon which it is laid, but by Circulation must inhance the Price of *all other Commodities*, which pass thro' the Hands of Manufacturers, or Tradesmen; for the dearer the *Necessaries of Life* are made to these People, the dearer must they sell their Goods.

From hence we see, that the *poorest Man* pays his Proportion to the *Excises* of each Tradesman, with whom he deals, over and above the real Excise upon the *Thing* itself; and tho' he and his Family live upon the coarsest Provisions, upon which human Nature can subsist, yet nothing, that can be eat or worn, is free from the Influence of *Excises*. This is the real Cause, which hath raised the Price of *Servants* and *Labourers Wages*; tho' the *poor People* themselves, perhaps, find it as difficult to maintain and clothe themselves now, as 50 *Years* ago, when their Wages were a 4th less.

Grain, *Wool*, and *Cattle* are not excused; for the *Miller*, *Maltster*, *Clothier*, and *Butcher* pay Excises; so that the *Farmer* can have none of these Things back prepared for *his own Use*, without paying his Proportion to the Excises of the respective Tradesmen, with whom he deals.—To this, perhaps, may be greatly owing the *Dearness of Meat*, at a Time when *Cattle* were sold by the *Grazier*, as cheap as hath been known within the Memory of Man.—To this very Cause is likewise owing the great Decay of our *Woollen Manufactury*; for if the *Manufacturer* can't support his Family by his Labour, he must fly to some cheaper Country, where *Wages* and *Provisions* are better proportion'd; by which Means we should lose our *Manufacturers*; and, on the other Hand, to raise their *Wages* must raise the Price of *Cloth*, in which the *French* undersell us at least 15*l per Cent.* at present.

To *Excises* may be added the *Poors Rate*, which, doubtless, hath been greatly augmented by the Weight of them. I am speaking of a Fact, which will easily appear to any Man, by examining the *Parish Books*; and as far as my Curiosity hath led me, I find *this Rate* doubled within these 50 *Years*. The *Farmer* not only pays his *own Poors Rate*; but, as in *Excises*, he pays his Proportion of the *Poors Rate* of all the *Tradesmen* he deals with; but I don't see that, in Return, they pay any Thing towards *his Excises*, or *extraordinary Expences*.

Dealers and *Artificers* proportion their Stocks according to the Demand of their *Customers*; but the *Farmer* must pay his Rent and cultivate his Land at any Expence, without knowing to what Market he shall bring his *Cattle*, or *Grain*. A *plentiful Harvest* may ruin a *Farmer*, as well as *missing of Crops*; for

or but few can afford to lay up a Year's Produce, the *Labourers Wages* being always leareſt in *plentiful Harveſts*, as the Demands for them are then always greateſt; and let *Exciſes* be ever ſo numerous, he can't raiſe the Price of *Grain* or *Cattle*, in Proportion to his *Expences*, which hath been evident by the *Cheapneſs of Corn* a few Years ago; for it is *Plenty* and *Scarcity* alone which muſt regulate the Markets of the *Fruits* and *Productions of the Earth*.

To what hath been ſaid may be added another melancholy Reflection; which is, that the Money ariſing from *theſe Taxes* is ſwept away to *London*, and laviſh'd there upon *Foreign-bought Luxuries*.

Under theſe Difficulties doth the *Landed Intereſt of England* labour; and tho' it hath been ſo evidently the general Intereſt of the Nation to have *theſe Exciſes* taken off; tho' for above 20 *Years* running we have had ſuch a Number of gracious Recommendations from the Throne, to conſider upon Means for leſſening the *publick Debts*, which have been anſwer'd by ſuitable Addreſſes, as if the Meaſure had been really intended; notwithſtanding the various Schemes, which have been form'd for this Purpoſe, by the ſucceſſive Miniſters, ever ſince the Peace of *Utrecht*; I ſay, notwithſtanding all theſe Things, none of our *Exciſes* have been leſſen'd. On the contrary, moſt of them have been augmented, by being put under more *ſevere* and *penal Regulations*; ſome new ones have been raiſed; and the *national Debts* have been but little diminiſh'd.—This, at firſt Sight, may appear ſurprizing; but whether it will not abate our Surprize, when we remember that there have been near 200 *Placemen* and *Officers* in moſt of the *Houſes of Commons*, during that Space of Time, may be a Queſtion worthy of Conſideration.

Moſt of *theſe Exciſes* were laid on for 32 *Years*, and would have expired about this Time, had they not been continued from Time to Time, and at laſt made perpetual, in order to increaſe the *Sinking Fund*.—It may therefore be proper in this Place, to inform you what is meant by the *Sinking Fund*.

During the Wars in K. *William*'s and Q. *Anne*'s Reigns, *theſe Taxes* were raiſed to borrow Money upon; and after the Peace of *Utrecht*, the *Debt of the Nation* was ſtated; when it appear'd, that the Money ariſing from *thoſe Taxes* yearly, overpaid the Intereſt of Money borrow'd by the Publick. This Overplus was firſt call'd the *Aggregate Fund*, and afterwards the *Sinking Fund*, meaning a Fund to take off the *Exciſes* in Time, by paying off and ſinking the *Debts of the Nation*; and had it been thus conſtantly apply'd, inſtead of having our *Debts* but little leſſen'd, we ſhould, by this Time, have been freed from the greateſt Part of them.

It would be too tedious to enumerate the many Applications, to which *this Fund* hath been ſubjected, ſince it was firſt form'd; but it is very evident, in general, from the ſlow Operation of it, that it hath been very much diverted from the original Deſign. I ſhall therefore only give one Inſtance, which may ſerve as a Specimen of the Sincerity of *thoſe worthy Gentlemen*, who are ſo fond of ſerving their Country in the double Capacity of *Placemen* and *Senators*.

To leſſen the *Debt of the Nation*, and to take off ſome of the *moſt burdenſome Exciſes*, was ſo notoriouſly the Intereſt of the Kingdom, and had been ſo long in every Body's Mouth, that the *Placemen* thought proper to make a Shew of yielding to the general Clamour of the Nation; and as the *Salt-Duty* fell ſo heavy upon the *Conſumer*, and brought in ſo little to the *Publick*, in Proportion to the *Expence of Collection*, it was agreed upon, that the *ſaid Tax* ſhould be taken off, and a farther Promiſe was made, that *more Taxes* ſhould be redeem'd as faſt as the *Sinking Fund* ſhould make Way.—I muſt here obſerve, that the *Salt-Duty* was, at that Time, Part of the *Sinking Fund*.

It was the firm Perſuaſion of many People, that *this Tax* ought not to have been laid on again, unleſs ſome very great Exigence of State ſhould make it neceſſary. But all this proved to be wrong Reaſoning; for the *Men in Power* were of a different Opinion. *This Tax* therefore was taken from the *Sinking Fund*, and dropt in the Year 1730; and in 1732 it was revived to ſave a *Shilling in the Pound Land Tax* for that Year only. (See *London Magazine*, 1732, p. 380, &c. 429, &c.)

By what hath been ſaid, we ſee what mighty Things have been done for us by *Placemen*, during a Term of above 27 *Years* paſt; and from what hath been done, may we not reaſonably conclude what will be done for the ſame Time to come, if left to the *ſame unlimited Powers?*

(To be continued.)

Common Senſe, in his Paper of the 23d, expoſes the *Gazetteers* for pretending to draw a Parallel between the famous *Cecil* in Q. *Elizabeth*'s Reign, and their renowned Pay-maſter.

Cecil, ſays he, was but one among many Counſellors; *Leiceſter*, *Walſingham*, *Eſſex*, *Raleigh*, and others in equal Authority, were his Cotemporaries; for he did not uſurp a Dominion over all the other Servants of the Crown.

Among other Things to his Praiſe, he mentions his Wiſdom, OEconomy, and Uncorruptneſs at the Head of the Treaſury; and concludes, If theſe Writers thought they could ſhew us a Friend of theirs in a *Cecil*, why do they draw a Veil over his greateſt Beauties? They tell us, indeed, that he had Enemies within the Palace; but don't ſay a Word of his Friends, or his univerſal Popularity without the Palace.

ECLOGUE

ECLOGUE I. *of* VIRGIL, *newly attempted in* Engliſh.

MELIBOEUS.

BEneath this ſpreading beach, you happy ſwain,
Practice your oaten reed, and rural ſtrain:
Forc'd from my farm, alas! poor hapleſs I,
My wonted joys, and dearer country fly.
You, in the ſhade, at eaſe, teach ev'ry grove
To eccho back the name of her you love.

TITYRUS.

Oh! friend! a deity this leiſure wrought;
For ſuch by me he ever ſhall be thought:
Oft a choice lambkin from my fleecy ſtore
Shall ſtain his altar with its purple gore.
By his decree my herds thus ſafely ſtray;
The while, I, as I liſt, indulge my lay.

MELIBOEUS.

Good ſooth, thy happineſs I envy not;
I rather wonder, whence ſo bleſt thy lot,
Since ſuch alarms, around, diſturb the plain,
And in his hut affright the humble ſwain.
Lo! how I'm forc'd myſelf my herd to 'tend,
Faint as I am; this feeble goat (my friend)
Scarce cou'd I get along: this very goat,
Who lately, twins amid yon filberds brought:
Ah! wo is me! on the bare flinty rock,
Has left theſe twins, the hopes of all my flock.
Oft have the blighted boughs, and left-hand crow, [woe.
From the ſcath'd oaks, fore-told this coming
(Had I not ſtupid been, and wou'd not ſee!)
Yet tell me, ſwain, who is this deity?

TITYRUS.

Rome's ſtately city oft, unweeting, I [hie,
Like this of ours have deem'd, to which we
Each market-day with our young, tender lambs, [dams:
Juſt wean'd and bleating for their abſent
For ſtill I knew, as the old goat, appears
The kid, the whelp its mother's likeneſs bears.
So was I wont, the greater by the leſs,
To meaſure, ſimple looby, as I was:
But high o'er other towns her head ſhe reare,
As a tall *Cypreſs* 'midſt the ſhrubs appears.

MELIBOEUS.

But ſay, my *Tityrus*, ſay, what great affair
Cou'd make a ſimple ſwain to *Rome* repair?

TITYRUS.

My long endeavour'd freedom to regain;
Yet cou'd I not the wiſh'd-for ſuit obtain;
Till, by the barber's hand, the whitening hairs,
Shorn from my chin, confirm'd approaching years.
But ſince I ſought fair *Amaryllis*' charms,
The ſcornful *Galatea* flies theſe arms:
While *Galatea* did my ſoul poſſeſs,
(For, now, I free'y will the truth confeſs,)
My farm, my ſheep, my herds neglected were;
Nor ev'n my dearer freedom urg'd my care.
Tho' at the town many a fat cheeſe was ſold,
And many a deſtin'd victim from my fold;
Yet, thoughtleſs I the while, unheeding ſwain,
Light was my pouch, and thriftleſs all my gain.

MELIBOEUS.

No wonder now, why *Amaryllis* wept,
And her ripe fruit ſo long ungather'd kept;
Her *Tityrus* gone! how cou'd the maid [keep,
weep?
For whom, but him, ſhou'd ſhe her apples
Each bubbling ſpring, and each fair rural ſcene,
Thy fields and orchards call'd thee back again.

TITYRUS.

What cou'd I do? I cou'd not live a ſlave;
Nor cou'd elſe-where the hopes of freedom have.
'Twas here I to the youthful heroe ſpoke,
For whom alone my monthly altars ſmoak.
Here firſt, he gave this anſwer to my pray'r; [thy care;
"Still feed thy flocks, thy lands be ſtill
"And to the yoke ſubmit the willing ſteer."

MELIBOEUS.

Happy old man! you can your farm enjoy,
Secure, your wants ſufficient to ſupply:
Our lands untill'd, with naked flints abound,
While ſlime and ruſhes hide the meadow ground: [keep,
Your teeming ewes their wonted paſtures
Nor catch infection from the neighbouring ſheep.
Happy old man! who, when fatigu'd with heat, [treat,
Can'ſt ſeek the ſacred ſpring, the cool re-
Or on the banks of ſome known river ſet;
While, not far off, a flow'ry hedge with trees
Of *willows* ſhaded, feeds a hive of bees;
Which gently buzzing, oft, inſenſibly,
Lyll thee to ſleep; or while the pruner nigh,
His amorous ditties, with his voice ſo ſhrill,
Sings underneath the covert of yon hill.
You, your wood-pigeons have, and turtle-doves,
That on yon *elms* ne'er ceaſe to mourn their loves.

TITYRUS.

The ſtag ſhall therefore ſend thro'air his way;
Birds ſooner leave the ſky, and fiſh the ſea;
Fair *Arar*'s bank the diſtant *Parthian* ſeek,
And *Tygris*' ſtream the *German*'s thrift ſwift ſlake;
Than aught ſhall ever from my breaſt eraſe
The pleaſing image of his god-like face.

MELIBOEUS.

But we, alas! on *Afric*'s thirſty ſhore;
Or where *Oaxis*' rapid currents roar,
Thro' *Scythia*'s dreary waſte, and piercing cold,
New cares muſt ſeek, and labours yet untold:
Or where the *Britons* dwell, a hapleſs race,
Far from the world apart thro' boiſt'rous ſeas.
Shall I e'er view again my native ſhore?
My lovely hut by thatch all cover'd o'er?
Or after many a year admiring, ſee
My bearded fields, a kingdom once for me?
No; war, dire war, and ruthleſs hoſtile bands,
Relentleſs, force me from my ravag'd lands.

Lo!

Lo! what effects from civil diſcord flow!
For whom ſhall I my ſeeds in furrows ſow?
Ceaſe fondly thus theſe evils to regret;
Plant thy young pards, thy vines in order ſet.
Thy pards, thy red'ning vines, thy bearded field,
Will a rare harveſt to the plund'rer yield.
Farewel, my goats, farewel, once happy fold,
No more ſhall I on yon high cliff behold
You, howſoe'er my more peculiar care,
Browze on the moſs, and hang aloft in air;
The whilome, I, in ſome cool grot have lain;
Farewel the wonted ſong, the flow'ry plain.

TITYRUS.

On the green turf to night, at leaſt, with me
Partake of what my ſtock affords, and ſee
Choice ſtore of apples, cheeſe but newly preſt,
And the ripe cheſnut furniſh out the feaſt.
And lo! e'en now, from yonder huts ariſe
The ſmould'ring fumes, and mingle in the ſkies; [bends,
The ſun his courſe behind yon mountain
And o'er the dewy field the ſhade extends.

On the Laureat's SERMO PEDESTRIS.

AS *C—y* one eve on *Olympus* was ſtalking,
It happen'd, *Apollo* was that way a walking:
The god aſk'd him his name; he reply'd, *C—y*
C—bb—r, [a fibber,
Great Britain's poet laureat.—I fear, you're
Cries *Apollo*; I frequently hear of *Pope's* fame,
But, I think, ſir, I never once heard of your name. [here you've found;
Come, ſir, get up, and ride, ſince your way
I don't like to ſee poets thus grov'ling on ground. [few thanks,
Quite confounded, poor *C—y* grinn'd out a
Then on *Pegaſus* mounted, to ſhew him his pranks; [him,
Peg found what a weight the dull poet was on
In the next mud he flounc'd, and fell all upon him. [man's ſkull;
This moſt terrible fall, ſome ſay, crack'd the
His belly, I'm certain, of *Olympus* is full:
On *Peg* he'll ne'er venture, while an aſs can be had, [run mad.
Sooner than fly thus in heaven, on earth he'll
One ſuch fall for a fool is enough at a time,
If he muſt be damn'd, rather in proſe than in rhime.

A.

An ADDRESS to the POETS, *on the late* MARRIAGE.

PREPARE, all ye poets, come tune up your ſtrings,
Sing epithalamiums for nobles and kings;
Let every true *Briton* with poetry burn,
To make up a packet 'gainſt *Cæſar's* return.
Let *Cambr—ge* and *Oxf—d* lay claſſicks aſide,
To make 'em a preſent to wipe their backſide:
See, how they in mode and in figure proceed,
T' inſtruct and to eaſe ſoul and body in need!
Lo *C—y* and *D—k*, fellow-labourers in rhimes,
Are ready to threſh out a tune to the times:
That acts o'er his farce, this beats time with his flail,
And M——m *W——n*, ſee, wriggles her tail.
Lo *H——l* and *Gr—n* in ſweet concert agree,
Laying all jars aſide—tweedle dum, tweedle dee.
Lo *Helicon* murmurs a ſmooth-flowing ſtrain,
And *Pegaſus* capers, and prances amain.
Prepare, all ye tygers, and bears, come, advance; [ſhou'd dance.
When ſuch harpers ſtrike up, ſuch creatures

B.

A Pertinent Word to the Impertinent Author of The Impertinence and Impoſture of the modern Antiquaries, *&c. A* Retailer of many Words, *and Dealer in ſmall Wares.*

NATURE, 'tis ſaid, has nothing made in vain,
What ſhe denies in tongue, ſhe gives in brain.
G——, in her you've an indulgent mother,
O' th' one, though ſparing, lib'ral ſhe's in th' other.—
But, *Nature*, as you're always good and kind,
Take from his tongue, beſtow upon his mind.
Give us the laſt, with t'other we'll diſpenſe;
So much of tongue, indeed, requires more ſenſe:
One for ſo little will more than ſuffice,
Make him leſs clamorous, to be more wiſe.
Let him no more malicious ſcandal raiſe,
Admire in ſilence, what he dare not praiſe,
Nature, pray give him leſs, or take his tongue;
Elſe give him more of ſenſe, or give him none.

CANTAB.

On Dean BERKLEY.

DEAN *Berkley* ſays the world's not *real*,
That all things but *deceive* him:
His ſcheme, 'tis certain, is *ideal*;
And who, but muſt believe him?

On the Pope's ELECTION.

THAT *Rome* will lie in,
Obſerves old *Paſquin*,
In nine calendar months, or more.
Morſaro's expreſs,
The *child* comes in leſs;
Since pope *Joan's* a *Babylon* whore.

On Mr. YARD, *of* B——y, *a Taylor, juſt three Foot high.*

WITS and philoſophers, your leave;
Your theory with nature not accords:
Yard will your notions undeceive;
In him's analogy 'twixt things and words.

Nature has juſtly dealt, in troth,
To taylors a moſt excellent example;
She cut according to her cloth,
And made him both a meaſure, and a ſample.

To COSMELIA.

AS when th' inſufferable lamp diſplays
A bright variety of ſtreaming rays,
Some infant ſmiling in its mother's arms
Views the ſtrange circle of refulgent charms;
The ſtrong effulgence of the lamp confounds
Its weak'ning eyes, delighting as it wounds:
Yet ſtill it looks, tho' ſtill its eyes betray,
And gazes all its little life away.
Thus ſeem'd *Coſmelia* to my raviſh'd ſight,
Thus ſweetly charming, and thus ſtrongly bright:
Sweet ſhe, who charm'd the king of gloomy pow'rs,
Like ours that nymph, but ſcarce ſo ſweet as ours;
Heav'ns! ſhe was all divine! all curious wrought!
My conſcious ſoul ſwells big at ev'ry thought.
Be quick, my charmer! let me ſwoon to reſt,
For ever bleſſing, and for ever bleſt:
Kiſs o'er thoſe radiant planets as they roll,
And in thy breaſt inoculate my ſoul.
Be quick; ſee! ſee! ſwift-footed *time* purſues,
That enemy to beauty claims its dues:
But oh! thoſe graces, that luxuriant prime,
Deſerve a better raviſher than *time*:
Beauty's a flow'r, which you too fondly prize,
(Ah! how too fond!) it buds, it blooms, it dies.
Short, very ſhort the ſeaſon of delight,
The morn a noon, the noon expects a night.
But muſt *Coſmelia* chear ſome happier place?
Spung'd from my heart, and tugg'd from my embrace!
To live, debar'd of my *Coſmelia*'s ſight,
Were but a bleſſing granted out of ſpight:
Yet, if confeſſion be not deem'd a ſin,
It were a curſe to ſee her, and not win.
Forgive the muſe inelegant and young,
Who ſtammers out thy praiſe with infant tongue;
The muſe, who ſtrives *Parnaſſus'* height to climb
With gouty feet, and blunders into rhime;
Oh could ſhe weave the inoffenſive line,
Smooth as thy gait, and as thy form divine!
Warm without ſtudy; negligently pleaſe
With unaffected ſweetneſs, native eaſe;
Beauteous, not ſwell'd; not looſe, but neatly plain;
Win without guile, and be what others feign:
Could but the poet like the nymph ſurprize,
And all his gems be ſparkling as her eyes;
Then would he be to full perfection wrought,
Vie with *Pope*'s fire, and anſwer thought for thought.

L. JONES.

GIPPO's CATASTROPHE. *An Heroi-comic Poem: On finiſhing the* I——h *Races.*

HOW dull's the ſad *finitum* of the race!
When *Grafton*'s ſtar no more enlights the place;
And when, for greedy hopes of argent gain,
No more the ſpeedy-footed courſers ſtrain;
No cloudy volumes to the ſky aſcend,
Nor puſhing jockies to the barrier bend;
When valorous cocks no more the combat dare,
With crow ſuperb, a prelude to the war;
Nor ſpangled belles, in gilded chariots roll,
Dazling in charms, to fire the gazer's ſoul;
No longer from the coach they ſend the glance,
Nor in the gay aſſembly join the dance;
Where fops becurl'd, their lace, no more diſplay,
Nor *R——ch——rd*'s wit beguiles the hours away,
As erſt momentous; but each dear delight
Now takes its rapid wings, for cruel flight,
No longer now the dear, poetick count,
Whoſe pleaſing wit's an unexhauſted ſount,
Diverts the raviſh'd lady's liſt'ning ear,
With converſe ſweet, the muſick of a ſphere!
But all is dull, inſipid, void of taſte,
And the dead town, a wild, deſerted waſte,
Where you may ſit, and count whole ages o'er,
Nor hear the rattling of a coach and four;
Your eyes ne'er ſpy embroidery, or lace,
A toupee'd footman, or his blazon'd grace;
On the ſtill ſtreets, a ſullen ſilence ſleeps,
As when a calm o'erſpreads the raging deeps,
When ſtormy winds have rais'd the wat'ry plain,
And ſudden ſtillneſs ſi'enc'd it again.
Thus all is huſh'd,—whilſt nought diverts the eye;
But if from far a lady you deſery,
She looks, if I may ſtretch my ſimile,
Like fractur'd barge, deſerted on the ſea;
Hopeleſs and ſad, deſerted too by all,
And her wan cheeks confeſs a priſtine ſquawl;
She now in dreſs a negligence aſſumes,
Forgets her patches, and her ſweet perfumes.
Yet, thanks be giv'n, there's one ſurviving beau,
That ſtill remains, a ſolace for their woe,
Whoſe witty liſp, gentility, and air,
Each lady's captivated ſoul enſnare;
His dreſs ſo modiſh, ſo polite his taſte,
His coat ſo ſtiff, ſo ſmooth his head with paſte,
In all ſo prim, effeminately ſmart,
That the ſleek ſwain controls each female heart.

N. C.

An EPISTLE inſcribed to Miſs Pake. *By* C. T.

THO' thrown neglected by, and ſilent long,
Our lyre, unconſcious of the muſe, has hung;
Since *Pake* inſpires, we yet again will ſing,
This eager hand ſollicits ev'ry ſtring;
And gratitude excites the duteous ſtrain,
Where pleaded love, and long eſteem, in vain.
But hence, unmeaning adulation all,
Our muſe will hear not any venal call;

From

From courts remote, we hackney not our art,
This verſe ſhall flow ſpontaneous from the heart;
A heart with *M——r*'s much lov'd image bleſt,
Expands once more to hail this honour'd gueſt.
Not that her eyes emit their beaming light:
(Yon ſtar unanimated ſhines as bright)
Not that her boſom's clear expanſion ſhows
The ſparkling ſurface of unſully'd ſnows:
Not that her lip its colour boaſts, and ſhape,
Moiſt, round, and purple, as th' autumnal grape:
Is it her pride? far ampler it extends,
Her worth commences, where *Aurelia*'s ends;
The rich profuſion does no more than win
Attention to ſuperior charms within.

To a fair rival is the chaplet thrown?
Pake's generous boſom beats to have it known:
That eye, to all her own perfections blind,
Can in another the minuteſt find;
That lip, (thus ſweeter) and enchanting tongue,
Proclaim encomiums to that rival ſung.

Be hers, then, this peculiar praiſe be hers,
With happier genius bleſt, and better ſtars,
The palm ſhe ſo much merits, to decline;
More in humility, than form to ſhine:
That form, for which tranſported lovers pant,
Which bounteous gods and laviſh nature grant;
That form, thoſe eyes, will all with age decay,
Crook'd the ſtraight ſhape, and dimm'd the azure ray:
This ſerious truth ſhe hears without a ſigh,
And treaſures up a charm will never die.

Not ſo, our vulgar virgins, in their ſouls
Mean ſcandal lurks, and pois'nous envy rolls:
'Tis not enough, that man's ſatyric rage
With female foibles ſwells th'envenom'd page;
The fair themſelves unkind invectives waft,
As the ſoft plume directs the fatal ſhaft.

With pity and with horror I ſurvey
Yon troop, collected to the rites of tea;
Where *Flavia*'s liberal lips for ever give
The calumnies her ears did not receive.
See, while around the green libation's ſpread,
Fair virtue mangled, and compaſſion fled;
Fierce tumults enter, wild diſorders riſe,
Nothing left human,—but the ſacrifice.

There—lovely *Livia* does but ſeem polite,
And ſqualid *Fuſca* makes *Amelia* bright:
She kills, (if *Lucia*'s well-preſt ſhape can kill)
Like fam'd *Camilla*, with the darts of ſteel.
There—*Barker* ſcarce a faint applauſe can gain,
Her eyes (unmeaning orbs) but roll in vain.
There—*M——r*'s conſtancy is but pretence;
Nor modeſt merit is allow'd to *Bence*.
And you, my fair, in their deteſted lore,
Reſerv'd, deform'd, inſipid, charm no more.

Bear me far hence, to *Hed'nam*'s bliſsful ſeats,
Or cover me in *Topcroft*'s green retreats;
Where calm and free, the joy-wing'd hour may roll,
While *M——r*, or while *Pake* engage the ſoul;
Where *Bedingfield* inſpir'd perhaps may rove,
And waken with his pipe the vocal grove.

Where leads my fond imagination? where?
The ſacred ſtrains ſalute my raviſh'd ear;
On fancy's wings the muſick floats along,
I hail the chorus, and I join the ſong:
For ſure, ſuch nymphs woo'd fire, and ſuch a ſwain,
E'en me, the coldeſt of the muſe's train.

An EPIGRAM. *By* W. B.

DIANA's chaſtity and brightneſs,
Without her fickleneſs or lightneſs;
Great *Juno*'s air, without her malice;
The dove-like eyes, and wit of *Pallas*;
(The glitt'ring gun may be a ſpruce one,
But 'tis the charge does execution;)
All theſe in one dare you pronounce, Sir?
Pray, what d'y' think of *Molly M——r*?

EPITHALAMIUM: *Or, VERSES on the* MARRIAGE *of the Hon.* Pryce Devereux, *Eſq; and the Hon. Miſs* Elenora Price, *on* July 30, 1740. (See p. 405.)

WHEN *Eve* at firſt was unto *Adam* giv'n,
God made the match, 'twas ratify'd in heav'n;
His principle was honour, virtue hers;
Theſe join'd, did form their ſocial characters.
So now when *Price* is unto *Devereux* join'd,
God's lawful prieſt perform'd what God deſign'd;
And the ſame principles in them appear,
Honour had eyes, and virtue lent an ear.
His noble ſoul, no mercenary views
Did ſway; 'twas worth alone that made him chuſe.
She, as *Diana* chaſte, beſides the name,
Can boaſt the beauty of the *Grecian* dame;
Alike in form, but how unlike within!
No ſpot of ſinful paſſion here is ſeen;
No thought impure invades her virtuous breaſt,
Swept clean, and garniſh'd, for an heavenly gueſt.
Strict honour, patriot worth, muſt be approv'd;
Theſe, ſhe in *Devereux* ſaw; for theſe ſhe *Devereux* lov'd.
His extract's from the conqueſt; hers, we know,
As old as *Britiſh* chronicles can ſhow.
Fit for the theme a pen, my muſe, had I,
I'd trace them up to their antiquity:
But what of this? ſince both of them agree,
Virtue alone is true nobility.
Hail, happy pair! and may *Lucina* ſhed
Her genial influence on your nuptial bed!
From whence, O may a race of worthies ſpring,
Who may their parents worth to future ages bring!
Sons, as their ſires, wiſe, noble, truly great,
Heirs of their worth, as well as their eſtate;
Daughters, whoſe breaſts may with thoſe virtues glow,
Which in the mothers lineally may flow.

Many and happy be your years below;
At laſt, but late, oh! late, may you to heaven go.

R. B.

To a FRIEND.

FORBEAR, my friend, nor thus accuſe
My fondneſs for the fav'rite muſe.
You tell me I muſt never hope
To equal *Addiſon*, or *P—pe*.
I own the truth; but yet I may
Deſcribe the ſpring with bloſſoms gay,
Or praiſe the warbling nightingale;
May write a fable, tell a tale;
May ſing of artleſs truth and love,
And do ſome honour to the dove:
Tho' trembling, dare ſometimes aſpire
To touch the ſtrings of *Horace*' lyre.
Such taſks as theſe will ſuit my muſe,
But not my betters to abuſe.
Yet I, perhaps, may ſmile at vice,
And mark a ſharping knave at dice—
But never make a jeſt of kings,
Or ridicule—grave, holy things:
You know my meaning, I ſuppoſe,
The lawn of biſhops, or a roſe.
No; far be ſuch envenom'd ſpite;
Fair virtue! yet of thee I'll write.

On TRUTH.

TRUTH, thou univerſal charm!
Which alone the ſoul can warm;
Without thee the faireſt face
Loſes half its winning grace:
Luſt, indeed, it may create,
Luſt ſometimes conſiſts with hate;
But can ne'er affection move,
Worthy of the name of love.
Love is a delightful flow'r
Call'd forth by thy heav'nly pow'r,
Which, if thou withdraw thy ray,
Withers ſtraight, and fades away.
Nothing can without thee pleaſe,
Source of friendſhip, joy, and peace!
All that we deſire, or prize,
Pleaſure of the mind, or eyes,
Owes its ſecret charms to thee;
What muſt then thy beauty be!

J. DINSDALE.

To the AUTHOR of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

SIR,

AS the modern Genius and Courage of the *Spaniards* ſeems to be now pretty well known, it may, perhaps, be agreeable to ſeveral of your Readers, to be a little acquainted with what thoſe Hectors were, about a Century ago: I therefore preſent you with the following Tranſlation of *A Rodomontado of a* Caſtilian *Captain*, deliver'd to the World about the Time afore-mentioned, and tranſmitted to us by that ingenious Gentleman, *James Howel*, Eſq; who was one of the Clerks of the Privy Council in the Reign of K. *Charles* I. The Whole of which ſufficiently intimates what moſt furious and dreadful Enemies my loving Countrymen have to deal with.

WHEN I, lord of mankind, deign to contemplate
My terrible horrible terribility,
I ſcarce can hold myſelf within myſelf!
In thrice twelve months, if conſtantly employ'd,
The indefatigable notaries
Of *Biſcay*, may perchance take an account
Of all the grand miraculous atchievements,
Which my *Toledo* blade, my *Durindana*,
This ſcourge of *Lutherans*, vanquiſher of *Pagans*,
Dreadful repleniſher of cœmeteries,
Hath in an inſtant, I may ſay, perform'd!
I cannot chuſe but ſmile, in recollecting
How the great *Turk*, in danger imminent
Of loſing empire, threaten'd by the *ſophy*,
Sent for my warlike ſelf to ſave his kingdoms;
When I, who ne'er pollute my Chriſtian hands
With the deteſted blood of infidels,
Vow'd not to go,—and only ſent my picture:
It went; but mark the diſmal conſequence!
Soon as grand ſeignior caſt his eyes upon it,
Oh the effects of fear in daſtard ſouls!
He fell in ſuch a ſad prodigious looſeneſs,
Such a dire ſquirt, which held him divers months,
As well nigh coſt the *Ottoman* his life.
This danger paſt, the lively portraiture
Of my ſurprizing phyſiognomy,
Drawn in a carr by four and forty camels,
Was to the jarring pow'rs in ſtate convey'd:
But ſoon as e'er the enemies beheld
My baſiliſcan eyes and horrid looks,
Like timidated hares away they fled,
Stinking, and railing at their prophet *Hali*.
It is aſtoniſhing,—and yet it's true;
Theſe breeches, that I always wear when fighting, [beards,
Are ſtuff'd from waiſt to knee with captains
And the muſtacho's of *French* generals!
When I'm upon my march into the field,
I hang two drums as pendants at my ears;
Beſides my *Spado*, brandiſhing the ſpit
Which pierc'd the eye of mighty *Polyphemus*.
Whene'er I chuſe to ſit, my conſtant cuſhion
Is a rich turbant, which by right of conqueſt
I tore from off a haughty ſultan's head.
'Tis for mere men to ſpend their nights in beds;
Sometimes perhaps, juſt for variety,
I take the brazen bull made by *Perillus*,
And throwing it at length upon the ground,
Stretch for a-while my callous limbs thereon;
Placing my head upon a curious pillow,
Well fill'd and cramm'd with *Amazonian* hair:
But if th' inclemency o'th' air requires
I ſhou'd have other cov'ring than the ſkies,

My

My canopy is then th' entire ſkin
Of the *Nemean* lion, kill'd by *Hercules*:
My curtains that are drawn around my couch,
Leſt ought diſturb mine and the world's repoſe,
Are flags and enſigns ta'en in ſundry battles;
Then calling on the *Virgin* and St. *Jago*,
The chiefeſt officers lull me to ſleep
With ſounds of trumpets, kettle-drums, and cannons!
I came into the world at break of day,
When *Sol* himſelf was totally eclips'd!
The morning of my birth, the clouds rain'd blood,
Which ting'd with crimſon hue the mightieſt rivers!
Veſuvius, *Strombola*, and *Mongibello*,
Tho' mountains often burſting forth in ſmoak,
Yet at my firſt appearance on the earth,
They roar'd and belch'd out flames to ſuch degree,
As pos'd old age to recollect the like.
Nor were theſe few, the only preſages
Of my tranſcendent ſup'rabundant grandeur;
Terrible earthquakes, ſwallowing up whole cities,
Were felt the day of my nativity,
In ev'ry creek and corner of the orb:
Æolus, *Boreas*, *Euroclydon*,
And all the winds that e'er were know to blow
From under heaven, at that famous juncture
Ruſh'd out at once from their reſpective caverns, places!
And made the ocean and the earth change
'Tis ſaid, that in that horrible confuſion,
That ſecond chaos of the elements,
Beſides the devaſtation of irrationals,
The race of human kind was half deſtroy'd:
What then? I'm ſure my birth made full amends,
And had done ſo, had t'other half been loſt!
Near to the place, where in my infancy
By thirty governante's I was nurſt,
A lions den was ſituate, purpoſely
That I might be inured to their roaring:
From theſe, my mother's fondneſs, which was boundleſs,
Wou'd ſometimes cauſe a young one to be taken, pap,
That when 'twas kill'd, inſtead of childrens
I might be fed and nouriſh'd with its blood.
'Twou'd be a vain, ridiculous attempt,
To reckon up the hundred thouſandth part
Of what I've done, and what I think to do:
It therefore ſhall ſuffice, that I recount
Part of the quinteſſence of the contents
Of my ſtupendous names and glorious titles:
Know then, ye feeble ſons of mortal men,
That I, who, if I pleaſe, can ſwallow mountains, ſilver,
Can breathe out whirlwinds, and ſweat quick-
Am call'd, in ſhort, *Captain Don Baſiliſco Eſpheramonte*, the invincible,
The moſt incomparable generaliſſimo
Of all the armies now this day in *Europe*.

J——b G——n St——d,

BADGERINA.

ASSIST, ye deities, who nightly reign,
O'er the ſoft ſlumbers of the peaceful ſwain,
While I, in mournful numbers weeping tell,
How *Badgerina*, much lamented, fell;
How the ſweet charmer, now, alas! no more,
A victim fell to gout's all conq'ring pow'r;
And how her ſwain, who could not give relief,
Sat o'er her weeping, and indulg'd his grief.
When now the fair had ſeen full fourſcore years,
And, for her beauty's loſs, dropt many tears,
Opprobrious gout, in ſpight of drop or pill,
In ſpight of doctor's, or her huſband's ſkill,
Laid a cloſe ſiege, the bulwarks ſtormed ſoon,
And *death* call'd in, who quickly took the town.
Poor *Badgerinus* now with tears beheld,
This lovely plant by death relentleſs fell'd;
Speechleſs he ſtands, tears fill his eyes apace,
Whilſt trembling horror paints his ghaſtly face.
Such goblin ſeen in depth of moon-ſhine night,
Would brave a champion, or a hero fright.
To ſpeak he oft aſſay'd with ſtreaming eyes,
Yet nought could utter but half words and ſighs. cheeks,
Juſt then comes in the maid with ſwollen
And wipes her eyes, while ſobbing, thus ſhe ſpeaks:
Sweet *Cælia*, ſir—the charming and the fair,
Who knows to dreſs the head, or deck the hair,
Pit'ing your loſs, does humble ſervice ſend,
And begs you'd think, that ſhe, ſir, is your friend.
Cælia, he cries, alone could bring relief,
And put a ſtop to my—now ending grief.
Tell her, 'tis decent firſt t'inter my wife,
And when that's done, I'm hers alone for life.
To *Sable* then,—tell him to me to come,
To him and *Cælia* only I'm at home.
Quick *Sable* comes, and ſlowly walks up ſtairs,
And *Badgerinus* finds diſſolv'd in tears;
Thanks to an onion, which the ſwain had got,
Held to his noſe, and in his pocket put: life,
Then mournful ſpeaks, I beg, ſir, for your
You'd take great care in bur'ing of my wife;
Her coffin, ſir, with ſable velvet cover,
At head and feet let gilded angels hover;
The hearſe with 'ſcutcheons gracefully adorn,
And let her pall by ſix grave cits be borne;
Three coaches get, with three grave clergymen, ſeen.
And 'fore the hearſe let nodding plumes be
Sable low bowing, with mournful look retires,
And in three days fulfils his whole deſires.
The fourth to *Cælia* he repaired ſtrait,
Sigh'd, kiſs'd, and ſwore, and *Badgerine* forgat.

UPHANO.

The Dog's Collar, *&c. in our next.*

We have receiv'd a very ſcurrilous, inſulting Letter from a certain Land-Waiter, *dated* Aug. 23. *which if he does not* retract, *his Letter and Name ſhall be expos'd.*

THE

THE *Monthly Chronologer.*

ABOUT 9 a Clock at Night, the laſt Sunday in *July*, her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Heſſe*, and his moſt Serene Highneſs Prince *Frederick* her Conſort, arrived at *Herenhauſen* from *Caſſel*; where, amidſt a great Concourſe of the Nobility, foreign Miniſters, and Gentry, his Majeſty received them with all poſſible Marks of Joy and Affection. Their Highneſſes were accompanied from *Caſſel* by her Highneſs the Princeſs *Mary*, Siſter to Prince *Frederick*, whom his Majeſty likewiſe received very graciouſly; and their Highneſſes were all lodged in the Palace of *Herenhauſen*.

FRIDAY, *Aug.* 1.

This Night was perform'd in the Gardens of *Cliefden*, (in Commemoration of the Acceſſion of his late Majeſty King *George*, and in Honour of the Birth of the Princeſs *Auguſta*, who the Day before enter'd into the 4th Year of her Age, their Royal Highneſſes the Prince and Princeſs of *Wales*, with all their Court, being preſent) a new Maſque of two Acts, taken from the various Fortunes of *Alfred* the Great, writ by Mr. *Thomſon*; alſo a Maſk of Muſick, call'd, *The Judgment of Paris*, writ by Mr. *Dryden*; and concluded with ſeveral Scenes out of Mr. *Rich*'s Pantomime Entertainments. (See p. 393.)

TUESDAY, *Aug.* 5.

A Committee of the Merchant-Company at *Edinburgh* waited on his Grace the Duke of *Argyle*, at his Lodgings in the *Abbay*, when Mr. *Forreſt*, Preſes of the Company, addreſſed his Grace as follows:

My Lord,

We are appointed by the Merchant-Company of *Edinburgh* to wait on your Grace, to expreſs the deep Senſe they have of the Obligations all of us lie under to your Grace, for your ready Adherence to the true Intereſt of your King and Country, for the Appearances you have made in the Defence of your Country's Liberties, and in particular in favour of the City of *Edinburgh*; and for the great Regard you have upon all Occaſions ſhown for the trading Part of the Nation. It is our ſincere Wiſh, that all Members of Parliament were poſſeſſed of your Grace's Principles, and any Intereſt we have ſhall be uſed to promote the Election of ſuch Men.

WEDNESDAY, 6.

Samuel Badham, for the Murder of his Wife; *John Foſter*, for the Murder of *Margaret Shewell*; (both condemn'd at the Seſſions in *May*;) and *John Clarke*, for robbing on the High-way; (condemn'd laſt Seſſions;) were this Day executed at *Tyburn*. (See p. 247, 350.)

FRIDAY, 8.

Several of the Incorporations of Trades in *Edinburgh* waited on his Grace the Duke of *Argyle*, and return'd him their ſincere Thanks for his conſtant and ſteady Attachment to the Cauſe of Liberty: Among others, a Committee of the Incorporation of Goldſmiths; when Mr. *Dougal Ged*, their Treaſurer, preſented the following Addreſs to his Grace.

My Lord,

We, by Appointment of the Goldſmiths of *Edinburgh*, think it our Honour and Duty to wait upon your Grace, with the utmoſt Gratitude to aſſure you of the high Senſe we have of your Grace's Merit, the Obligations we lie under to your Grace for ſo eminently diſtinguiſhing yourſelf on all Occaſions, in Support and Defence of the real Intereſt and Glory of our King and Country, the Liberties and Commerce of the Nation, Independence of Parliaments, and the Privileges of this City; and are highly ſenſible, how much it would tend to our and our Poſterity's Happineſs, to have Men of ſuch Sentiments, whom, we have Reaſon to believe, would be agreeable to your Grace; and for our Parts, we ſhall reckon it our greateſt Honour to promote the Election of ſuch, as are free and independent, ſo far as lies in our Power.

The following is the Surgeons Addreſs preſented to his Grace.

My Lord,

We, deputed by the Corporation of Surgeon-Apothecaries of *Edinburgh* to wait on your Grace, are inſtructed to expreſs the grateful Senſe they have of, and Obligations they lie under to your Grace, for your ſteady Adherence to the Cauſe of Liberty, the true Intereſt of your King and Country, and in particular for your great and vigorous Endeavours to maintain the Privileges of this City. They heartily wiſh all Members of Parliament were poſſeſs'd of ſuch Principles, and would follow your Grace's Example. And as their Deacon has a Place in Council, and a Vote in filling it up, as alſo in chuſing a Repreſentative in Parliament for this City, they ſhall uſe their beſt Endeavours to have ſuch an one choſen, as ſhall execute ſo great a Truſt with Reſolution and Fidelity.

His Grace's Answer was to this Purpose.

Gentlemen,

Since you are pleas'd to think me your friend and Servant, permit me to give you this Advice, which, I think, is an honest one; behave yourselves with the greatest duty to the King, with the strictest Regard to the Laws of your Country, and give your assistance in your Elections to such Persons only, who, you are persuaded, will serve their King and Country with true Zeal, unallay'd with private Interest.

FRIDAY, 15.

This being the Founder's Day of *Queen's-College* in *Oxford*, and the four hundredth Year from the Founding, there was kept at the College a grand Jubilee, the same being observed there once in an hundred Years. This College was founded by *Robert Eaglesfield*, A. D.

The Conveener of the Trades of the City of *Edinburgh*, accompanied by the Deacons of the Goldsmiths, Wrights, Masons, Taylors, Shoemakers, Weavers, Hatters, Dyers, and Butchers, waited on his Grace the Duke of *Argyle*, and presented the following Address.

My Lord,

We the Conveener and Deacons, in Name of the several Incorporations of *Edinburgh*, and as being authorized by them, think it our Honour and Duty to wait upon your Grace, with the greatest Gratitude to assure you of the high Esteem we have of your Grace's Merit, of the Obligations we lie under to your Grace, for your so singularly distinguishing yourself on all Occasions, in Support and Defence of the real Interest and Glory of our King and Country, the Liberties and Commerce of the Nation, the Independence of Parliaments, and particularly the Privileges of this City; and are highly sensible, how much it would tend to our Happiness, and our Posterity's, to have Men of such Sentiments as your Grace, in every Station attended with Power and Influence.

They were received with the utmost good Nature, and his Grace took Care to warm them with the noblest Sentiments of Duty towards their King and their Country.

MONDAY, 18.

Advice came, that the *Winter Gally*, Capt. *Truman*, from *Newcastle* for *Gibraltar*, was lately taken by a *Spanish* Privateer, and carried into *Ceuta*; which being known by Capt. *Bing*, of the *Sunderland* Man of War, he went into the Harbour, and after battering the Fort for some Time, which the *Spaniards* thereupon deserted, he brought the said Ship out, and carried her safe into *Gibraltar*.

TUESDAY, 19.

Both Houses of Parliament met at *Westminster*, and pursuant to a Commission from the Lords of the Regency, they were farther prorogued to *Tuesday* the 30th Day of *September* next.

The President and Fellows of the Royal College of Physicians met at their Hall in *Warwick-Lane*, on a Message sent them by the Lords of the Admiralty, to consider whether Vitriol was proper to give the Sailors in their Water, as a Preservative from the Scurvy; when they unanimously agreed it would be a very great Means to preserve them from that Disorder.—They were, some Time before, consulted by their Lordships, whether Vinegar with the salt Provisions contributed to the Propagation of the Scurvy; and gave it as their general Opinion, that it might in some Measure prevent it.

FRIDAY, 22.

Sir *John Norris* sail'd, with the whole Fleet under his Command, from *Torbay*, where he had continued about a Month, wind-bound.

SATURDAY, 23.

Vice-Admiral *Balchen*'s and Commodore *Anson*'s, Squadrons, with Lord *Cathcart*, and the Forces under his Command, sail'd from St. *Helen*'s with a fair Wind.

Whilst the *Argyle*, Capt. *Lingen*, was sailing from *Port Mahon*, one of the Ships under his Convoy had got pretty near the Shore off *Carthagena*, and was intercepted by a *Spanish* Privateer with 70 Men on board: The Merchant-man engag'd and took the Don, tho' she had only 14 Men, and brought down the Prize to Capt. *Lingen*, to know how he would have her disposed of; the Captain call'd up all his Officers and Seamen, and told them, he freely gave up all his Pretensions, and hoped they would do the like; to which they readily consented with three Huza's.

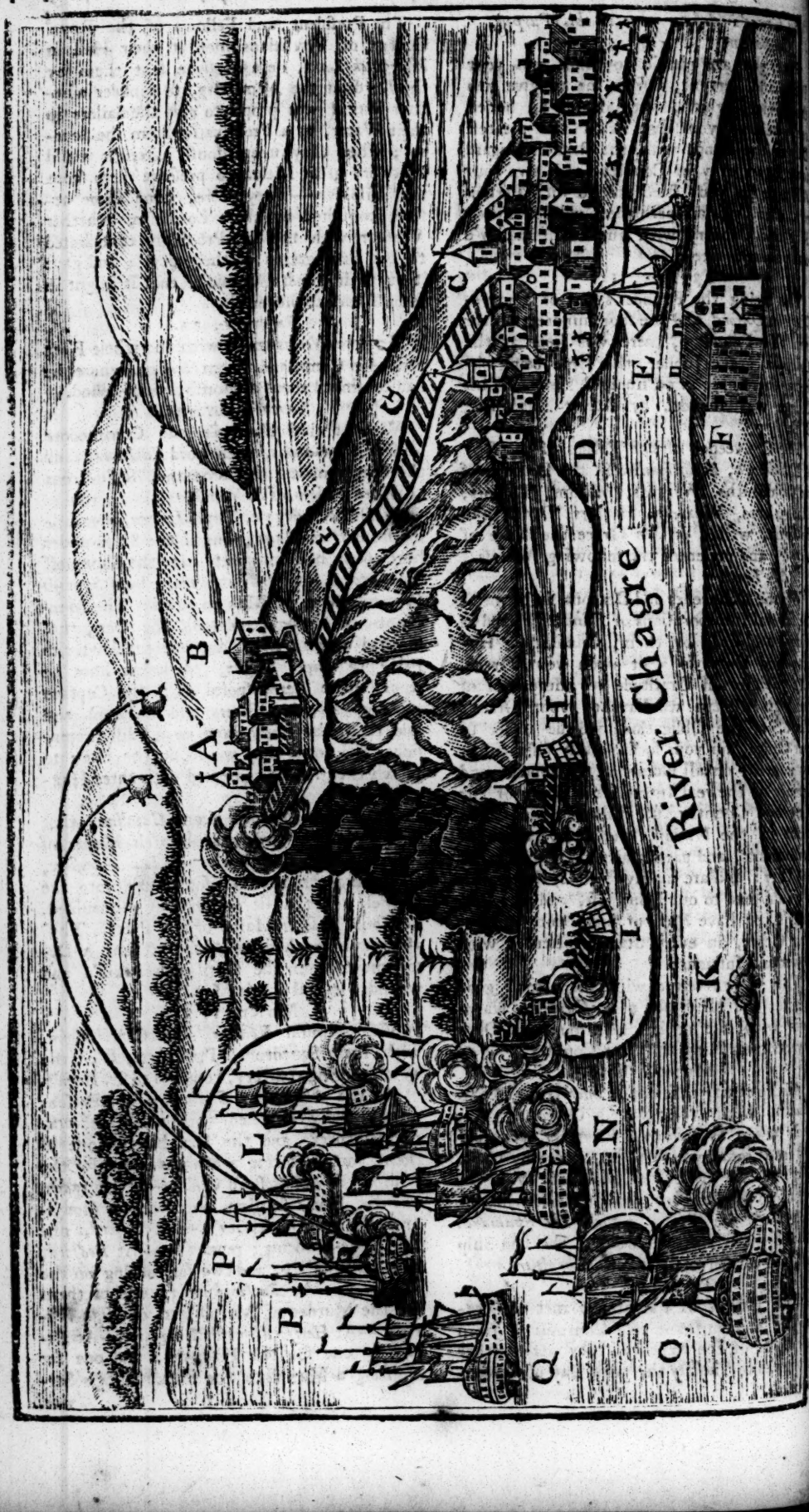
There were Advices from *Carolina*, that Gen. *Oglethorpe* had made himself Master of some of the Out-works of St. *Augustine*, that thereupon the Garison retir'd into the Citadel, and that it was not at all doubted, he would be soon Master of the Place. Tho' afterwards we had an Account, that a Detachment from the Garison had kill'd and wounded several of his Men.

MONDAY, 25.

Vice-Admiral *Balchen*, and Capt. *Anson*, with their Squadrons, Transports, &c. the Wind coming contrary, return'd to St. *Helen*'s.

At the Assizes at *Chelmsford*, 11 Persons were capitally convicted, three of whom, *viz.* two Brothers, and the Daughter of one of them, for murdering a Man, and one for the Murder of her Bastard Child.—At *Abingdon*, one for Horse-stealing, and one for House-breaking; both repriev'd.—At *Oxford*, one for House-breaking; repriev'd.—At *Bedford*, one for Burglary, and two for robbing on the Highway.—At *Buckingham* 3, one of them for the Murder of Mr. *Watts*, of *High-Wicomb*.—At *Hertford*, 5 for Burglary.—At *Rochester*, one for the Highway, and one for enlisting a Man into the *French* King's Service.

A PLAN *of the Town of* CHAGRE, *&c.*



Explanation of the PLAN of CHAGRE. — A *The Caſtle of* San Lorenzo. — B *A Store Houſe.* — C *Town of* Chagre. — D *Small Fort for Ships.* — E *Two* Guarda Coſta *Sloops.* — F *The Cuſtom Houſe.* — G *Steps up to the Caſtle cut in the Rock.* — H *A Fort at the Foot of the Hill to defend the Entrance of the River.* — I *Two Batteries for its farther Defence.* — K *A Rock appearing only at low Tides.* — L *The* Norwich. — M *The* Strafford, *Admiral.* — N *The* Falmouth. — O. *The* Louiſa. — PP *Two Bomb Ketches playing on the Caſtle.* — Q *A Tender.*

vice.—At *Saliſbury* 8, five for Burglary, two for Horſe-ſtealing, and one for ſtealing Money in a Houſe.—At *Glouceſter*, one for ſtealing a Gelding; repriev'd.—At *Dorcheſter*, one for Felony.—At *Norwich*, one for Horſe-ſtealing, and another for being concern'd in the Riot at *Upwell*.—At *Kingſton*, four for the Highway, a Woman for Burglary, and one *Creake*, of *Henley*, for robbing the Weſtern Mail, his Brother-in-Law and Accomplice being admitted an Evidence. Mr. *Greenwood*, Riding-Maſter of the firſt Troop of Life Guards, after a Trial of near 6 Hours, for an Highway Robbery, was acquitted; a great many Perſons of Diſtinction appearing for him.—At *Monmouth*, two Men for the Murder of a Baſtard Child.—At *York*, 4 for divers Crimes.—At *Leiceſter*, one for robbing the *Derby* Coach.—At *Bridgewater* 13, one for High Treaſon in counterfeiting the current Coin of this Kingdom, 3 notorious Villains, who committed many Robberies and unheard of Cruelties on *Bedminſter-Down*, &c. another for the Highway, 6 for divers Felonies, one for Burglary, and one for Horſe-ſtealing.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

HON. Mr. *Devereux*, Knight of the Shire for *Montgomery*, only Son of the Lord Viſc. *Hereford*, to the Hon. Miſs *Price*, of *Rhwlas* in *Merionethſhire*. See the Verſes on their Marriage, *p.* 399.

Sir *Tho. Hay*, Bart. a Capt. in the Reg. of *Scotch* Greys, to the Lady *Byron*.

Rev. Mr. *Cowliſhaw*, of *Brazen-Noſe-College* in *Oxford*, to Miſs *Hodges*, Siſter to Dr. *Hodges*, Provoſt of *Oriel*.

Richard Lloyd, Eſq; Memb. for *Cardigan*, to Mrs. *Bates*, a 40,000 *l.* Fortune.

Rev. Mr. *Garth*, Fellow of *Wincheſter-College*, to Miſs *Guillame*.

John Putland, Eſq; of St. *Dunſtan's in the Weſt*, to the only Daughter of *John Groves*, Eſq; of *Tunſtall* in *Kent*.

—— *Rawlinſon*, Eſq; a Gentleman of a great Eſtate in *Oxfordſhire*, to Miſs *Locke*, Daughter of Sir *John Locke*, whoſe Fortune, 'tis ſaid, will be little leſs than 100,000 *l.*

Rev. Mr. *Fytch*, M. A. Prebendary of *Wells*, to Miſs *Gatchel*.

Henry Worth, of *Worth* in *Devon*, Eſq; to Miſs *Furlong*.

John Aſhley, of *Aſhby* in *Northamptonſhire*, Eſq; to Miſs *Pocock*.

Mr. *Gent Unwin*, an eminent *Italian* Merchant, to Mrs. *Pantall*, a 50,000 *l.* Fortune.

Stephen Downes, Eſq; one of the Regiſters for the County of *Middleſex*, to Miſs *Charlotte Tully*.

Lady *Groſvenor* ſafely deliver'd of a Daughter.

Dutcheſs of *Hamilton*, of a Son.

DEATHS.

SIR *William Cunningham*, of *Kepperton*, Bart.

In *Ireland*, Capt. *Dennis Kelly*, who, in 1722, was committed to the *Tower*, with the late Biſhop of *Rocheſter* and Counſellor *Layer*; but his Innocence being fully prov'd, he was diſcharg'd without being tried.

Abraham Addams, Eſq; one of the Directors of the *Eaſt India* Company.

In *Southwark*, Sir *John Lade*, Bart. aged near 80, reckon'd one of the beſt Juſtices in *England*, and worth 100,000 *l.* He has left his Eſtate to a Nephew, about 9 Years of Age; but the Title falls to another Nephew, a Marine at *Portſmouth*, to whom Sir *John* has left 20 *s.* a Week for his Life.

Maſter *Lee*, eldeſt Son of Sir *Thomas Lee*, Bart.

Rev. Dr. *Bigg*, Warden of *Wincheſter-College*, worth 800 *l. per Annum*.

Lewis Scawen, Eſq; Brother to *Tho. Scawen*, Eſq; Knight of the Shire for *Surrey*.

In *Cheſhire*, Sir *William Stanley*, Bart.

Hon. *John Dawney*, Eſq; Son and Heir of the Lord Viſc. *Downe*.

George Baker, Eſq; late Receiver General for *Kent*.

In *Bedfordſhire*, Dr. *Godfrey*, the moſt eminent Phyſician in that County.

Of the Small-Pox, the Rev. Mr. *Davis*, Miniſter of *Rounden* in *Kent*: His Brother, a Student in *Oxford*, viſiting him, fell ill, and died of the ſame Diſtemper; and they were buried together in one Grave.

The Lady *Kaye*, Relict of the late Sir *Arthur Kaye*, Bart.

Archibald Hutchinſon, Eſq; who made ſo great a Figure in the World ſome Years ago by his excellent Calculations on the publick Debts: He was Treaſurer of the *Middle Temple*.

Lane Harriſon, of *Perſivals*, near *Ealing* in *Middleſex*, Eſq;

Sir *John Tynte*, of *Halſewell* in *Somerſetſhire*, Bart.

Hon. Miſs *O Brian*, eldeſt Daughter to the Earl of *Inchequin*. Her Siſter died a few Days after.

Hon. *Henry Temple*, Eſq; Son and Heir of the Lord Viſcount *Palmerſton*.

William Townſhend, Eſq; one of the Directors of the *S. S.* Company.

In *Rutlandſhire*, Mrs. *Eyre*, in the 105th Year of her Age, a near Relation of the late Lord Chief Juſtice *Eyre*.

In *Cornwall*, *John Trevanion*, Eſq; who repreſented the Borough of *Tregony* in the firſt Parliament after the Revolution, and the County of *Cornwall* in the third, fourth and fifth.

Richard Coxeter, of the *Inner Temple*, Eſq;

The. Frederick, Eſq; Member of Parl. for *New Shoreham* in *Suſſex*.

John Gould, Eſq; formerly Memb. of Parl. for *Shoreham*, and in the Direction of the *Eaſt India* Company.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

DR. *John Thomas* made Dean of *Peterborough*, in the room of Dr. *Lockier*, deceas'd.—Dr. *William Webſter*, collated to the Vicarages of *Ware* and *Thundrich*, both in *Hertfordſhire*.—*John Bell*, M. A. preſented to the Rectory of *Exhall* in *Warwickſhire*.—*John Makepeace*, M. A. to the Vicarage of *All-Saints* in *Leiceſter*.—Mr. *Williams* inducted into the Vicarage of St. *Mary* at *Iſlington*.—Mr. *Thorpe*, Chaplain of *Dulwich-College*, elected one of the Afternoon Preachers at St. *Magnus* on the Bridge, in the room of Mr. *Scot*, deceas'd.—Dr. *Taylor* preſented to the Rectory of *Market-Boſworth* in *Leiceſterſhire*, worth upwards of 700 *l. per Annum*.—Mr. *Smith*, to the Rectory of *Melbury-Abbas* in *Dorſetſhire*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil and Military*.

MELCHIOR *Guy Dickens*, Eſq; late his Majeſty's Secretary to the Court of *Berlin*, appointed by his Majeſty at *Hanover*, to be his Miniſter at the ſaid Court.—Right Hon. the Earl of *Bute*, one of the 16 Peers for *Scotland*, appointed one of the Lords of the Police there.—Sir *John Thompſon*, Knt. appointed by the *Ruſſia* Company, their Governor, in the room of the late *Samuel Holden*, Eſq;—Lieut. *Oſborn* made Capt. of the *Aſſiſtance*, a 50 Gun Ship, in the room of Capt. *Jolliff*, made Capt. of the *Montagu*.—Commodore *Leſtock*, late of the *Boyne*, made Captain and Commodore of the *Victory*.—Capt. *Alexander Geddiſh* made Commander of the *Naſſau*, a 70 Gun Ship.

PERSONS *declar'd Bankrupts*.

RICHARD *Jenkins*, of *Ridgwick*, in *Suſſex*, Grocer.—*Stephen Bodinar*, late of *Newlyn* in *Cornwall*, Merchant.—*John Farmer*, of *Worceſter*, Ironmonger.—*David Croſſdill*, of *Rothwell* alias *Rowell*, Dealer.—*James Baker*, of *Hampton-Wick*, Mercer.—*John Hill Lea*, of *Cradley*, in *Worceſterſhire*, Scyth-Smith.—*David Fox*, of St. *Botolph* without *Biſhopſgate*, Innholder.—*George Heyliger*, of *London*, Merchant.—*Thomas Davies*, late of *Greenwich*, Dealer.—*John Hitchcock*, of *Cambridge-ſtreet*, in the Pariſh of St. *James's*, *Weſtminſter*, Taylor.—*William Weekes*, of *North Bradley*, in *Wilts*, Druggit-maker.—*Thomas Tucker*, late of *Bath*, Sadler.—*Robert Webb*, of *Rotherbith*, Mealman.—*J. Howarth*, of *Whittleſea*, within the Iſle of *Ely*, Chapman.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 101 a 100 ¾	*African* 10
—*Ann.* 112 ¾	*Royal Aſſ.* 92 ¾
Bank 143 ¾ a ½	*Lon. ditto* 11 ⅝
—*Circ.* 6*l* 2*s* 6*d*	3 *p. C. Ann.* 101 ⅜ a ½
M. Bank 116 ½	*Salt Tallies* ¼ a ½
India 161	*Emp. Loan* 109 ¾
—*Bonds* 5*l* 4*s* a 3*s*	*Equiv.* 112

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt. 35 2 ½ a 2	*Bilboa* 41 ¼
D. Sight 34 8	*Leghorn* 50 ⅜ a ½
Rotter. 35 2	*Genoa* 54 ¼
Hamb. 34 2 ½ a 2	*Venice* 51 a ⅜
Paris 32 ⅝	*Lisbon* 5*s* 4*d* ¼
Bourdx. 32 ½	*Porto* 5*s* 4*d* ¼
Cadiz 42 ½	*Antw.* 35 11
Madrid 42 ¼	*Dublin* 7 ¾

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	29	36	*Peaſe*	20	29
Rye	14	19	*H. Peaſe*	16	18
Barley	15	18	*H. Beans*	20	23
Oats	11	15	*B. Malt*	18	19
Tares	19	23	*P. Malt*	20	23

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *July* 22. to *Aug.* 26.

Chriſtned	Males 729	Females 647	1376
Buried	Males 1041	Females 1023	2064
Died under 2 Years old			772
Between 2 and 5			237
5 10			127
10 20			72
20 30			144
30 40			182
40 50			173
50 60			133
60 70			103
70 80			92
80 90			25
90 and upwards			4
			2064

Hay 66 to 70*s.* a Load.

AMONG

AMONG the many political Dreams publiſhed by the *Daily Advertiſer*, by way of Letters from the *Hague*, the following is one of the moſt extraordinary, *viz.* "An Affair of the utmoſt Importance is now ſaid to be on the Tapis in *Germany*, which is, that a Party is actually forming in the Empire, amongſt the Proteſtant Powers thereof, in order to eſtabliſh an Alternative between them and the *Roman* Catholick Princes, in reſpect to the Election to the Imperial Throne, *&c.*" Conſidering the preſent ſtrict Union between the *Emperor*, *France*, and *Spain*; and that of *nine* Electors there are now but *two* Proteſtants, it is really ſurprizing, how it could enter into any Man's Head to forge ſuch a Story. Alas! The Proteſtants, by having ridiculouſly loſt two of the chief Proteſtant Electors, and by more ridiculouſly uniting the three Powers above mentioned, have more need to fear a *Roman* Catholick League againſt them, than to hope for gaining any Advantage from the preſent Situation of Affairs in *Europe*.

We hear from *Vienna*, That no foreign Miniſter ever made ſo many Difficulties about the Ceremonial of his publick Entry into that City, as the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſador lately ſent thither; and tho' theſe Difficulties were all at laſt got over, and his Excellency actually ſet out from *Schecht*, in order to make his Entry into *Vienna*, yet he found Means to put off the ſame, by pretending to be taken ill of the Cholick upon the Road, which Illneſs continued upon him for ſome Days; and the News of a new Prime Vizir in *Turkey* arriving in the mean Time, he now pretends he cannot depart an Ace from what he firſt inſiſted on; ſo that his publick Entry, and conſequently the Conſummation of the Peace between the *Emperor* and the *Porte*, ſtill remains in Suſpence; the Meaning of which, and from whence it proceeds, we may eaſily gueſs, if we conſider the preſent Circumſtances of Affairs between this Kingdom and *Spain*, and the Meaſures a certain neighbouring Power may take, if we ſhould purſue the War as we ought.——*Væ victis*, is an old Saying, and may more properly be applied to thoſe that are overcome in Politicks, than to thoſe that are overcome in War; becauſe Victory in the latter Caſe, is chiefly owing to Fortune, whereas in the former, it is chiefly owing to the Underſtanding; and a Victory in the former, is generally the certain Cauſe of a Victory in the latter.

Laſt Month the *Ruſſian* Miniſter in *Sweden* acquainted that Court, that her *Czariſh* Majeſty thinking proper to ſend out ſome Men of War from *Cronſtadt*, in order to exerciſe her Sailors, ſhe hoped, if contrary Winds, or a Tempeſt, ſhould oblige thoſe Ships to put into any of the *Swediſh* Ports, they would find there, all neceſſary Aſſiſtance. To which that Miniſter received a ſatisfactory Anſwer; and it was added, that the King hoped, that if any of his Men of War were in like Manner obliged to take Shelter in the *Ruſſian* Ports, they would find there, in caſe of Need, a ſuitable Return; which Compliments ſeem to intimate, that neither of theſe Powers have an Inclination to break with the other, notwithſtanding the warlike Appearances that are ſtill kept up.

The Day after the Execution of M. *Wolinſki* at *Peterſburgh*, mentioned in our laſt, Count *Muſſin Puſkin*, one of his Confederates, was tried, and upon full Proof, convicted of treaſonable Practices, whereupon the ſame Sentence that was paſſed upon *Wolinſki*, was pronounced againſt him. As ſoon as he heard it, he uttered ſo many, and ſuch violent Invectives againſt the Empreſs, that his Judges ordered him to be gagg'd; ſoon after which, Prince *Trubetſki* came and told him, that tho' he was utterly unworthy of any Favour, yet the Empreſs thought fit to grant him his Life, but that his Tongue was to be pluck'd out, and that he was then to be baniſhed into *Siberia*. At that Inſtant there appeared an Executioner, who, with the Aſſiſtance of five or ſix People, executed the former Part of the Sentence, tho' with ſome Difficulty; for he defended himſelf as long as he could, and till his Tongue was pluck'd out, inceſſantly threw out Invectives particularly againſt the Duke of *Courland* and Count *d'Oſterman*. In this Country, the Spirit of Rebellion ſeems to run vaſtly high; for the brave Count *Munich*, notwithſtanding the Glory to which he has raiſed that Empire by his Succeſſes in War, has lately had a Doſe of Poiſon given him in a Cup of Chocolate, which miſſed of the intended Effect, but has ſo ſhaken his Conſtitution, that 'tis feared he will never perfectly recover; and Count *d'Oſterman*, the greateſt Miniſter *Muſcovy* ever ſaw, has had Letters threatening to aſſaſſinate him, for which Reaſon the Empreſs has ordered him a Guard. In the mean Time, as the Princeſs *Elizabeth* is, contrary to her Inclination, ſet up as a Pretendreſs to the Crown of *Ruſſia*, by theſe Traitors, her Guard has had *ten* Men added to it, to ſecure her from any Accident or Inſult. As the *Czarina* is the Patroneſs of the *Greek* Church, it is highly probable that ſome of the *Roman* Catholick Prieſts have a Concern in fomenting theſe Conſpiracies; which, if true, muſt attach that powerful Empire to the Proteſtant Cauſe in *Europe*, if the Proteſtant Miniſters know how to make the proper Uſe of it.

From *Paris* we hear, That an extraordinary Courier, diſpatched by the Duke *de St. Aignan* their Ambaſſador at *Rome*, had brought the News, that Cardinal *Lambertini* was elected Pope, on the 6th Inſtant, and had taken upon him the Title of *Benedict* XIV.

And from *Spain*, That about the End of laſt Month, *thirty* Batalions and *forty* Squadrons were marching to their Sea Coaſts to defend them againſt a Deſcent from the *Engliſh*; which is but a ſmall Number of Troops, even when added to the former, conſidering the Extent of Coaſt they have to guard, and that the Militia are good for nothing. And, that the *Ferrol* Squadron ſailed about the ſame Time, conſiſting of 16 Men of War and three Frigates, with 2000, ſome ſay 4000 Land Forces on board; but whither bound, cannot as yet be known.

In the Month of *May* laſt, there were ſeveral dangerous Tumults at *Conſtantinople*, which were happily appeaſed by the Government, and of Courſe attended with many Executions. However, in order to appeaſe the Populace, it was thought proper to remove the *Prime Vizir*, which was done upon the firſt of *June*, and he was ſucceeded by *Achmet Paſhaw*, *Caimacan* during the laſt two Campaigns, and lately *Niſangu*. The late *Prime Vizir* was made Baſhaw of *Guidda* upon the *Red Sea*; and the *Chiaux Paſhaw* who was likewiſe depoſed, was ſent to *Bagdat*. There has ſince been a very dangerous Conſpiracy in the *Seraglio* againſt the *Grand Seignior* himſelf, which was diſcovered by a Woman. Tho' nothing that paſſes in the *Seraglio* can be fully known without Doors, yet it is judged from the Number of dead Bodies which float about the *Seraglio*, that the Conſpirators were very numerous. Thus we ſee, that no Extent of Power can prevent Conſpiracies and Tumults: Nay, we may obſerve, that they are moſt frequent and dangerous where the Government is moſt arbitrary. How ſurprizing, therefore, is it, that ever any hereditary King, who has a Regard for his Poſterity, ſhould aim at arbitrary Power!

The Monthly Catalogue *for* Auguſt, 1740.

Historical.

1. Biographia Claſſica; the Lives and Characters of the Claſſick Authors. In 2 Pocket Vols. Printed for *D. Browne*, pr. 6*d*.

2. The Hiſtory of the Life and Death of *David*. Sold by *E. Curll*, 8vo, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

3. A Preſent for a Papiſt; or, The Hiſtory of Pope *Joan*. Printed for *O. Payne*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

4. A brief hiſtorical Account of the primitive Invocation or Prayer for a Bleſſing upon the Euchariſtic Elements. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*. 6*d*.

5. The dangerous Voyage of Capt. *Tho. James*, in his intended Diſcovery of a North-weſt Paſſage into the *South-Sea*. The 2d Edition. Printed for *O. Payne*, 8vo, pr. 2*s*. 6*d*.

* 6. A new *Roman* Hiſtory; by Queſtion and Anſwer. The 2d Edition. Printed for *T. Aſtley*. 12mo, price 3*s*.

Miscellaneous.

7. Superſtition and Tyranny inconſiſtent with Theocracy, being a third Volume of the Moral Philoſopher. Occaſioned by the Rev. Dr. *Leland*'s 2d Volume of The Divine Authority of the *Old* and *New Teſtament* aſſerted: And the Rev. Mr. *Lowman*'s Diſſertation on the Civil Government of the *Hebrews*. By *Philalethes*. Printed for ——; and Sold by *T. Cox*, 8vo, price 5*s*.

8. The Trial of Mr. *Bartholomew Greenwood*. Printed for *T. Robins*, price 6*d*.

9. The faithful Narrative; or, impartial Account of Mr. *Greenwood*'s Trial. Sold by *J. Standen*, price 6*d*.

10. The Caſe of Mr. *Greenwood*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*.

11. Some Conſiderations on the Neceſſity and Uſefulneſs of the Royal Charter for the Hoſpital for Foundlings. Printed for *W. Meadows*, price 6*d*.

12. Propoſals towards raiſing a ſupplemental Proviſion for the Poor. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*.

13. A modeſt and ſerious Defence of the Author of the Whole Duty of Man. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d*.

14. The Conſequences of Trade, as to the Wealth and Strength of the Nation. Printed for and ſold by *T. Cooper*, price 6*d*.

15. A compendious Library of the Law. Printed for *J. Oſborne*, 12mo, price 3*s*.

16. A Collection of Letters from the Rev. Mr. *Whitefield*, &c. price 6*d*.

17. The Rat-Catcher at *Chelſea-College*. A Tale. By *John Woodman*. Printed for the Author, price 1*s*.

18. Eſſays Medical and Philoſophical. By *George Martin*, M. D. Printed for *A. Millar*, 8vo, price 5*s*. 6*d*.

19. An experimental Enquiry on ſome Parts of the Animal Structure By *A. Winringham*. Printed for *J. Walthoe*, 8vo, pr. 5*s*. 6*d*.

20. A ſerious Remonſtrance to the Publick. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1*s*.

21. The Livery-Man; or, plain Thoughts on publick Affairs. Printed for *J. Smith*, pr. 1*s*.

22. Memorials and Characters of eminent and worthy Perſons. Numb. XIX. Printed for *J. Wilford*, price 1*s*.

Poetical.

23. *Alfred*. A Maſk. Printed for *A. Millar*, price 1*s*.

24. The Letter from Don *Blaſs*, &c. to Don *Geraldino* verſify'd. Sold by *T. Gardner*, price 6*d*.

25. The *Britiſh* Admiral. A Poem. Printed for *J. Oſborne*, price 1*s*.

Sermons.

26. A Sermon upon Charity. By *Joſhua Dinſdale*. Sold by *H. Kent*, price 6*d*.

27. A Sermon at *Little St. Helen*'s, *Aug.* 1. By *J. Partington*, A. M. Sold by *J. Brackſtone*, price 6*d*.

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

SEPTEMBER, 1740.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 380.

In the Debate upon the moſt proper Method for raiſing a Body of Marines, begun in our laſt, Cn. Fulvius *ſpoke to the following Effect,* viz.

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

IT is a general Obſervation in all Debates, that thoſe who ſpeak upon the right Side of the Queſtion, are generally the moſt moderate and cool in the Argument; and this, I think, was never more apparent, than in the preſent Debate. When I firſt heard the Motion, I thought it was a Motion that could not poſſibly occaſion any Heat or Animoſity amongſt us; but in this Reſpect I find myſelf diſappointed, as I have often been upon the like Occaſions; for ſome of thoſe that have ſpoke in favour of the Motion, have been pleaſed, I think moſt unneceſſarily, to make uſe of ſome very warm Expreſſions. As the preſent Queſtion can, in no Light, be conſidered any other Way than as a Diſpute about the moſt proper Method for raiſing or forming a Body of Marines, I can ſee no Reaſon Gentlemen have for running themſelves into a Heat upon the Subject, or for making uſe of any warm Reflections againſt thoſe, who differ from them in Opinion; and I am ſure, if Gentlemen would keep cloſe to the Subject, and take Care to make no Excurſions into Matters that have no Relation to it, the Debate would be ſoon exhauſted; becauſe I muſt think it a Debate quite foreign to any Thing that can properly come this Day before us.

No Gentleman, I find, Sir, has queſtioned its being neceſſary for us to raiſe or form a Body of Marines. If this had been the Queſtion, we might have taken it into Conſideration, even before we had read or conſidered any of the Eſtimates for the enſuing Year; but the preſent Debate, I muſt look upon as anticipating the Conſideration of the Eſtimates laid before us for the Service of the enſuing Year, before they have been read, I believe, by any Gentleman in this Houſe; for

if a Body of Marines is to be formed, it must be formed either by raising new Corps for that Purpose, or by employing some of the Regiments we have already on Foot in that Service. If you chuse the latter Method, you diminish the Number of Land Forces that are to be kept up for the ensuing Year; and is not this, therefore, debating the Question about the Number of Land Forces necessary to be kept up for the Service of the ensuing Year, before you have so much as read the Estimate of the Charge of the Guards, Garisons, and other his Majesty's Land Forces, for the Year 1740, which was but Yesterday laid before you? Some Gentlemen, who are more diligent than I, may perhaps already have cast their Eye upon this Estimate, but I must confess, that I have not so much as look'd at it; and considering its being so lately laid before us, and that there was no Probability of its coming under our Consideration before To-morrow, I cannot, in this Respect, accuse myself of any Neglect of Duty. But whatever may be in this, whether I be guilty of a Neglect or no, as I have not seen the Estimate, I cannot take upon me to determine, whether the Address proposed be proper or not, and therefore I cannot at present agree to it.

This, Sir, must with me be a prevailing Reason for being now against the Motion, and ought, I think, to be so with every Gentleman that is in the same Circumstances with me, whatever they may be hereafter; but there is another Reason, a Reason arising from our usual Form of Proceedings, that makes me against the Motion at present. I think it was wrong to introduce such a Motion, and it would be more wrong to enter into the Merits of it, whilst we are in a House. As it is a Motion that relates to the Number of Troops to be kept up for the ensuing Year, it is proper only for a Committee, where Gentlemen have Leave to speak several Times upon the same Question, and may rise up, as often as Occasion requires, to explain Facts, and answer Arguments or Objections, that can, perhaps, be explained and answered by none but themselves. I have not, indeed, heard any Arguments made use of in Favour of the Question, but such as, I think, may be easily answered by any Gentleman in the House; but others may be of a different Opinion, and one Gentleman has already spoke against the Motion, who, could he be allowed to speak again, as he would be if we were in a Committee, would, I am certain, be able to answer every Argument in Favour of the Motion, to the Conviction of most Gentlemen present *.

Whether out of 28 or 29,000 Men, a sufficient Number may be spared for Sea Service, without leaving the Kingdom defenceless, is a Question, Sir, which, I think, we cannot enter into at present. The Estimates are, 'tis true, before us, but as I have not, and, I believe, few Gentlemen have, look'd into them, I do not know what Number of Land Forces we have on Foot, nor do I know what Number his Majesty thinks necessary for the Service of the ensuing Year. From what I have heard, I believe, his Majesty has augmented his Land Forces: I think it was necessary he should; and when I look into the Estimates, if it from thence appears, that his Majesty thinks 28 or 29,000 Land Forces necessary for

* *As it is a Rule in Parliament, so we have made it a Rule in our Club, that, unless we have resolved ourselves into what we call a Committee, no Gentleman shall be allowed to speak above once in any one Debate.*

for the Security of *Great Britain*, during this next Year, I am not aſhamed to ſay, it will be a ſtrong Argument with me for thinking ſo too; becauſe his Majeſty muſt know our Danger better than I can. And if we ought, for the Sake of our own Security, to keep ſuch a Number of Land Forces here at home, what ſignifies the preſent Motion? What would it ſignify to preſent the Addreſs thereby propoſed? If the Body of Marines, allowed to be neceſſary by every Gentleman that has ſpoke in this Debate, ſhould be formed from Draughts made out of the Regiments of Land Forces we have now on Foot, thoſe Draughts muſt, even according to the Motion, be immediately re-placed by raiſing Recruits. What then can it ſignify, whether thoſe Recruits be raiſed for marching Regiments, or for Marines? As Mankind are fond of every Thing that's new, and as common Fellows will be readier to enter into the Sea than the Land Service, I believe, the neceſſary Number of Recruits will be more eaſily and quickly raiſed, when they are all or moſt of them to be liſted for the Sea Service, than if they were all or moſt of them to be liſted for Land Service; and as the War is already declared, I think the moſt ſpeedy Way the beſt, eſpecially as it will be the cheapeſt; for the more ready Men are to engage in the Service, the leſs we ſhall have Occaſion to give by Way of inliſting Money.

For my Part, Sir, I do not really well know what the Hon. Gentlemen mean by Draughts from the preſent Regiments of Foot. I hope they would not have the Officers drawn away from our marching Regiments. If you do, you muſt immediately appoint others in their ſtead. For, I hope, it will be allowed, that every Regiment of Land Forces muſt have its full Complement of Officers; and if you are reſolved to make your Marines what Marines ought to be: I mean, if you are reſolved to make them fit for Land Service, as well as Sea Service, you muſt form them into Regiments, and in that Caſe each Regiment of Marines muſt have its full Complement of Officers, the ſame as if it were deſigned for a marching Regiment to ſerve at Land only.

Thus it appears, Sir, that with Regard to the Expence, it is the ſame Thing, whether the Body of Marines propoſed, be formed by Draughts from our Foot Regiments, or by raiſing new Regiments for that Purpoſe; and as to the Service, his Majeſty is certainly the beſt Judge of the moſt proper Method for forming the intended Body of Marines, becauſe it muſt depend upon the Service in which they are to be employed. If our Marines are to be employed at Sea only, in order to make up the Complements of our Men of War, and to leave Seamen for the Merchant Service, new-raiſed Men are every bit as proper as old Soldiers: Nay, they are rather better, becauſe they will generally conſiſt of younger Men; and in this Caſe, I ſhall grant, there would be no Occaſion for ſo many Officers. But if our Marines are to be employed likewiſe upon Land, and to be ſent upon any Expedition againſt the Enemy, they muſt be regimented as other Land Forces are; and in this Caſe I make no Queſtion, but that his Majeſty will, without any Addreſs from us, order the Regiments of Marines to be formed partly by Draughts of private Men from old Regiments, and partly by new Recruits; in which Caſe, they will, with Reſpect to Service, be upon the ſame Footing with our old Regiments; for every Regiment of Foot now in the Service, muſt neceſſarily, by

the late Augmentation, have a great Number of raw, undiſciplined Men in it.

For this Reaſon, Sir, I muſt think, that the only Queſtion now before us is, whether the Number of Land Forces, propoſed by the Eſtimate now upon our Table, be the leaſt Number that ought to be kept up for the Defence of this Kingdom; and as this Queſtion was never, I believe, canvaſſed, but in the Committee of Supply, I cannot think it proper for our preſent Conſideration.

Gentlemen, I find, Sir, are mighty apt to find fault with the Number of our Officers; and I do not in the leaſt wonder at it: The Expence and Danger of ſuch, are popular Topicks that will, I believe, be made uſe of againſt every future, as well as they have been againſt every paſt Adminiſtration. Some of thoſe, who now inſiſt upon theſe Topicks, may remember their having been made uſe of againſt themſelves; but, I am ſure, no Gentleman will ſay, that an Army can be kept up without Officers: I believe it will be generally allowed, that the more Officers there are in an Army, the better it will always be. The *French* have a greater Number of Officers in Proportion than we have, and it is this that makes their Armies ſo formidable; for their common Men are rather worſe than thoſe of any of their Neighbours. It is their great Number of Officers that has generally made their Troops ſuperior to the *Germans*; and as the *French* Nation has always been our moſt formidable Enemy, we ought to take care to render our Troops, at leaſt, as good as theirs: If we can fall upon any Method to render them better, we ought to make uſe of it; becauſe our Troops are not near ſo numerous.

We have, 'tis true, Sir, and muſt have a great Number of Officers, as long as we keep up either Fleet or Army; but I do not know, that the Nation is alarmed at the Influence attending ſo many Places Civil and Military. I know great Pains have been taken to raiſe ſuch an Alarm; but, I hope, without any Effect; for Government cannot be ſupported without Places Civil and Military, and the Number of them muſt always bear a Proportion to the Largeneſs of the Society to which they belong, and the Uſe that Society may have for them. Without a proper Number of Officers in a Society, Diſorder and Confuſion muſt enſue; and therefore, I cannot think it right to endeavour to alarm the People of a Society with the Number of Officers Civil and Military, unleſs there were really a great Number more than were neceſſary for ſupporting Order and preventing Confuſion, which, I am ſure, is not the Caſe of this Nation at preſent. In War we muſt have more than we can have Occaſion for in Peace; therefore I am ſurprized to hear thoſe, who were ſo ſanguine for a War, pretending to be alarmed at the Influence of ſuch a Number of Officers. They could not but foreſee, that in Time of War, we muſt increaſe both our Fleets and Armies; and an Increaſe in our Fleets and Armies, muſt always produce an Increaſe in the Number of our Officers, both Civil and Military.

But this, Sir, is departing from the Queſtion in Hand. If we are to have a Body of Marines, we muſt have a proper Number of Officers for commanding that Body; and as no Gentleman denies our being under a Neceſſity to eſtabliſh a Body of Marines, no Gentleman can doubt of our being under an equal Neceſſity to appoint a ſufficient Number of Officers for commanding them. The only Queſtion now before

before us is, whether we ſhall diminiſh the Number of our Land Forces, by drawing from thence a Body of Marines; and this being a Queſtion not yet ripe for our Conſideration, nor proper whilſt we are in a Houſe, as I have already ſhewn, I cannot agree to it.

The next that ſpoke in this Debate was Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, *whoſe Speech was in Subſtance thus:*

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

I AM glad to find, that every Gentleman, who has ſpoke in this Debate, ſeems convinced of the Neceſſity of our raiſing a Body of Marines. They are, in my Opinion, Sir, ſo neceſſary, that I ſhall be not only for raiſing, but keeping them. After they are once properly diſciplined, they will do as well at Land, as any of the Regiments we have now on Foot, and always when we ſtand in Need of it, they will be of great Service at Sea. I have had the Honour, Sir, to ſerve my Country at Sea. It is now, indeed, a long while ago, almoſt five and thirty Years; but I have not quite forgot what I then obſerved; and as I have been at Sea, and have ſeen Marines on Ship-board, I know better what Uſe they may be of, than thoſe who never were in that Service. Sir, there are many Services on board a Man of War, which Marines in a very ſhort Time become as fit for, as the beſt and moſt thorough-bred Seamen. They cannot, indeed, go aloft, but they can ſoon learn to manage the Guns, hawl in the Anchors, and, in ſhort, every other Service that is to be performed upon Deck, or any where between Decks.

It is true, Sir, that even for theſe Services, Men muſt have ſome Experience: They muſt be for a few Days, or perhaps for a few Weeks, at Sea, in order to ſeaſon them to that Climate, to learn to ſtand upon their Legs, and to make themſelves acquainted with the ſeveral Services, that are to be performed upon Deck, or between Decks. A Soldier, therefore, let him have been trained to military Diſcipline as long as you will, is as unfit for being a Marine, as any Fellow juſt taken from the Plough, or as the meereſt Vagabond that can be picked up in the Streets. Sir, a Soldier and a Marine are, I may ſay, quite different Creatures: They are as different as an Otter and a Fox. Why then ſhould you diminiſh the Number of your diſciplined Soldiers, for the Sake of forming a Body of Marines, when new-raiſed Men are every whit as fit for the Service? As we have now had a long Tract of peaceable Times, there muſt be in every City and Town, and in every Corner of the Country, a great Number of idle Fellows, who are not only a Burden, but very troubleſome and dangerous to the Country where they at preſent reſide. It will be a publick Benefit to make the Country rid of them, and they may be uſefully employed as Marines on board our Men of War. It would therefore, in my Opinion, be a double Prejudice to the Country, to form a Body of Marines by making Draughts out of our Foot Regiments; becauſe it would be drawing away from us thoſe Men who, in Caſe of an Invaſion, would be of great Service to their Country, and leaving at home thoſe, who are at preſent a Burden, and who, in Caſe of an Invaſion, would be very apt to join the Enemies of their Country.

I ſhall grant, Sir, that the regular Troops we have now on Foot, would be better for immediate Land Service, than a Body of Marines wholly compoſed of new-raiſed Men;

Men; but unleſs we ſhould be invaded at home, I can ſee no Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that we ſhall have immediate Uſe for either. We are not, I hope, to make any Attack upon the *Spaniards* at Land in any Part of *Europe*; and if we ſhould A reſolve to attack them at Land in *America*, we cannot propoſe to ſend out a Fleet with Land Forces on board for that Purpoſe, till towards the End of next Summer, becauſe the Heats in that Part of the World are ſo exceſſive in the B Summer Time, that our Troops would probably ſuffer more by them than they could ſuffer by the Enemy. Conſidering the Humour that at preſent prevails in the Nation, we may, I hope, be able to compleat the Body of Marines pro- C poſed, by new Levies, in a Month or two; and in that Caſe, they will have ſeven or eight Months to learn their Diſcipline, before we can ſend them out upon any Expedition againſt the Enemy, where Land Forces are requiſite. In that Time D they may be made as expert in the Diſcipline proper for Land Service, as any of the Regiments we have now on Foot, and would, I hope, behave as well as could be expected from any Body of Men whatever; but as it will, probably, be neceſ- E ſary to ſend a greater Number of Land Forces abroad, upon any Expedition we may undertake, than the whole Number of Marines now propoſed to be raiſed, I believe our Marines, go when they will, muſt be accompanied by ſome F of the Foot Regiments now in the Service; which ſhews, that we ought not to diminiſh our preſent Quota of Land Forces, by drawing ſuch a Number out, in order to form a Body of Marines.

Whether 28,000 Men be neceſ- G ſary for our Defence at home, is not now, Sir, the Queſtion. Suppoſe, that ſo great a Number may not be neceſſary; yet ſurely, in Time of War, we ought to raiſe and keep up a greater Number of Land Forces than is barely neceſſary for our Defence here at home. We ought certainly to have ſuch a Number of Land Forces on Foot, as may enable his Majeſty to ſend 8 or 10,000 abroad upon any Expedition he may think fit to undertake, for diſtreſſing the Enemy in their own Dominions. Sir, as I moſt heartily wiſh to ſee the War proſecuted in the moſt vigorous Manner, and as I do not know but that we may have more Enemies than we as yet know of, I ſhall be ſo far from reſolving to grant no greater Number of Land Forces than are juſt neceſſary for our Defence at home, that I am reſolved, I came here this Seſſion reſolved, to grant as many Land Forces, Seamen, and Marines, as his Majeſty ſhould deſire; and ſince I came here, I have heard nothing that can in the leaſt ſhake this Reſolution; for if more Land Forces be deſired than are neceſſary for our Defence at home, I ſhall ſuppoſe, his Majeſty intends to ſend out a ſufficient Number of them for attacking the Enemy abroad; and I am ſure no Gentleman would deſire, that his Majeſty ſhould communicate to us his Intentions in this Reſpect, or ſhould tell us what Number of Land Forces he propoſes to ſend abroad for this Purpoſe.

I have not yet peruſed the Eſtimates that were laid before us Yeſterday, no more than the Hon. Gentleman that ſpoke laſt; but, Sir, I am extremely glad to hear, that his Majeſty deſires no more than 28 or 29,000 Land Forces, and 6 or 7000 Marines, for the Service of the enſuing Year. It is to me a convincing Proof, that we have nothing to fear, for next Year at leaſt, but from *Spain* alone; and if that Nation ſtands alone againſt us

us but for one Year, I hope we ſhall be able to give a very good Account of our Campaign. I expected, indeed, that the Demand would have been much greater, and therefore I am ſurpized to hear Gentlemen boggling at ſuch a Demand, and endeavouring to perſuade this Houſe not to agree to it; for this I take to be the plain Meaning of the Motion now under our Conſideration. His Majeſty has deſired 28,000 Land Forces, and 6000 Marines; and we are deſired to tell him by Way of Addreſs, that we'll grant him the 6000 Marines, but then they muſt be draughted out of the 28,000 Land Forces. Is not this an abſolute Refuſal of the Number of Land Forces deſired? Is it not directly telling him, that we will grant him but 22,000 Land Forces? This is certainly the Light this Motion ought to be conſidered in, and in this Light, I hope there are not many in this Houſe that will agree to it.

I am as much, Sir, as any Man, againſt keeping up a numerous ſtanding Army in Time of Peace. I wiſh there were not a red Coat to be ſeen within the Kingdom. A ſtanding Army is in all Countries an Evil, and in a free Country it is a greater Evil than in any other; but it is an Evil we muſt ſubmit to, for the Sake of avoiding a greater; and in Time of War, when we muſt always be in more Danger of that greater Evil, than in Time of Peace, I ſhall never be for diminiſhing the leſſer Evil; for if our Army were ten Times as numerous as it is, we ought to ſubmit to it, rather than expoſe ourſelves to that greater, I may ſay, that greateſt of Evils; for this Reaſon, I cannot agree with that Part of the Motion, which adviſes the Marines to be formed by Draughts from the preſent Regiments of Foot; nor can I agree with that Part of the Motion, which adviſes to have as many private Men, and as few Officers, as the Nature of the Service will admit; becauſe it ſeems to inſinuate, as if fewer Officers in Proportion would do for Marines, than for Land Forces. What other Gentlemen may mean by Marines, I do not know; but by Marines I mean, a Body of Troops that may be employed either at Sea or Land, as Occaſion may require; and if they are ever to be employed at Land, they muſt be regimented, and muſt have the ſame Number, and the ſame Sort of Officers that are neceſſary for Land Service. Thus, Sir, I have given you my Reaſons for being againſt every Part of the Addreſs propoſed, and for theſe Reaſons I ſhall, moſt heartily, give my Negative to the Queſtion.

M. Cato *was the next that ſtood up, the Purport of whoſe Speech was as follows*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,

S I R,

IT is a little ſurprizing, that a certain Set of Gentlemen, notwithſtanding the many Admonitions they have had, ſhould always bring his Majeſty's Name into every Debate that happens in this Houſe. As a private Gentleman, Sir, I ſhould be ready upon all Occaſions to put a full Confidence in his Majeſty: To believe we are in Danger, when he ſays he thinks we are; and to believe that the Sums he demands, and the Number of Troops he propoſes, are neceſſary for our Security. This, I ſay, I ſhould think myſelf obliged as a private Gentleman to believe, unleſs I had very good Reaſon to think, his Majeſty had been miſinformed and impoſed on. But as a Member of this Houſe, as a Truſtee for the Purſes, the Liberties, and the Privileges of the People of *Great Britain*,

Britain, I am under an indiſpenſable Obligation, not to allow myſelf to be an implicit Believer, even in my Sovereign. As ſuch, I am, in Duty to thoſe I repreſent, bound to ſuppoſe, that every Speech his Majeſty makes from the Throne, every Meſſage he ſends under his Hand in Writing, and much more every Demand made in his Name, is the Speech, the Meſſage, or the Demand, not of my Sovereign, but of his Miniſter, and that therefore I not only may, but ought to examine it with great Freedom, and to believe in nothing but what I am convinced of by inconteſtable Facts, or unanſwerable Arguments.

This, Sir, is my Duty as a Member of this Houſe, and as a Truſtee for the Purſes, the Liberties, and the Privileges of the People of *Great Britain*; therefore, when a Demand comes to this Houſe for loading the People with a heavy Burden, and endangering our Conſtitution, by raiſing, or keeping within the Iſland, a numerous ſtanding Army, under Pretence of our being in Danger of an Invaſion, though it be made in his Majeſty's Name, I am to ſuppoſe it comes originally from the Miniſter; and upon that Suppoſition I ought to conſider, whether that Army be demanded for preventing or defeating an Invaſion intended to be made by Foreigners upon our Territories, or for encouraging and rendering ſucceſsful an Invaſion intended to be made by Miniſters upon our Rights and Privileges. Gentlemen may talk what they will about reaſonable Fears, and cauſeleſs Jealouſies, but in this Caſe every Man ought to be guided by his own Conſcience, and to take particular Care that his Judgment ſhall not be directed by any ſelfiſh Conſideration; and were I the moſt intimate Friend of a Miniſter, as the Invaſions of Miniſters have been much more frequent than the Invaſions of Foreigners, I ſhould rather chuſe to be directed by my Jealouſies than my Fears; Nay, were I a Miniſter, or even a Prime Miniſter, which, I truſt in God, I ſhall never affect to be, I ſhould think him an honeſt Man, that ſhewed more Jealouſy of me than Apprehenſion of foreign Danger; and as long as my Deſigns were honeſt and juſt, I ſhould truſt more in his Friendſhip, than in the Friendſhip of thoſe I found ready upon all Occaſions to receive whatever Impreſſions I had a mind to make.

I ſay, Sir, that as the Invaſions of Miniſters have been much more frequent than the Invaſions of Foreigners, we ought at all Times to be more jealous of the former, than afraid of the latter; but when Dangers are pretended, which we have no Reaſon to be afraid of, at leaſt no Reaſon but ſuch a one as muſt always ſubſiſt, and an Argument drawn from thence for convincing us to load the People, and endanger our Conſtitution, by keeping a numerous ſtanding Army within the Iſland, there is then no Room for Jealouſy, the Intention becomes evident, which, in my Opinion, is the Caſe at preſent. It is ridiculous to imagine, that the *Spaniards* ever deſigned to invade us with thoſe Troops that have lately marched into *Gallicia*. When they have a real Deſign to invade us, they will never prepare for it in that Quarter, as we may be ſufficiently convinced by Experience; becauſe their preparing a Fleet of Tranſports at any Port in that Province, or in the Bay of *Biſcay*, muſt always give us a ſeaſonable Alarm. Therefore I muſt ſuppoſe, that their marching Troops into that Quarter, was either to guard againſt our invading them, or to give ſome People here a Pretence for frightning us with the Danger of our being invaded by them; but this Pretence can

be of no Weight with thoſe, who conſider, that Troops without Ships can never be of any dangerous Conſequence to this Iſland. The Armies of *Spain*, nay the Armies of *France*, let them march where they will, can never give Terror to any Man of common Senſe in this Iſland, unleſs we find they are preparing Ships for tranſporting them hither, and this, I hope, we ſhall always hear of, time enough to prevent the Attempt, which we may eaſily do, as long as we have a ſuperior Navy.

Suppoſe, Sir, the *Spaniards* have a real Deſign to invade us, and that they have marched their Troops into *Gallicia* for that Purpoſe; we know they have no Fleet of Tranſport-Ships, either in the Ports of that Province, or in any other Ports within their Dominions, for tranſporting thoſe Troops to this Iſland. If they deſign to invade us with ſuch a Number of Troops, as ought to give us Uneaſineſs, they cannot, in leſs than three or four Months, provide a ſufficient Fleet for tranſporting them; and in that Time, as ſuch Preparations cannot be privately made, we ſhall have Time not only to provide for our Defence, but to put it out of their Power to make the Attempt. This they know very well, and therefore, I am convinced, they will never give the leaſt Countenance to ſuch a ridiculous Project. But ſuppoſe they intended to make an Invaſion upon us with 4 or 5000 Men, which is the greateſt Number they could provide Tranſports for, without giving us timely Notice of their Deſign; are we to keep 28,000 Men, or even 18,000 Men here at home, to guard us againſt ſuch an Attempt? Are the Numbers of the Diſaffected here at home ſo great, that 4 or 5000 Men would enable them to overturn our Government, tho' ſupported by more than double that Number of regular Troops in *Ireland*, and more than treble the Number in *Great Britain*? This is what no Man, who is a Friend to the Illuſtrious Family now upon our Throne, will aſſert; and therefore, no Man, that is a Friend to our preſent Eſtabliſhment, ought, I think, to pretend that we are in the leaſt Danger of an Invaſion.

An Invaſion, Sir, with ſuch a ſmall Number of Troops, would hardly raiſe any Commotion, much leſs a dangerous Civil War in the Bowels of the Kingdom. Even the few Diſaffected we have amongſt us would be ſhy of joining ſuch a ſmall Body of Troops: I am convinced, no Man of Family or Fortune would; and therefore, I am convinced, they would re-imbark, if we gave them Leave, as ſoon as they found themſelves diſappointed of the expected Aſſiſtance, or would ſurrender to the firſt Body of our Troops ſent againſt them, in Caſe they found they could not re-imbark. From hence I muſt conclude, that as long as *Spain* continues alone in the War againſt us, we are not in the leaſt Danger of an Invaſion; and ſuppoſe *France* ſhould join with *Spain*, we ſhould have no Occaſion to provide againſt an Invaſion, eſpecially by raiſing a numerous Army to be kept within the Iſland, till they had begun to make Preparations for that Purpoſe. I do not ſuppoſe, that *France* will join in the War againſt us: I am almoſt certain they will not, if we take right Meaſures to prevent it. But if they ſhould join, or if we have now any reaſonable Cauſe to ſuſpect that they will, I am ſure we have not yet provided, or propoſed a ſufficient Number either of Seamen or Marines; and as *France* has not yet joined, nor probably will for ſome Months to come, inſtead of being ſo curious and nice, as we have been ſince the Beginning of

this War, about having expert Seamen for manning our Ships of War, we ſhould have begun with taking as few expert Seamen as poſſible, and filling up the reſt of every Ship's Complement with Marines, or able-bodied Landmen. This, I ſay, we ought to have done, becauſe whilſt we were at War with a Nation that could make no Head againſt us at Sea, we ought to have taken the Opportunity to increaſe our Body of Seamen, by inſtructing and ſeaſoning Landmen to the Service, in order to provide againſt a Nation's entering into the War, that could make ſome Head againſt us at Sea. If we had done this, neither our Seamen nor our Trade would have been ſo much diſtreſſed, nor would the Enemy's Privateers have traverſed the Seas in Purſuit of our Merchant-men with ſo much Safety and Succeſs; and in a Year or two's Time, we ſhould have ſo much increaſed our national Stock of Seamen, as to have very little to apprehend from the united Power of *France* and *Spain*. What the Event of the War may be, God only knows! I wiſh it may be ſucceſsful; but I muſt ſay, that, in my Opinion, we have not hitherto taken one right Meaſure in preparing for it, nor one vigorous Step in carrying it on.

But now, Sir, ſuppoſe *France* were already actually engaged in the War againſt us, I ſhall grant, that we ought in that Caſe to have a greater Number of Land Forces on Foot, than we have at preſent; but ſhould thoſe Forces be kept at home to defend us againſt Invaſions? No, Sir, as long as we are Maſters at Sea, with regard to Invaſions, we have almoſt as little to fear from *France*, as from *Spain*: Neither of them can invade this happy Iſland with any conſiderable Number of Troops, without a long and expenſive Preparation; which Preparation can be made no where, but in one of their Sea Ports, and there we may ſend and deſtroy it, or lock it up, as ſoon as we hear of it, which we ſhall always do long before it can be ready to put to Sea. Even in this Caſe therefore, inſtead of keeping our Troops encamped or quartered at home, we ought to ſend the greateſt Part of them on board our Fleet, or to our foreign Dominions, from whence they could eaſily make Incurſions or Invaſions upon the Enemy. For our Security here at home, if we keep a ſtrong Squadron in the Channel, with a good Number of Ships ready to be put in Commiſſion, we ſhall never have Occaſion to be afraid of an Invaſion; and if we would but take a little more Care of our Militia, than we have done for many Years paſt, we ſhould always be able and ready to repel any ſudden Incurſion, nay more ready than we can propoſe to be any other Way; for we cannot propoſe to keep 4 or 5000 regular Troops in each County; whereas, if Pains had not been taken to render our Militia deſpicable, in order to make a ſtanding Army neceſſary, the Militia of any one County in *England* would be able to encounter, and probably defeat ſuch a ſmall Number of Invaders, without the Aſſiſtance of our regular Army.

Thus, Sir, it appears, that for the Sake of defending us againſt an Invaſion, we have not the leaſt Occaſion for keeping a ſtanding Army of 28 or 29,000 Men here at home; and therefore, as we have that Number now on Foot in this Iſland, we may eaſily ſpare to ſend 6 or 8000 of them to ſerve as Marines on board our Men of War. But now ſuppoſe we intend to make an Attack upon the Enemy, as I hope we do, the Gentlemen who have ſpoke upon the other Side of the Queſtion, have told us, we cannot

propoſe

propoſe to ſend out any Troops for that Purpoſe, before the End of next Summer. If this be the Caſe, why ſhould we raiſe any new Troops before the old are ſent out? It will then be time enough to conſider, whether it be neceſ- A ſary for us to re-place them, and in Caſe it ſhould, it may ſoon be done by new Levies, and in the mean time the Pay of a Number of uſeleſs Troops will be ſaved to the Nation. I hope we do not intend to ſend our new-raiſed Troops, call B them Marines, or what you will, upon any Expedition againſt the Enemy. What will thoſe Gentlemen ſay, who have for many Years been telling us, that new-raiſed Troops are good for nothing, and that therefore we ought to keep a C numerous ſtanding Army always on Foot? How can theſe Gentlemen, I ſay, anſwer for it, if they ſhould now in Time of War ſend new-raiſed Troops upon the moſt dangerous Service, and keep at home, where there is no Danger, thoſe D Veterans, for whoſe Skill in martial Diſcipline the Nation has, for ſo many Years, paid ſuch large annual Sums of Money? Will it not then with Juſtice be ſaid, that our veteran Troops are kept at home only for a Raree-Show, and that our E new-raiſed Troops are ſent abroad againſt the Enemy, becauſe they cannot ſo handſomely dance thro' their Exerciſes at a Review?

Sir, this may, perhaps, look a little ludicrous; but if we conſider what an Effect this Conſideration F may have upon Men, who have any Regard to their Honour, it muſt appear ſerious to every Man, who has a Regard for our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment. In Tours of Fatigue, a Soldier, or a Regiment of Soldiers may excuſe their not being G employed; but in Tours of Danger, eſpecially where Glory and Riches may be acquir'd, every Soldier, and every Corps of Soldiers, that have any Honour, muſt look upon it as an Affront, if they are not employ'd in their Turn. This, Sir, may make our veteran Troops our greateſt Enemies; and by ſuch Means, A that very Army which, for ſo many Years has been kept up for the Security of the Royal Family, may be the Cauſe of its Overthrow, and may produce as great a Revolution in this Kingdom, as ever a Mutiny of the *Janizaries* did in *Turkey*.

B For this Reaſon, Sir, as well as for the Sake of Succeſs, I hope our beſt Troops will be ſent out upon any Expedition we intend for attacking the Enemy, either in *Europe* or *America*. But I am ſuprized to hear Gentlemen ſay, we cannot C propoſe to attack *Spain* in *Europe*, or ſend out any Expedition againſt them, till the End of next Summer. I ſhall grant, it is not our Buſineſs to attempt making any Conqueſts upon them in *Europe*; but is this a Reaſon why we ſhould not annoy D them as much as poſſible, by making Incurſions, and plundering the Coaſts of their Dominions, even in *Europe*? Can they prevent this as long as we are Maſters at Sea? No, Sir, notwithſtanding the numerous Army they have, they cannot prevent it; E becauſe a Fleet of Ships can ſail faſter from one Part of the Coaſt to another, than a Body of Troops can march; and therefore, if we had 7 or 8000 Land Forces on board the Squadron we now have upon their Coaſts, they might often find an F Opportunity to land, and ranſack a great Part of the adjacent Country, and to retire again with Safety on board their Ships, before the *Spaniards* could gather together a ſufficient Body of Troops to oppoſe them. By this Means, we might G harraſs their Troops, and keep their whole Sea-Coaſt in a perpetual Alarm; and, perhaps, find an Opportunity to deſtroy thoſe Works,

our Tameneſs ſome Years ſince allowed them to erect, within Cannon-Shot of *Gibraltar*.

Is there any Reaſon to be aſſigned, Sir, for delaying to ſend Troops upon ſuch an Expedition, till the End of next Summer? Can a Reaſon be aſſigned for its not having been already done? I know that the Month of *July*, *Auguſt*, or *September*, is the proper Time for ſending out a Body of Land Forces to attack the *Spaniards* in *America*; and I likewiſe know, that if we had followed the Example either of Q. *Elizabeth* or *Oliver Cromwell*, we would have begun the War with ſuch an Expedition. I hope to ſee more vigorous and better concerted Meaſures taken next Summer: I hope to ſee an Expedition ſent out for annoying the *Spaniſh* Dominions in *Europe*, and another for conquering ſome Part of their Dominions in *America*; but both, I think, may be undertaken without raiſing ſo much as one new Regiment; becauſe, out of 28,000 Men, the Number of our regular Forces now on Foot in this Iſland, we may ſpare a ſufficient Number of Troops for both. As we have now ſuch a prodigious Navy at Sea, I do not think we have Uſe for a greater Number of Troops at home, than we ever had in Times of the moſt profound Tranquillity; and therefore I think, we may ſpare to ſend at leaſt 16,000 againſt the Enemy, which is a ſufficient Number for both theſe Expeditions, and a ſufficient Number for any Occaſion we may have, as long as *Spain* ſtands alone in the War againſt us. If *France*, indeed, ſhould declare in Favour of *Spain*, we muſt then augment our Land Force both abroad and at home; but this we may eaſily, and almoſt inſtantly do by new Levies, and by taking foreign Troops into our Pay; and till this Event happens, we ought to ſave all we can, in order to be the better able to ſupport ſuch a heavy War, when it happens to break out.

Frugality, Sir, is extremely neceſſary at the Beginning of every War; becauſe, after a War is once begun, no Man can tell when it will end. The preſent War may be of longer Continuance than ſome People imagine. I have more Fears that Way, than I ſhall now explain. I ſhall now only ſay, that if we accept of no Peace but an honourable one, the War will not, I believe, be ſoon over; and therefore, we ought to take Care not to run ourſelves out of Breath in the Beginning of a long Courſe. Spite of the moſt vigorous and beſt concerted Meaſures, the War may laſt for ſeveral Years, and may become much more heavy than it is at preſent; but if our Meaſures ſhould hereafter be as much influenced by our Fears of an Invaſion, as they ſeem by this Debate to be at preſent, I may propheſy, that we ſhall never be able to bring it to a happy or honourable Concluſion. If our Fears of an Invaſion at home ſhould ſo much engroſs our Care and Attention, as to prevent our being able to take due Care of our Trade or Dominions abroad, the War may, perhaps, end in the Deſtruction or Loſs of a great Part of both; which God in his infinite Mercy will, I hope, prevent; for beſides the Ruin it would bring upon this Nation, it would very much endanger our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, and conſequently the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of *Europe*.

For this Reaſon, Sir, we ought not to allow ourſelves to be induced, by groundleſs Fears, to be at the Expence of raiſing or keeping up more Forces, either at home or abroad, than are abſolutely neceſſary; and thoſe we do keep up ought to be employed in the moſt vigorous Manner, and in thoſe Places where they

they can moſt annoy the Enemy, or contribute moſt to the Advantage of their Country. It is our Buſineſs in this Houſe to grant what Supplies are neceſſary for the publick Service; but it is likewiſe our Buſineſs to adviſe his Majeſty to make uſe of the moſt frugal Methods, and even to point out thoſe Methods, which we think may be the moſt frugal and effectual. For this Purpoſe we ſtand in Need of no ſecret Intelligence: We may know the general Circumſtances of an Enemy without ſuch Intelligence; and therefore, tho' we cannot preſcribe, we may give our Advice with Regard either to Peace or War. This is our Duty; this is all that is attempted at preſent; and if doing our Duty in this Reſpect is to be called Animoſity, it is a laudable Animoſity: It is ſuch an Animoſity as, I hope, will for ever prevail in this Houſe. An Hon. Gentleman was pleaſed to make an Obſervation, that thoſe who have the right Side are generally the cooleſt in the Argument: I ſhall give him two for his one; tho' I am far from ſaying, that either of them is applicable to any Gentleman in this Houſe. One is, that the Deceitful, who have a Mind to impoſe upon the Underſtanding, are always extremely cool in their Arguments; and the other is, that the Advocate who ſpeaks for his Fee, ſeldom ſhews ſuch a natural Warmth, as the Man that ſpeaks in his own Cauſe. In this Houſe it would be in vain for any Man to attempt to impoſe, and I hope I ſhall never ſee any Man in it ſpeak for his Fee; but I do not at all wonder to ſee a decent Warmth expreſſed; for I hope every Man thinks he ſpeaks in his own Cauſe, becauſe it is the Cauſe of his Country.

The preſent Queſtion, Sir, is, I think, as much the Cauſe of my Country, as any Queſtion that ever happened in this Houſe. The War we are now engaged in is, it is true, as yet but a Bauble: It is as yet a Sort of Toy we may play a little with; but it may become one of the moſt heavy and dangerous Wars this Nation was ever engaged in; and then we may have Cauſe to repent of every Shilling we needleſsly threw away at the Beginning. There is as great a Difference between being a Miſer and being frugal, as there is between being frugal and being prodigal. Frugality is the Mean which a wiſe Man will always chuſe, but the Fool generally launches out into Prodigality, in order to ſhun the Imputation of being a Miſer. In this War, I hope, we ſhall put ourſelves to no Expence for the Sake of Shew: We have had Raree-Shews enough already: I hope, we ſhall now make the beſt, the moſt effectual Uſe of every Squadron we fit out, and every Regiment we raiſe or keep on Foot; and I hope we ſhall neither fit out, nor raiſe or keep up any more than we have immediate Occaſion for. In Time of Peace, theſe expenſive Raree-Shews only prevented our paying off our old Debt; but in Time of War, they will make us contract new, and, by breaking our Credit, may bring ſudden Perdition upon the Nation.

This, Sir, is one of the greateſt Dangers we lie expoſed to, and to obviate this Danger is the Intention of the Motion now under our Conſideration. It has no Relation to any Eſtimate: It relates only to his Majeſty's Speech, in which we are told, his Majeſty had judged it proper, that a Body of Marines ſhould be raiſed; therefore, we have no Occaſion to look into any Eſtimate; for this Motion might have been made and agreed to, tho' none of the Eſtimates had been laid before us. But I am ſurprized to hear any Gentleman ſay, that ſuch

a Motion cannot come properly before us, till we take the Eſtimates into our Conſideration in the Committee of Supply. If it had been delayed till that Time, I am ſure, it would have been called a very prepoſterous Motion, perhaps, even by thoſe who now call it premature. In the Committee of Supply we muſt either approve of, or reject the Eſtimates: I hope the Gentlemen who now think this Motion improper, would not have us, when we go into the Committee of Supply, to reject the Eſtimate for Marines, in order to conſider of and agree to this Motion; and I am ſure, it would be ridiculous to make or agree to ſuch a Motion, after we have approv'd of an Eſtimate for raiſing the Marines by new Levies. But if this Motion ſhould now be agreed to, we may put off taking the Marine Eſtimate into our Conſideration, till we have a Return from his Majeſty to this Addreſs; and if he ſhould approve of our Advice, he would certainly order a new Eſtimate, conform thereto, to be laid before us.

The preſent is, therefore, the only proper Time for taking this Motion into our Conſideration; and as I have ſhewn, that we can have no Occaſion for ſuch a great Number of Land Forces, beſides Marines, I think the Motion ought to be agreed to. I ſhall moſt readily join in Opinion, that a Body of Marines ought to be formed; and that it ought to be ſuch a one as may, upon Occaſion, be fit for Land as well as Sea Service. But Gentlemen ſeem to miſtake the principal Deſign of having a Body of Marines; They ought to be principally deſigned to come in Aid of our national Stock of Seamen, and that we may not be obliged to draw away from our Trade too many of that neceſſary Body of Men. If this be, as it ought to be, the chief Deſign, there is no Occaſion for forming them into Regiments, or for putting ourſelves to the Expence of having any Generals or Field Officers of Marines. Such Officers of Marines are no Ways neceſſary for any Service, unleſs it be for the Service of Miniſters in this Houſe. The Expence of ſuch Officers is, therefore, what we may and ought to ſave to the Nation. It is an Expence in which we have been long moſt extravagant, even with Reſpect to our Land Army. We have long been at as great an annual Expence for our Land Army, as would maintain double the Number, according to the Eſtabliſhment in any other Country of *Europe*. In *France*, it is true, as they have Officers *en Seconde*, they may have as many, perhaps, more Officers than we; but the Pay of their Officers is not near equal to ours; and if it were, *France* would be but a bad Example for us. In that abſolute Monarchy, they have a great Number of Officers, in order to have a great Number of their Nobility employed in their Army, and thereby kept dependent upon the Crown.

This, Sir, is the true Reaſon, why the *French* have ſuch a Number of Officers, and not, as an Hon. Gentleman has been pleaſed to aſſert, becauſe it makes their Troops ſuperior to the *Germans*; for it is not really ſo in Fact. In the laſt Age, the *French* Troops were better than the *Germans*, becauſe they were much better diſciplined; but now that the *German* are equally diſciplined, tho' not equally officered, they are rather better than the *French*, as appeared in the laſt War between theſe two Nations, when the *French* truſted more to their Numbers, or to their Art and Intrenchments, than to the Bravery of their Troops. But the very Reaſon that induces the *French* to have a great Number of Officers, ought to

to be a Reaſon for us to have as few as poſſible; for a great Number of Officers, whether Civil or Military, as they are all, by our preſent Conſtitution, in the Nomination, and moſt of them removable at the Pleaſure of the Crown, muſt create ſuch a Dependence upon, and thereby eſtabliſh ſuch a Power in the Crown, as is inconſiſtent with a free Government or limited Monarchy. I was really ſurprized to hear an Hon. Gentleman ſay, that he knows of no Alarm ſpread among the People by the great Number of Officers, Civil and Military, we have at preſent. One would from thence be apt to ſuſpect, that he keeps Company with none but Officers, Civil or Military; for I will venture to ſay, that no Man can go into any other Sort of Company without hearing ſome of them expreſs their Fears upon this Head: And yet from his ſaying, that we have no more Officers, Civil or Military, than are neceſſary for the Ends of Goverment, one would be apt to ſuſpect, that he knew very little of the Nature of thoſe many new Offices that have been of late Years created, or of thoſe old Offices that have been ſplit into ſeveral Parts, in order to increaſe the Number of Officers.

Every Man, Sir, that knows any Thing of our preſent Circumſtances, muſt know, that we have a vaſt Number of Places that are abſolute Sine-Cures; and theſe, I am ſure, can be neceſſary for no End of Government, whatever they may be for the Ends of Corruption. Of this Sort, Sir, was our late General of Marines; and in the ſame Light ſhall I look upon every General, Field Officer, Pay-maſter, Commiſſary, and Chaplain of Marines, that ſhall be hereafter created or revived. I know that Marines ought to be Men bred to Land, as well as Sea Diſcipline; and for this Reaſon, Men who have already learned the Land Diſcipline, are more fit for Marines, eſpecially as we have immediate Uſe for them, than raw or freſh Men, that know nothing either of Land or Sea Diſcipline. But Gentlemen, I find, miſtake the Land Service, which Marines ought to be deſigned for: If Marines were to ſerve a whole Campaign at Land, and to be made a Part of a regular Land Army, I ſhall grant, that they ought to be formed into Regiments, and to be officered in the ſame Manner as other Land Forces are; but this is a Service that Marines ought never to be employed in: When ſuch an Army is to be formed, a ſufficient Number of Land Forces ought to be ſent out for that Purpoſe. The only Land Service that Marines ought to be deſigned for, or employed in, is to ſupport our Seamen in ſtorming a Town or Caſtle, after a Squadron of Men of War has ſo battered and bombarded it, as to make an Aſſault practicable; or to make an Incurſion upon ſome open Country, where there are no regular Troops, or not ſuch a Number of regular Troops as can be called an Army, to oppoſe them; and for both theſe Services a Body of Marines, formed into independent Companies, are as good as if they were formed into regular Regiments.

For this Reaſon, Sir, if we are to raiſe 6 or 7000 Men, formed into 6 Regiments, and regularly officered as other Land Forces are, I ſhall conſider them as Land Forces, and as an Addition to our Land Army. You may call them by that favourite Name, Marines, in order to put a Cheat upon the Publick, which I think no Way neceſſary upon the preſent Occaſion; but you cannot employ them as Marines; At leaſt if you do, the Field Officers

cers belonging to them will be quite uſeleſs, and their Pay an unneceſſary Expence to the Publick, as long as their Regiments are employed as Marines. I ſhall readily agree to the forming a Body of 6000 Marines, or double that Number, if it ſhould appear to be neceſſary; but that Body ought, I think, to be formed into independent Companies, and brought in Aid of our national Stock of Seamen, in order, as I have ſaid, to prevent our being forced to draw too many Sailors away from our Trade; and as we have immediate Occaſion to employ them at Land as well as Sea, the private Men ought, I think, to be drawn from the Regiments now in our Service, and our beſt and moſt experienced Captains and Subalterns appointed to command them. This is the Deſign of the preſent Motion, and therefore I cannot but approve of it.

Having already troubled you too long, Sir, for which I beg Pardon, I ſhall conclude with obſerving, that by the Method of arguing made uſe of in this Debate, by thoſe who have ſpoke upon the other Side of the Queſtion, they have not only condemned all the Arguments they have themſelves been making uſe of for theſe 20 Years, in Favour of a ſtanding Army, but alſo they have condemned the Meaſures lately taken for manning our Navy. I believe, there is no experienced Officer in our Army, but will confeſs, that it requires longer Practice and more Pains to teach common Men a natural and quick Uſe of the Muſket and Bayonet, ſo as that they may exerciſe them in a Body regularly and without Confuſion, than to make them Maſters of all the Marches and Counter-Marches, or Involutions and Evolutions, that are practiſed in the moſt regular Army; and accordingly at all Reviews we find, that Regiments oftener fail in their regular Firings, or in Charging and Diſcharging, than in any other Part of the Exerciſe: Therefore, if new-raiſed Men can in a few Days, or a few Weeks, ſufficiently learn the Uſe of the Muſket and Bayonet, which is the moſt difficult Part of Diſcipline, I am ſure, we have no Occaſion for keeping a ſtanding Army always on Foot; and however much we may neglect regular Firing on board our Men of War, I muſt take Notice, that when one of our late *Spit-head* Expeditions, for, I think, we have had ſeveral, was joined by a ſmall Squadron of *Dutch* Men of War, it was obſerved, that the Men on board the *Dutch* Ships were daily exerciſed in the Uſe of the Fire-lock, and that they charged and diſcharged as regularly and as quickly, as could be expected from regular Troops.

Thus, Sir, have theſe Gentlemen condemned the chief Argument they have been making uſe of for theſe 20 Years in Favour of a ſtanding Army; and by the Arguments they have now made uſe of in Favour of Marines, and for our ſupplying that Service by new Levies, they have condemned the whole Tenor of our late Practice for manning our Navy. The Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, who has himſelf had ſome Experience in the Navy, has told us, there are many Services on board a Man of War that may, with a little Experience, be performed by Landmen as well as Seamen; and that this Experience may be ſoon acquired by a Fellow juſt come from the Plough, or by a Vagabond juſt pick'd up in the Streets. I believe what the Hon. Gentleman ſays to be true, as I ſhall be ready to do any Fact he advances: I believe a Ploughman or a Vagabond, if he be an able-bodied Man, may much ſooner learn to hawl in an Anchor, or to

perform

perform any ſuch Service on board a Man of War, than he can learn the Uſe of the Fire-lock; but if this be ſo, why, accept of none, or a very few, for our Ships of War, but ſuch as were expert Seamen? Why, refuſe many able-bodied Vagabonds, that were pick'd up in ſeveral of our Counties, and ſent at a great Charge to the Sea Ports, where our regulating Captains were poſted, and many able-bodied Landmen that came to offer themſelves to the Service? Why, offer no Reward to Landmen, as well as Seamen, that ſhould voluntarily come to liſt in his Majeſty's Sea Service? Sir, what Inſtructions our regulating Captains had, I know not; but I know, that they refuſed or rejected a great many Landmen, and not a few Seamen: Whereas, in a Time of ſuch Diſtreſs, every Man that had no infectious Diſtemper upon him, nor any natural Infirmity, ought to have been accepted. And if we had begun with forming a Body of Marines by Draughts from our regular Regiments, which his Majeſty might have done, as ſoon as he found a War unavoidable; we might have re-placed them by new Levies, and might by this Time have had in the *Weſt-Indies* ſuch a Number of Marines, as would not only have taken, but held any Place we thought fit to attack; for as our Squadron in that Part of the World can meet with no Oppoſition at Sea, they might, as ſoon as they arrived, have ſent every one of their Marines upon ſome Expedition at Land; and as the Enemy has no regular Army there, a Body of diſciplined Soldiers, formed into independent Companies of Marines, would have been as fit for the Service, as the beſt and moſt regular Regiments we can ſend thither.

I think I have now anſwered every Objection that has been made to the Motion; I hope, Sir, I have given ſuch Arguments for it, as are convincing, and therefore, I hope, every Gentleman that hears me, will join with me in giving his Affirmative to the Queſtion.

M. Cato *having thus finiſhed his Diſcourſe*, M. Tullius Cicero *roſe up, and concluded the Debate with a Speech in Subſtance thus:*

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

WHATEVER other Gentlemen may ſuppoſe with Regard to the Speeches or Demands of their Sovereign, I think it is the Duty of his Majeſty's Servants, even tho' they be Members of this Houſe, to talk with great Reſpect of thoſe Speeches that are made by him, and of thoſe Demands that are made in his Name, as well as of thoſe Meſſages that are ſigned by him; and when they know, which ſome of them may do, that they are not the Speeches or Demands of Miniſters, but the real Speeches or Demands of their Sovereign and Maſter, they may, I think, make uſe of his Majeſty's Name, even in this Houſe, without incurring any juſt Cenſure. I know that no Member of this Houſe ought to have an implicit Faith in any Man, or in any Opinion: We ought to give Credit to no Fact, unleſs it be vouched by undoubted Evidence, or ſupported by proper Authority, in Caſes that will not admit of Evidence: Neither ought we to aſſent to any Opinion, unleſs it be eſtabliſhed by ſolid Reaſoning. But in State Affairs, particularly in Time of War, Facts may ariſe, which may be certainly true, and may have ſufficient Vouchers, and yet thoſe Vouchers may be ſuch as cannot be laid before Parliament: In ſuch Caſes, we muſt depend upon his Majeſty's Authority; and

the only Method by which that Authority can be communicated, is by Speech, Meſſage, or Demand.

Every Gentleman will, I believe, Sir, allow, that deſigned Invaſions and Inſurrections are Facts of this Nature. There may be ſuch Deſigns, and more probably in Time of War, than at any other Time; there may be ſufficient Vouchers of ſuch Deſigns, and yet thoſe Vouchers may be ſuch as cannot be communicated to Parliament; therefore, had I not the leaſt Concern in the Adminiſtration, or in his Majeſty's Councils, I ſhould be apt to believe any Inſinuation of ſuch a Deſign, if ſuch an Inſinuation ſhould be made by his Majeſty, either in expreſs Terms, by Speech or Meſſage, or tacitly, by deſiring ſuch a Number of Forces as might be neceſſary for defeating or preventing the Execution of ſuch Deſigns. This ought at all Times to be an Argument of ſome Weight, for prevailing upon us to grant the Number of Forces, both by Sea and Land, which our Sovereign may think neceſſary; but in Time of War, this Argument ought to have a much greater Weight; becauſe our Sovereign may then have in View, not only to defeat the ſecret Deſigns of our Enemies againſt us, but to execute ſome ſecret Deſigns againſt them.

I ſhall admit, Sir, that it is our Duty in this Houſe to be jealous of the Liberties and Privileges of the People, and to be as ſparing of their Purſes, as is conſiſtent with their Welfare and Security. But both Jealouſy and Frugality may be puſhed too far: Jealouſy often prompts the Suſpected to that which would never have entered into their Heads, if they had not found themſelves cauſeleſsly ſuſpected; and by not giving a little to thoſe that are to defend us, we may have the Whole taken away by thoſe that are to attack us. I am certain, we had never leſs Cauſe to be jealous than we have at preſent: No one Step of his preſent Majeſty's Conduct could ever furniſh us with the leaſt Intimation of his having a Deſign to incroach upon our Liberties and Privileges, or to make a bad Uſe of the regular Troops we keep on Foot. Nay, if he had any ſuch Inclination, the Complexion of our preſent Army would prevent his indulging that Inclination, by forming Deſigns againſt our Liberties: The Education and known Sentiments both of the Officers and Soldiers of our Army, muſt convince us, that they are as great Enemies to arbitrary Power, as any other Set of Men in the Kingdom; therefore, I ſhall always look upon our Army as a Guard to our Liberties, and the more numerous it is, the better, I muſt ſuppoſe, our Liberties will be guarded.

It is not, Sir, from any Apprehenſions I have of our Army, with Regard to our Liberties, that I am againſt its being made more numerous than is now propoſed. It is the Expence alone that gives me any Concern; and upon this Account only, I ſhall always be againſt our raiſing or keeping up a greater Number of Troops than I think abſolutely neceſſary for the Security of our Liberties, Privileges, and Properties. But my Concern in this Reſpect, I ſhall never allow to carry me ſo far, as to expoſe the People to be invaded and plundered by their Enemies, for the Sake of ſaving them that Trifle of Expence, which may be neceſſary for keeping on Foot a few more Troops, or for maintaining a few more Officers; and conſidering that the Saving to be made by what is now propoſed, would amount but to a mere Trifle, I ſhould never forgive myſelf for ſuch a trifling and ill-timed Frugality, if any Corner of our Dominions

minions ſhould be plundered and laid waſte, for Want of a ſufficient Number of regular Troops to repel an invading Enemy; or if the Marine Forces we ſend abroad ſhould, upon any Engagement, run into Confuſion, and be deſtroyed, for Want of Field Officers to command them, and keep them in Order.

I know, Sir, it is our Duty in this Houſe, to give our moſt ſincere Advice to our Sovereign, as often as any important Occurrence makes it neceſſary; but, in order to give that Advice its proper Weight, we ought to take Care that it ſhall always be attended with Dignity; therefore, we ought not to interpoſe with our Advice too frequently, or upon trifling Occaſions; and we ought never to give it but upon full and mature Deliberation. The Affair now before us is, I think, of too trifling a Nature for us to interpoſe with our Advice, eſpecially as it has not been particularly aſked upon the preſent Occaſion; and I am ſure it cannot be ſaid, that we have fully and maturely conſidered what we are about. The Addreſs propoſed muſt be allowed to be ſomething very different from an humble Advice. As the Eſtimate for Marines, prepared by his Majeſty's Order, is now before us, this Addreſs will be look'd on, as a Condemnation of that Eſtimate; for if that Eſtimate be properly drawn up, if the Method thereby propoſed for raiſing Marines be the moſt proper and frugal that can be thought of, what Occaſion can there be for ſuch an Addreſs? If we approve of the Eſtimate, it would be ridiculous in us to preſent ſuch an Addreſs; therefore, our agreeing to, or preſenting ſuch an Addreſs, muſt be conſidered as a Condemnation of the Eſtimate now before us; and I appeal to every Gentleman of this Houſe, whether he has ſufficiently examined that Eſtimate for enabling him to paſs Sentence of Condemnation upon it. Such a Sentence ought not, I think, to be paſſed, till the Eſtimate has been actually read in the Houſe; but ſo far from being read in the Houſe, I believe, it has been read but by a very few Members of the Houſe; and therefore, if no Gentleman gives his Vote for the Addreſs or Sentence of Condemnation propoſed, but he that has read the Eſtimate, I believe, I may eaſily gueſs what will be the Fate of the Queſtion.

Sir, I hope I may ſuppoſe, that in order to fix upon the moſt proper Methods for raiſing and forming a Body of Marines, thoſe who have the Honour to adviſe the Crown, took Care to examine the ſeveral Eſtabliſhments of Marines made in former Times, and the ſeveral Services they were employed in; and as there are ſeveral Perſons ſtill alive, who were in the Service in K. *William* and Q. *Anne*'s Time, I may ſuppoſe, that thoſe Perſons were examined, in order to know from them, how the Marines performed the Services they were employed in, and the Defects or Advantages that were found in the Eſtabliſhments then made. This, I muſt ſuppoſe, was done by thoſe who have the Honour to adviſe the Crown, before they could think themſelves qualified for giving a proper Advice; and this I think we ought to do, before we can agree to ſuch a Motion as the preſent. But can it be ſaid, that we have made any ſuch Inquiry, that we have examined any one Perſon, or that we have before us any one of thoſe Papers, which we ought to look into, before we preſume to give his Majeſty any Advice upon this Head? Therefore, this Addreſs, call it an Advice, as ſome Gentlemen pretend it is, or call it a Condemnation of the Eſtimate now before you, as I think it really is, in

ſhort, call it what you will, it cannot be ſaid to be the Effect of a mature Deliberation; and therefore, it cannot be attended with that Dignity, which we ought carefully to preſerve in all our Applications or Approaches to the Crown.

For this Reaſon, Sir, if I approved of the Advice propoſed, I could not approve of this haſty and inconſiderate Manner of reſolving upon it; but the Advice itſelf is ſuch a one as I cannot approve of. It is to me, indeed, a very new Sort of Doctrine, that in Time of War, we have no Occaſion to keep within the Iſland a greater Number of Troops, than in a Time of the moſt profound Tranquillity. When we are at open War with a Nation that has a conſiderable Navy, tho' nothing equal to ours; when that Nation has a great Number of veteran Troops in their Provinces that are next to us; and when they are every Day fitting out both Men of War and Tranſports, I ſhould think it very unwiſe in us, not to keep at home for our Defence, a more numerous Army than we uſually have in Time of Peace. We may deſpiſe the naval Power of *Spain* in our Speeches and Converſation here at home: I ſhall grant, it is no way equal to ours: I ſhall grant, they have but few Ships of their own fit for being made Tranſports; but there is always a great Number of foreign Ships in their Harbours: Before the War broke out, there were often more *Britiſh* Merchant Ships in their Harbour of *Cadiz* alone, than would have been ſufficient for tranſporting 10,000 Foot to *Britain* or *Ireland*; and as that Trade muſt ſtill be carried on, and will now be carried on by the Merchant Ships of *Holland*, *France*, and other Nations, we muſt ſuppoſe, that there will always be more foreign Ships in the Ports of *Spain*, than are neceſſary for tranſporting 10 or 12,000 Infantry to this Iſland or to *Ireland*. Theſe Ships the Court of *Spain* may, by an Embargo, force into their Service; and as our Fleet may be lock'd up in the Channel by contrary winds, it may be impoſſible for us to ſend out a Squadron, either to intercept their deſigned Armado, or to lock it up or deſtroy it in their Harbour. This is an Accident we can provide againſt no other Way, but by having at all Times a Land Army equal to any they can invade us with, for oppoſing them at, or ſoon after their Landing; and therefore, I ſhall always be for keeping a more numerous Body of Troops within the Iſland in Time of War, than was ever thought neceſſary in Time of Peace.

But beſides the Number of Troops neceſſary to be kept at home, for guarding us againſt Invaſions or Incurſions, ſurely, Sir, in Time of War, we ought to have ſome certain Number of regular Troops ready to be ſent out upon ſuch Deſigns againſt the Enemy, as future Incidents may encourage us to undertake. As the Winter Time is the beſt for attacking the Enemy in *America*, we cannot, perhaps, ſend out any Land Forces for that Purpoſe, before the Month of *July* next; but there are other Places where we may, perhaps, attack the *Spaniards* with Advantage to ourſelves, and great Prejudice to them; and, for this Purpoſe, it may be proper to ſend out a Body of diſciplined Troops early in the Spring. I do not know that his Majeſty has, at preſent, any ſuch Project in view; but, ſuppoſe he has not; yet many Accidents may occur before that Time, for rendering the Succeſs of ſuch a Project not only probable but certain; and could any one approve of our Conduct, if we ſhould loſe ſuch an Opportunity, by not having a ſpare Body of Land Forces ready to be ſent upon the Execution?

tion? Could the ſaving of 80 or 100,000*l.* which is the utmoſt we can ſave by what is now propoſed, any way counter-balance the Advantage we might reap by the Succeſs of ſuch a Deſign?

I cannot pretend to ſay, Sir, whether this War can be of a long Continuance or no; but, I am certain, that the moſt infallible Method we can take, for making it of a long Continuance, is to be ſo parſimonious at the Beginning, as not to make the proper Proviſion for carrying it on with Vigour. We are told, by the higheſt Authority, that they who go to War ought to conſult, whether they be able with 10,000, to meet thoſe that come againſt them with 20,000. But, it ſeems, we muſt be able to do a great deal more; for with 28,000 Land Forces, we propoſe to overcome *Spain* with above 100,000. 'Tis true, our Navy is much ſuperior to theirs; but, by our Navy alone, we cannot propoſe to force them to a Peace: We muſt attack them at Land ſome where or other; and, for this Purpoſe, we muſt have a ſufficient Land Force. I believe they have not at preſent any great Number of regular Troops in the *Weſt-Indies*, and we may prevent their ſending a great Fleet and Army there at one Time; but we cannot prevent their ſending ſmall Detachments in ſingle Ships, or in half a Dozen Ships at a Time; and, by ſuch Means, they may conſiderably increaſe their regular Troops in the *Weſt-Indies*, even before we can ſend any to attack them. It is, therefore, now impoſſible to tell, what Number of Troops it may be neceſſary for us to ſend thither, either for attacking the Enemy, or defending our own Dominions, in that Part of the World; and, if we ſend veteran Troops thither, the new-raiſed Troops that are to replace them here at home, ought to be levied ſome Months before, in order that they may be trained to Diſcipline, and ready for Service, before we ſend away the old; for tho' we ought, and certainly muſt ſend out Troops for attacking the Enemy, or defending our Dominions abroad, I hope no Gentleman will ſay, that we ought, for that Purpoſe, to leave our Dominions at home defenceleſs.

I ſhall not ſay, Sir, that a Body of 28 or 29,000 Men is abſolutely neceſſary for our Defence at home; but, I will ſay, that we ought to have that Number at leaſt, beſides the Marines now propoſed to be raiſed, in order to be in a Condition to ſpare 8 or 10,000, as Occaſion may require, for diſtreſſing the Enemy, or defending our Dominions abroad. And now, Sir, with regard to the Method of raiſing and forming the Body of Marines propoſed, as no Gentleman queſtions its being neceſſary to make them fit for Land as well as Sea Service, I am ſurprized to hear any Gentleman ſay, that they ought to be formed into independent Companies, rather than Regiments. I believe, every Gentleman that has ever ſeen any Service, will ſay, that a Body of Men formed into Regiments, are better for Land Service, and leſs liable to Confuſion, than a Body of Men formed into independent Companies; and this is confirmed by the preſent Practice of every State in *Europe*. In little Attacks and Skirmiſhes, where there are not above 2 or 300 Men of a Side, independent Companies may do as well as a Detachment from a Regiment; but, where the contending Armies amount to Thouſands, it is certain, that Regiments are more proper than independent Companies; and as this laſt may very probably be the Caſe of our Marines, I muſt think they ought to be formed into Regiments. I ſhall grant, that whilſt

thoſe

thoſe Regiments are on board our Men of War, the Field Officers can be of no Service; but I hope they will ſeldom be for any long Time on board our Men of War: They will be there only during the Time of tranſporting them from one Place to another; and wherever they go, the Field Officers muſt go along with them, in order to take the Command of them as ſoon as landed: Therefore, I hope, no Gentleman will grudge the Expence of 18 or 20 Field Officers, when it comes in Competition with the Behaviour of our Troops, and the Glory of our Country.

Now, Sir, as to the other Officers, if Gentlemen will but take Time to look into the Eſtimate upon our Table, and compare it with former Eſtabliſhments of the ſame Nature, they will ſee, that the Body of Marines now to be raiſed, is to have no more Officers of any Kind than former Experience has ſhewn to be neceſſary. I know, that the Marines raiſed in 1692, had 200 Men in each Company; but Experience ſoon ſhewed, that ſuch Companies were not fit for Land Service, therefore, they were reduced long before King *William*'s Death, to 100 Men in a Company; and in 1702, the Marines that were then raiſed, conſiſted but of 60 Men in a Company; whereas, by the Eſtimate upon our Table, if I may have Leave to mention an Eſtimate not yet read in the Houſe, the Marines now to be raiſed, are to conſiſt of 70 Men in a Company, which is the higheſt Number that, as all experienced Officers ſay, any Company of Foot ought to conſiſt of.

Laſtly, Sir, as to the private Men, of which this Body of Marines is to be compoſed, I muſt think, his Majeſty is the beſt Judge, whether they ought to be all new-raiſed Men or old Soldiers, or partly one and partly the other; becauſe he knows beſt, what Service they are to be ſent upon, and when they are to be ſent. If they are not to be ſent out till four or five Months after they are raiſed, it does not ſignify much, whether they be all new-raiſed Men or no, becauſe, in that Time, they will be pretty well diſciplined; eſpecially if they are to be ſent to the *Weſt-Indies*, becauſe they will have no Enemy to encounter there, but the Militia of the Country, or ſome of the worſt of the *Spaniſh* Troops; for whatever we may do, I am confident, the *Spaniards* will keep their beſt Troops at home, to defend their mother Country. If the private Men ſhould be all draughted out of the Regiments now in our Service, it would be a Loſs rather than a Saving to the Nation; becauſe an equal Number of Recruits muſt be immediately raiſed, for compleating thoſe Regiments, from which the Marines are draughted; and, as it will be more difficult to find Recruits for marching Regiments than for Marines, we muſt give a greater Reward for inliſting. Thus, if we chuſe the cheapeſt Way of forming a Body of Marines, we muſt take as many new-raiſed Men as his Majeſty may think conſiſtent with the Service upon which he is to ſend them; and, I am ſure, it will be the quickeſt; for a great many Fellows that called themſelves Seamen, have been rejected or turned out of our Men of War, becauſe they were found not to be expert Seamen, nor any way fit for their Buſineſs. Theſe Men will all immediately liſt as Marines, and will make good Marines, tho' they could not be accepted of as good Seamen; for tho' a Captain of a Man of War, after he has got a ſufficient Number of expert Seamen on board his Ship, may accept of able-bodied Landmen, or Seamen, that are not expert in their Buſineſs, in order to make

make up his full Complement, yet the regulating Captains could accept of very few but expert Seamen, becauſe they could not know how they were to be diſpoſed of; and by accepting of too many Landmen, or unſkilful Seamen, ſuch a Number of them might, by Accident, have been put on board one of our Ships of War, as might have been the Cauſe of loſing the Ship.

Upon this Occaſion, Sir, I muſt deſire, that Gentlemen would conſider, which of the two Services, the Publick or the Merchant Service, ought, in Time of publick Danger, to be preferred. As we do not in Time of Peace keep a Number of Seamen in Pay, ſufficient for manning our Navy in Time of War, when a War firſt breaks out, the publick Service muſt be neglected, or the Merchant Service muſt be diſtreſſed. This is a Conſequence which it is impoſſible to avoid, any Way, but by keeping in continual Pay ſuch a Number of Seamen, as may be near ſufficient to man the moſt numerous Fleet we may have Occaſion to fit out in Time of War; and until this is done, I am ſure, every Gentleman that has a true Regard for his Country, will chuſe to have a ſhort Stop or Interruption put to our Trade, rather than to have our Whole expoſed to imminent Danger, by not fitting out ſuch a Number of Men of War as may be ſufficient for our Defence.

I hope, I have now ſhewn, Sir, that were the Advice, propoſed to be given by this Addreſs, in itſelf right, it would be wrong in us to give it without a more mature Deliberation; and, I hope, I have likewiſe ſhewn, that it appears to be wrong in every Particular. I am ſure, no Gentleman that thinks I am right in either of theſe Caſes, can give his Affirmative to the Queſtion; and I ſhall think myſelf very unlucky, if the Majority of this Houſe ſhould think I am wrong in both. As for the declamatory Excurſions that have been made about the Alarm given to the People by the great Number of Officers, Civil and Military, we have at preſent, and about the Danger our Liberties and Conſtitution may be expoſed to by corrupt Practices, they may be, and I find they are introduced into every Debate; but as it would be an endleſs Taſk to anſwer them upon every Occaſion, all I ſhall ſay to them upon this, is, that we are here in the proper Place for inquiring into ſuch Things: If any Gentleman knows of an unneceſſary Office that has been lately ſet up, or an unneceſſary Officer appointed; if any Gentleman knows of any Attack that has been lately made, or attempted, upon our Conſtitution; or if any Gentleman knows of any corrupt Practices lately introduced, or made uſe of; he may, nay, as a Member of this Houſe, which is the grand Inqueſt of the Nation, he is in Duty bound to take Notice of it to the Houſe; but then he ought to be particular: He ought to name the Office or Officer ſet up or appointed, the Attack that has been attempted, or the corrupt Practice that has been made uſe of; and he ought to move for an Inquiry into what he finds fault with; for by thus declaiming in general, he can do no Service to his Country, he can give the Houſe no Information, nor correct any Abuſe. He does nothing but take up the Time of this Houſe moſt unneceſſarily; for he cannot expect that ſuch general Declamations, tho' they may pleaſe the Galleries, ſhould have an Influence upon any Gentleman that has the Honour of being a Member of the Houſe; and much leſs can he expect their having ſuch an Influence in this Queſtion, where the vigorous Proſecution

tion of the War is at Stake, than in any Queſtion of a different Nature that can come before us.

For Variety's Sake, I ſhall next give you the Subſtance of a Debate, in which our Club aſſumed a different Character. The Debate was occaſioned by the Meſſage which was ſent by his Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons, upon the 12*th of* February *laſt; and as this Meſſage was not ſent, nor communicated to the other Houſe, it occaſioned a Debate in our Club, which was opened by* M. Horatius Barbatus, *who ſpoke to this Effect*, viz.

My Lords,

AS no Lord can have a truer Regard for the Honour and Privileges of this Houſe, than myſelf, ſo none can feel a warmer Indignation, whenever any Attack is offered them. To preſerve this ſupreme Council of the Nation in the full Enjoyment of all thoſe Rights derived to us from the Conſtitution of Parliament, is a Duty we owe ourſelves, a Duty we owe our Poſterity, a Duty we our Country. The Privileges of this Houſe, and the Liberties of this Nation, are embarked on the ſame Bottom, and we cannot forego the one without endangering the other. Our Acquieſcence under any Affront, (be it the Effect of Deſign, or be it the Effect of Neglect) may in future Times be looked upon as a tacit Reſignation of our Rights, and be made a Precedent to the Diſhonour of this Houſe, and the Deſtruction of this Kingdom

I cannot, therefore, too earneſtly recommend to your Lordſhips Conſideration, his Majeſty's Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, which we find in the printed Votes of the 12th of this Month. The Words of the Meſſage are theſe:

GEORGE *R.*

His Majeſty, in further Proſecution of the juſt and neceſſary War, in which he is engaged, having under his Conſideration certain Meaſures, which will occaſion ſome extraordinary Expences not comprehended in the Eſtimates laid before this Houſe, hopes, from the known Zeal of his faithful Commons, that he ſhall be enabled to carry on the ſame, in the moſt effectual Manner.

And does his Majeſty hope leſs from his faithful Lords, that, contrary to all Form and Cuſtom, a Demand of Supply ſhould be made to the Commons ſingly, and your Lordſhips not have the leaſt Cognizance of it? Is it to be ſuppoſed, we are not equally zealous for the Succeſs of the preſent War? Equally deſirous of ſupporting his Majeſty in the juſt Proſecution of it? Or is our Concurrence upon all Occaſions thought a Thing ſo ſure, ſo certain, that the uſual Forms of conſulting us are to be thus thrown aſide? Are we then fallen ſo low, have we ſo long flatter'd a Miniſter, that he can promiſe himſelf our eaſy Compliance, tho' he refuſe us the common Civility due to us, and anſwering for our Conduct, adviſe his Majeſty to apply to the Commons, as the only Part of Parliament that has any Thing left in its Diſpoſal? The Time has been, my Lords, that the Crown with Honour and Succeſs has conſulted this Houſe; and ſure I am, that I have many Lords now in my Eye, capable of giving ſuch Advice to his Majeſty, as would tend to the Glory of his Reign, and the Welfare of his People.

I am ſorry, my Lords, I cannot charitably ſuppoſe, that this Contempt of us proceeded from a Miſtake and Overſight of the Miniſtry's. As the Houſe of Commons has been the chief Place of Buſineſs this Seſſions, it is poſſible your Lordſhips may be as much out of ſome People's Thoughts, as the Convocation is, but hardly, I believe, out of a Miniſter's. Some little

little Circumſtances or other are perpetually reminding him of us. Beſides, my Lords, this is not the firſt Indignity of the Kind that has been offered us: In the Year 1726, the ſame Thing happened; and in a Meſſage from his Majeſty to the A Houſe of Commons (probably penned by the ſame Hand as this) the Appellation of Parliament was given them, as if the Parliament of *England* were compoſed of their Body only. I muſt, therefore, conſider the preſent Caſe as a repeated In- B vaſion of the Privileges of this Houſe, highly reflecting upon the Dignity of every Peer who has a Seat in it. Why this has been thought a proper Time for ſuch an Attack, I know not, unleſs it be ſuppoſed, that the Eſſence of Par- C liament is loſt. Was this the Caſe, my Lords, (which God forbid!) we ſhould do right, however, to keep up the Forms and Cuſtoms of it, and maintain at leaſt the Appearance of what our Anceſtors enjoyed. If there are any ſuch reflecting Sup- D poſitions as theſe, if there are any ſuch as flatter themſelves, that a ſucceſsful Corruption has baniſhed the Freedom of Parliament, it is our Duty, my Lords, to blaſt ſuch Hopes, and ſhew we are not yet ſuch humble Dependants upon Pow- E er, as tamely to offer a Sacrifice of our Rights, whenever a Miniſter ceaſes to call for them. What a melancholy Proſpect ſhould we lay before the Eyes of our Countrymen, whoſe expiring Liberties call loudly for our Aid, if we the Guardians of F their Rights, were no longer to be Protectors of our own!

Who, my Lords, could have been the Author of this Meſſage, I own am at a Loſs to ſay: It could not have been his Majeſty's: His Royal Favours to ſo many of your Lord- G ſhips, is a ſure Proof of his tender Regard to the Honour and Dignity of this Houſe: It could not have been dictated by any of the Lords of his Majeſty's Privy Council: They never would have adviſed ſo great an Infringement of their own Privileges; nay, they could not even have had Cognizance of it; if they had, they would have prevented it. Whoſeſoever's Work it was, thus far I will venture to ſay, my Lords, that it was formed upon that fatal, yet favourite Plan of leſſening the Credit of Parliament. For this dreadful Purpoſe, is it not enough, that every Office and Honour in the Church and State paſs thro' the Hands of one Man? Is it not enough, that he has it in his Power to put Virtue to the Teſt, by privately applying that Temptation, which he thinks is moſt likely to ſucceed? Muſt alſo a general Aſſault be given to the whole Body of us; and ſhall the Dignity and Honour of this Houſe be treated as cavalierly as the miſerable Character of any ſingle Dependant?

To avoid the Odium and Reproach ſuch an Invaſion of our Privileges muſt naturally incur, it has been artfully inſinuated, my Lords, that this is Matter of Diſpute between the Commons and us, ſo that under the Pretence of aſſerting the Rights of one Houſe of Parliament, the Rights of the other may the more eaſily be violated. My Lords, this is no Matter of Diſpute between the Commons and your Lordſhips: We aſk nothing new, nothing unprecedented: We don't attack any of their Privileges; we only deſire to remain in the Poſſeſſion of our own: Our utmoſt Ambition in the preſent Caſe is, to be look'd upon as a Houſe of Parliament, and conſulted by his Majeſty as ſuch. When our Rights are thus plain and indubitable, our Caſe becomes national, and the Commons themſelves are intereſted in the Support of it: Whenever the Dignity

and Authority of this Houſe is brought low, their Rights and Privileges won't be of long Duration; and whenever any impious Hand dare impoſe Shackles upon us, the ſame Fate will be prepared for every other Part of the Legiſlature.

From ſuch a Calamity the uninfluenced Spirit of Liberty that reigns in this Houſe, the independant Sentiments of your Lordſhips, (which neither Intereſt nor Power can wean from your Country's Cauſe) will, no Doubt, ſufficiently protect the preſent Age; but we may lay Foundations for the future Diſhonour of this Houſe, if we let paſs unregarded, ſuch dangerous Precedents, as I apprehended this of his Majeſty's Demand of Supply to the Houſe of Commons ſingly. I muſt, therefore, humbly move your Lordſhips, that you would come to this Reſolution, *That it is contrary to the Cuſtoms of Parliament, and derogatory to the Privileges of this Houſe, that a Meſſage ſigned by his Majeſty, aſking a farther Supply for the carrying on a War, ſhould be ſent to the Houſe of Commons ſingly, without taking any Notice of this Houſe.*

L. Duronius *ſpoke next in Subſtance thus:*

My Lords,

I SHALL always be as jealous of the Honour, and of the Rights and Privileges of this Houſe, as any Lord in it; and ſhall be as ready to reſent any Indignity that may be put upon it. But, my Lords, we can put no greater Indignity upon ourſelves than that of being jealous without Cauſe, or reſenting without Reaſon. In common Life, a Man that is unreaſonably ſuſpicious, and apt to take every Thing as an Affront, is always uneaſy in himſelf, and generally deſpiſed by others. It will be the ſame with your Lordſhips: If you ſhould ſuppoſe you are affronted, when no Affront is deſigned, or inſiſt upon Rights that do not properly belong to you, it will be the moſt effectual Method you can take, for leſſening or annihilating that Reſpect which is due to you, as the higheſt and moſt auguſt Aſſembly in the Nation. It is not by Jealouſies and Suſpicions, or by menacing Reſolutions, that we are to preſerve that Character, which this Houſe has for ſo many Ages deſervedly borne, but by a prudent and ſteady Conduct, and by ſhewing, that in all our Proceedings we have ſincerely at Heart, the Honour of the Crown, the Privileges of the Subject, and the Happineſs of the Nation.

I am not only ſurprized, but ſorry, that any Lord in this Houſe ſhould imagine, that his Majeſty, or any one that adviſed him, intended to put an Affront upon this Houſe, by ſending to the Commons the Meſſage which the noble Lord has been pleaſed to mention, without ſending at the ſame Time the like Meſſage to this Houſe. I am convinced, there was no Affront deſigned, and I cannot ſee the leaſt Shadow of Reaſon, why any Lord ſhould imagine there was. So far otherwiſe, my Lords, I muſt think it would have been extremely improper to have ſent any ſuch Meſſage to this Houſe, becauſe it relates to nothing but the Supplies for the Service of the enſuing Year. It is the Buſineſs of the other Houſe to grant the neceſſary Supplies, it is from the other Houſe that ſuch Supplies are aſked by the Crown, and therefore, it is to the other Houſe, and, I think, to it alone, that Application ought to be made for any additional Supply.

In all the Speeches that have been made from the Throne for many Years paſt, your Lordſhips may obſerve, that our Sovereign has always addreſſed himſelf particularly to the Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, when he mentioned the Supplies neceſſary for the current Service. In that Speech which his preſent Majeſty made at the Opening of this Seſſion, he addreſſes himſelf particularly to the Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, and tells them, that he has ordered the Eſtimates to be laid before them, and that he hopes they will grant ſuch effectual Supplies as may enable him to carry on the War with Vigour. Was that particular Addreſs to the other Houſe then found fault with? Was it ever found fault with? And yet, I muſt be of Opinion, that we have as much Reaſon, or rather more, to find fault with his Majeſty's addreſſing himſelf upon that Occaſion to the Houſe of Commons ſingly, as we can have, to find fault with his having ſent this Meſſage to that Houſe ſingly.

Our Concurrence, 'tis true, my Lords, is neceſſary for every Article of Supply that can be granted by the other Houſe; but that Concurrence has always been expected without being aſked by the Crown. Why therefore ſhould we look upon its not having been aſked by the Crown upon this Occaſion, as a Neglect, or as any Sign of Diſreſpect? Nay, if your Lordſhips will but conſider the Words of the Meſſage, you muſt ſee, that his Majeſty could not ſend it to this Houſe. In that Meſſage his Majeſty acquaints his Commons

that he has under his Conſideration, certain Meaſures which would occaſion ſome extraordinary Expences, not comprehended in the Eſtimates laid before that Houſe. Could his Majeſty have expreſſed himſelf ſo to this Houſe? Have we any Eſtimates before us, or was it ever cuſtomary to lay any ſuch Eſtimates before us? The Meſſage therefore, if it had been ſent to this Houſe, muſt have been altered ſome Way or another; and, I confeſs, I am at a Loſs to conceive, how it could have been altered, ſo as to make it proper for being ſent to this Houſe, without inſerting ſome Words that might have created a Jealouſy in the other; and this Jealouſy might, perhaps, have bred a Contention between the two Houſes, that would have been of the moſt dangerous Conſequence in the preſent Conjuncture.

This, my Lords, is no groundleſs Inſinuation or Pretence, in order to excuſe the not ſending that Meſſage to this Houſe as well as the other. The ſole Right of granting Supplies is a Right which the other Houſe has always moſt ſtrenuouſly aſſerted, and we as pertinaciouſly refuſed to admit. It is a Diſpute that has occaſioned great Heats between the two Houſes as often as it has been revived, and has ſometimes put a full Stop to all publick Buſineſs. How fatal this might be in our preſent Circumſtances, I muſt beg your Lordſhips to conſider. We are now, my Lords, engaged in a dangerous War for vindicating the Rights and Privileges of the Nation; and therefore, I muſt beg, that every Lord who has a Concern for our Succeſs, would take care to avoid every Thing that may give Riſe to a Conteſt about particular Rights and Privileges amongſt ourſelves. This, I dread, may be the Fate of the preſent Queſtion. If we ſhould agree to it, I'm afraid, it will be conſider'd as a Claim ſet up by us, that no Article of Supply ought to be demanded of the Houſe of Commons, without demanding it at the ſame Time of us. This I muſt look upon as a new Claim: It is a Claim for which we have no Precedent; and it is a Claim that will, I fear, create a Miſunderſtanding between us and the Commons; for which Reaſon I muſt beg Leave to think the noble Lord's Motion no way proper at preſent; but whether it may be proper to put a Negative upon it, or to put the previous Queſtion, I muſt leave to your Lordſhips Conſideration.

The next that ſtood up was T. Quintius, *the Purport of whoſe Speech was as follows, viz.*

WHEN I conſider you, my Lords, as the ſupreme Council of the Crown, and in a yet higher Light, as the hereditary Guardians of the Liberties of a free, brave, and once flouriſhing People, I am ſtruck with ſuch reverential Reſpect, ſuch awful Veneration, that I can ſcarcely give Utterance to my Thoughts in this auguſt Aſſembly. But when I reflect upon the Inſults offered to your Dignity, the Contempt ſhewn to your Authority, that Reverence, that Veneration hath a contrary Effect upon my Mind: Zeal for your Rights, Zeal for the Intereſt of my Country, inflames my Breaſt, and drives from thence every ſelfiſh Conſideration: I am impatient to vindicate your Honour, and eager to violate that Silence, Prudence would always direct me to obſerve.

When I read the printed Votes, by which you were informed of the Tranſaction that gave Riſe to the important Buſineſs of this Day; I read them with Concern, with Aſtoniſhment, with Indignation. I endeavoured to diſcover, what could have occaſioned this Neglect from his Majeſty, this Affront from his Adminiſtration. I thoroughly examined the late Conduct of the Majority of your Lordſhips, and found nothing that could incur the Diſpleaſure of thoſe in Power. Whatever Meaſure they have condeſcended to communicate to your Lordſhips, hath always obtained your Approbation; and, in regard to publick OEconomy, to which the Meſſage taken notice of is chiefly relative, tho' it is far from my Intention to flatter you, I muſt ſay, you have never ſhewn a Diſpoſition ſo niggardly, as to oppoſe a ſingle Scheme of Miniſterial Generoſity.

On the contrary, my Lords, you have given indiſputable Proofs of your Contempt for ſordid national Frugality: You have behaved as if you were perſuaded, the Kingdom abounded as much in Wealth, as the Heads of thoſe, who have, in ſome former Times, had the Management of Affairs, were fertile in Projects to ſquander and conſume it: Nor do you entertain ſuch a Belief without ſubſtantial Cauſe; for it would be abſurd to imagine, 200,000*l.* could be annually diſtributed among a Part of your Lordſhips, by a Nation which doth not enjoy the utmoſt Affluence. But Merit in every Way deſerves a ſuitable Reward; and tho' a Hundred lucrative Employments are poſſeſt by Members of this auguſt Aſſembly, the Duty expected from them is ſo exactly obſerved, that the greateſt Part is enjoyed with unenvied Reputation.

The Commons have gone great Lengths in excluding your Lordſhips from any Authority to alter Money Bills, though no Aid can be granted, no Taxes impoſed, without your Conſent. They are very expert in explaining, and aſſiduous in contriving Precedents to ſupport this unreaſonable Infringement of your Privileges; and, in this Point, every Relaxation of your own, is a Confirmation of their Power. But, my Lords, what you have

hitherto ſcorned verbally to admit, I hope you will diſdain virtually to allow. The whole Nation is concerned in your ſupporting your conſtitutional Rights; for tho' ſome ſhort-ſighted Politicians may imagine, by leſſening you, the Commons will be aggrandized, in Fact it will be found, that every Attempt to render you inſignificant, will be a Step towards making the Crown abſolute.

The other Houſe hath been under the Controul of one of its own Members: May it never again be in the like abject State! But ſhould that vile, deteſtable, ſeductive Art, Corruption, ever inſinuate itſelf into that Aſſembly, the Effects may be as fatal, tho' the Means more contemptible, than the Hypocriſy, Sagacity and Intrepidity of *Cromwell*. If a Majority in that Houſe, inſtead of being really the Repreſentatives of the Nation, ſhould be elected by not more than 50,000, out of *ten Million* of People, and thoſe 50,000, the Dregs of the Populace: If a Miniſter, by the Aſſiſtance of a venal Crew, the direct Repreſentatives of their infamous Conſtituents, ſhould be ſecure of carrying every Point, according to his own Inclination: If by them he ſhall be able to fruſtrate every Inquiry into publick Meaſures: If any Motion to prevent a mercenary Contagion from extending its baneful Influence over thoſe intruſted with the Liberties of their Country, ſhall be inſolently rejected: If a Law in the Statute Books for that ſalutary Purpoſe, ſhall be notoriouſly violated, and explained contrary both to the Spirit and Letter of ſuch a Law; what will be the Fate of this unhappy Nation, if your Lordſhips are not then in a Condition to protect your Country?

I beg Pardon for having treſpaſſed ſo long upon your Lordſhips Time. The Motion is ſo moderate, ——a mere Aſſertion of indubitable Rights, ——that, I think, no Method of evading it ought to be uſed. Indeed, if Strength of Argument, enlivened by all the Force of Eloquence, and Truth delivered with Dignity, becauſe dictated by a Heart whoſe predominant Paſſion is the publick Welfare, can have any Weight here, the Fate of the noble Lord's Motion may be ſafely reſted upon what he hath ſo fully, ſo honeſtly urged in Support of it.

[*This* JOURNAL *to be continued in our next.*]

Aulus Gabinius, in the Character of *Philip Gybbons* Eſq;

Cn. Fulvius, in the Character of *Henry Fox*, Eſq;

Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, in the Character of *Joſeph Danvers*, Eſq;

M. Horatius Barbatus, in the Character of the Right Hon. the Earl of *Halifax*.

L. Duronius, in the Character of the Right Hon. the Lord *Delawar*. (See p. 330.)

The DANGER of Mercenary Parliaments. *Written in the Reign of King* WILLIAM.

SEVERAL Treatiſes have been formerly written, and more (I doubt not) will be in this Juncture publiſh'd, with Directions and Informations to the People of *England* for chuſing fit and proper Repreſentatives for the enſuing Parliament, wherein ſufficient Notice will be taken of the Failures and Defects of ſeveral, who have already been intruſted in that Service, and the due Qualifications of ſuch, who are now to be elected. I ſhall therefore confine my preſent Thoughts only to one particular Head, which yet, in my Opinion, ſeems to involve in it the inevitable Fate of *England*, which wholly depends upon the Choice of Members for the next Seſſion of Parliament: I mean *the chuſing or refuſing of ſuch Perſons, who are now poſſeſs'd of any Places and Preferments, depending upon the Gift and Pleaſure of the Court.* If herein my Endeavours prove unſucceſsful, I ſhall have nothing left but the Satisfaction of my own Conſcience, to ſupport me under the deplorable Conſequents and Effects, which muſt neceſſarily attend the Choice of a Houſe of Commons fill'd with *Officers* and *Court-Penſioners*. This is the laſt Struggle and Effort the People of *England* have left them for their Properties; and ſhould we now miſcarry in this, we may ſit down, and idly ſhew our Affections for our Country, and fruitleſly bewail the Loſs of our Liberties, but ſhall never meet with another Opportunity of exerting ourſelves in its Service. That I may, therefore, ſet the Minds of People right in this Particular, ere it be too late, I think it will be only neceſſary to ſhew the Danger of chuſing Members that are in Places, from two Conſiderations: *Firſt*, From the Nature of ſuch a Parliament conſider'd in itſelf: And, *ſecondly*, from what has already been done by Parliaments ſo qualified. In both which I ſhall be very brief, and content myſelf with much fewer Arguments than might be urged upon this Subject: For I ſhould almoſt deſpair of being ſurviv'd by the Liberties of *England*, if I could imagine there was a Neceſſity of ſaying much in a Caſe not only of ſuch irreſiſtible Evidence and Demonſtration, but alſo of the utmoſt Concern and Importance to us.

Firſt then, we ſhall beſt be able to underſtand the Nature of ſuch an ill-choſen Parliament, by comparing it with a true one, and with the original Deſign of Parliaments in their Inſtitution. I hope it need not be told, that they were at firſt intended for the Support to the King's juſt Prerogative, and the Protection to the Subjects in their antient Rights and Privileges; For maintaining the

due Honour to the executive Power, and all ſuitable Reſpect and Encouragement to thoſe, who are intruſted with the Adminiſtration of the Laws: For a Poiſe and Balance between the two extreme contending Powers of abſolute Monarchy and Anarchy: For a Check and Curb to inſolent and licentious Miniſters, and a Terror to ambitious and over-grown Stateſmen: For giving their Advice to his Majeſty in all Matters of Importance: For making neceſſary Laws to preſerve or improve our Conſtitution, and abrogating ſuch as were found burdenſom and obſolete: For giving the King Money for defraying the Charges and Expences of the Government, or maintaining a neceſſary War againſt foreign and domeſtick Enemies: For examining and inſpecting the public Accounts, to know if their Money be applied to its true Uſe and Purpoſes: In ſhort, for the beſt Security imaginable to his Majeſty's Honour and Royal Dignities, and the Subjects Liberties, Eſtates, and Lives.

This being the Nature and true Deſign of a Parliament, let us now ſee whether a Houſe of Commons, full of *Officers* and *Court-Penſioners*, will anſwer thoſe noble and laudable Ends of their Conſtitution. And here, indeed, I begin already to be aſham'd of my Undertaking; the Proof of the Negative is ſo ridiculous, that it looks too much like a Jeſt, to aſk one in his Wits, whether a Parliament, fill'd with Delinquents, will ever call themſelves to an Account, or what Account would be given, if they ſhould? Whether an Aſſembly of public Robbers will ſentence one another to be puniſh'd, or to make Reſtitution? Whether it is poſſible our Grievances can be redreſs'd, that are committed by Perſons from whom there is no higher Power to appeal? Whether there is any Hope of Juſtice, where the Malefactors are the Judges? Whether his Majeſty can be rightly inform'd in Affairs relating to himſelf or the Public, when they are repreſented to him only by ſuch Perſons, who deſign to abuſe him? Whether the public Accounts will be faithfully inſpected by thoſe, who embezzle our Money to their own Uſe? Whether the King's Prerogative can be lawfully maintain'd by ſuch, who only pervert it to their own ſiniſter Ends and Purpoſes? Whether a Parliament can be a true Balance, where all the Weight lies only in one Scale? Or, laſtly, whether a Houſe of Commons can vote freely, who are either prepoſſeſs'd with the Hopes and Promiſes of enjoying Places, or the ſlaviſh Fears of loſing them? Methinks, it is offering too much Violence to human Nature to aſk ſuch Queſtions as theſe; I ſhall therefore leave this invidious Point.

Yet leſt ſtill any ſhould remain unſatisfy'd, or lull'd into a fond Opinion, that theſe Miſchiefs will not enſue upon the Elections they ſhall make, I ſhall further endeavour to convince thoſe, who are moſt mov'd by the Force of Examples, by coming to my ſecond Particular, and ſhewing how Parliaments ſo qualify'd have all along behav'd themſelves. And here I muſt confeſs, there are not many Inſtances to be given, the Project of corrupting Parliaments being but of a late Date, a Practice firſt ſet on Foot within the Compaſs of our own Memories, by K. *Charles* II. who finding, by his Father's Example, all the Methods of Force ineffectual for battering down the Bulwarks of our excellent Conſtitution, had Recourſe at laſt to thoſe mean Arts, and underhand Practices, of bribing and corrupting with Money thoſe, who were intruſted with the Conſervation of our Laws, and the Guardianſhip of our Liberties. And herein he ſo well ſucceeded, that the Miſchiefs and Calamities, occaſion'd by that mercenary Parliament, did not terminate with his Life and Reign; but the Effects of them are handed and continued down, and very ſenſibly felt by the Nation to this very Hour. For it is to that Houſe of Commons the formidable Greatneſs of *France* was owing, and to their Account, therefore, ought we to ſet down the prodigious Expences of the late War: It was by thoſe infamous Members, that Money was given to make a *feign'd* and *colluſive* War with *France*, which, at the ſame Time, was employ'd either in ſubduing the Subjects at home, or oppreſſing our Proteſtant Neighbours abroad: It was this venal Parliament in Effect, that furniſh'd the King of *France* with Timber and ſkilful Workmen for building Ships, as well as expert Mariners, and a prodigious Quantity of Braſs and Iron Cannon, Mortar-Pieces, and Bullets from the *Tower*; by the Help of which our own treacherous King was able to boaſt publickly, and thank God, that he had at laſt made his Brother of *France* a Seaman: By this Means the Honour of *England* was proſtituted, and our natural and naval Strength betray'd, with which, like *Sampſon*, we ſhould eaſily have broken all the Cords that *Europe*, or the whole World could have made to bind and enſlave us, had not this Parliament made a Sacrifice of all to the Charms of a *French Dalilah*. To this profligate Reign, we are to aſcribe the Loſs of all the conſiderable Charters of *England*, the Deaths of our beſt Patriots, the Encouragement and almoſt Eſtabliſhment of *Popery*, the Decay of Trade, the Growth of arbitrary Power, the ill Effects of diſhonourable Leagues, the Shutting up of the Exchequer, the Progreſs of all Sorts of Debauchery, the ſervile Compliances at Court of a rampant *Hierarchy* in the Kingdom, the inſolent Deportment of the inferior *Clergy*, both in the Univerſities and elſewhere, their ſlaviſh Doctrine of *paſſive Obedience* and *Non-reſiſtance*; in ſhort, a general Depravation of Manners,

and

and almoſt utter Extirpation of Virtue and moral Honeſty. Theſe and all the other Miſchiefs of that Reign are juſtly chargeable to the Account of that *penſion'd* Parliament, who either were the immediate Authors, or the undoubted Cauſers of them; who, tho' they ſat long and often, and could not be ignorant of our deplorable Condition, yet, having their Eyes blinded with the *Duſt of Gold*, and their Tongues lock'd up with *Silver Keys*, they durſt not cry out for the Reſcue of their Country, thus inhumanly raviſh'd in their very Preſence. It will not conſiſt with my deſign'd Brevity, nor is it here neceſſary, to give the Reaſons that induc'd the Court to diſſolve that Parliament; nor ſhall I take any further Notice of their great and fortunate Overſight in doing it, nor of their unfeigned Repentance afterwards for it: I ſhall only obſerve, that if the Nation had been ſo ſenſeleſsly ſtupid to have choſen the ſame Members a ſecond Time, who were Penſioners in the foregoing Parliament, we had long ago ſuffer'd the diſmal Conſequences of our Folly and Madneſs in ſuch a Choice; nor ſhould we now have had this Liberty to warn one another againſt ſplitting upon the like Rocks, and falling into the ſame Precipices. But they were wiſer in thoſe Times, and the Conſideration of the dreadful Shipwrack they had ſo lately eſcaped, made them chuſe Pilots of a quite contrary Diſpoſition, who, as far as in them lay, and as long as they were permitted to ſit at the Helm, repair'd the ſhatter'd Veſſel of the Commonwealth, reſtor'd its Honour, reviv'd its drooping Genius, gave Force to its Laws, Countenance to its Religion, and, in a great Meaſure, reduc'd our baniſh'd Liberties, and expos'd the Perſons who ſold them to the univerſal Hatred and Reproach of their Fellow-Subjects; a Puniſhment indeed infinitely leſs than they deſerv'd, for the higheſt Crime a Member of Parliament is capable of committing.

As for King *James*'s Reign, tho' it was notoriouſly guilty of the Breach and Violation of moſt of our fundamental Laws, which ſufficiently juſtifies our Carriage towards him, yet cannot we ſay, that his Miſmanagement is to be aſcrib'd to the Corruption of any Parliament ſitting in his Time. It is true, indeed, he reap'd too much Advantage from the Conduct of the *brib'd* Parliament in his Brother's Reign, and us'd all poſſible Endeavours to procure ſuch another for himſelf, well knowing it to be the moſt effectual Means for carrying on his ruinous and deſtructive Projects; yet either from the unſhaken Conſtancy of the People, or Want of Dexterity in his Miniſters, he was altogether defeated in his Expectation.

This miſerable Diſappointment of King *James*'s Hopes made Way for our late glorious Revolution, which was brought about by the hearty Endeavours, and accompanied with the moſt unfeigned Vows and Wiſhes of all true Lovers of their Country, who from hence expected a full Deliverance from their preſent Miſeries, and a ſure Remedy from their future Fears: For what Happineſs might not the People well hope for under the Government of the beſt of Kings, ſupported by the beſt of Titles, *viz.* the general Conſent and Election of his People? We were fill'd with golden Dreams not only of a bare Security for our Eſtates and Lives, but an inexhauſted Affluence of all Manner of Bleſſings a Nation is capable of enjoying. But tho' we have *dreamt the Dreams*, yet have we not *ſeen the Viſions*. And tho' the Nation is by this Time ſadly ſenſible how wretchedly they have fallen ſhort of their expected Happineſs, yet are they not all acquainted with the true Spring and Fountain from whence all their Misfortunes flow, which is, indeed, no other than that bare-fac'd and openly-avow'd *Corruption*, which, like a univerſal Leproſy, has ſo notoriouſly infected and overſpread both our Court and Parliament. It is from hence are plainly deriv'd all the Calamities and Diſtractions under which the whole Nation at preſent groans: It is this that has chang'd the very Natures of *Engliſhmen*, and of Valiant made them Cowards, of Eloquent Dumb, and of honeſt Men Villains: It is this can make a whole Houſe of Commons eat their own Words, and countervote what they had juſt before reſolved on: It is this could ſummon the mercenary Members from all Quarters of the Town in an Inſtant, to vote their Fellow-Criminals innocent: It is this that can make a Parliament throw away the People's Money with the utmoſt Profuſion, without *enquiring* into the Management of it: It is this that put a Stop to the Examination of that ſcandalous Eſcape of the *Thoulon* Fleet into *Breſt*: It is this that has encourag'd the Miſmanagements of the Admiralty in Relation to the Loſs of ſo vaſt a Number of Men of War and Merchant-Ships, as well as other Miſcarriages, which were by all Men judg'd to proceed not from their Want of Underſtanding in Sea-Affairs: It is this that has hindered the paſſing a Bill ſo often brought into the Houſe, for *incapacitating Members to bear Offices*: It is this that could not only indemnify, but honour a leading Member, for his audacious procuring and accepting a Grant of Lands, which by the Parliament had been ſet apart for the public Service; a Vote that ſhall ſtand recorded in their own Journals, to the never-dying Infamy of that mercenary Aſſembly: It is this could make the ſame Perſon moſt confidently affirm, that he was ſure the Majority of the Houſe would agree to what he was going to propoſe: It is this that could make Men of peaceable Diſpoſitions, and conſiderable Eſtates, vote for a

ſtanding

ſtanding Army: It is that could bring Admirals to confeſs, that our Fleet under their Command was no Security to us: It is this could make wiſe Men act againſt their own apparent Intereſt: In ſhort, it is this that has infatuated our Prudence, ſtaggered our Conſtancy, ſullied our Reputation, and introduced a total Defection from all true *Engliſh* Principles. Bribery is, indeed, ſo ſure and unavoidable a Way to deſtroy any Nation, that we may all ſit down and wonder, that ſo much as the very Name of a free Government is yet continued to us. And if by our wary Choice of Members we ſhould happen to recover our ancient Conſtitution, we ſhall with Horror and Amazement look back, and reflect upon the dreadful Precipice we ſo narrowly eſcaped.

Fatal Experience has now more than enough convinc'd us, that Courts have been the ſame in all Ages, and that few Perſons have been found of ſuch approv'd Conſtancy and Reſolution as to withſtand the powerful Allurements and Temptations which, from thence, have been continually diſpens'd for the corrupting of Mens Minds, and debauching their honeſt Principles. Such Inſtances of the Frailty of human Nature, may be given, within theſe few Years paſt, as might make a Man even aſham'd of his own Species, and which (were they not ſo open and notorious) ought, out of Pity to Mankind, to be buried in perpetual Silence. Who can enough lament the wretched Degeneracy of the Age we live in? To ſee Perſons who were formerly noted for the moſt vigorous Aſſerters of their Country's Liberty, who, from their Infancy, had imbib'd no other Notions than what conduc'd to the public Safety, whoſe Principles were further improv'd and confirm'd by the Advantages of a ſuitable Converſation, and who were ſo far poſſeſt with this Spirit of Liberty, that it ſometimes tranſported them beyond the Bounds of Moderation, even to unwarrantable Exceſſes: To ſee theſe Men, I ſay, ſo infamouſly fall in with the arbitrary Meaſures of the Court, and appear the moſt active Inſtruments for enſlaving their Country, and that without any formal Steps or Degrees, but all in an Inſtant, is ſo violent and ſurprizing a Tranſition from one Extream to another without paſſing the Mean, as would have confounded the Imaginations of *Euclid* or *Pyrrho*. All the ſtated Maxims, in Relation to the Nature of Mankind, which have been long ago ſettled and eſtabliſh'd by Philoſophers and obſerving Men, are now baffled and exploded; and we have nothing left us to contemplate, but the wild Extravagancies of romantick Fables, the ſudden Conveyances of nimble-finger'd Jugglers, the inimitable Diſpatches of tranſubſtantiating Prieſts, or the now more credible Metamorphoſes of Men into Beaſts.

The Neceſſity we have lain under of frequent Meetings of Parliament during the War, has taught our Managers ſo much Dexterity and Addreſs in their Applications to the Members of that Aſſembly, that they are now become conſummate Maſters in that moſt deteſtable Art of corrupting our Repreſentatives, by Hopes and Fears, of attaining or loſing Offices and Preferments. And tho' I here name Offices, yet thoſe Offices are downright Bribes and Penſions, ſince they are held precariouſly from the Court, and conſtantly taken away upon Non-compliance with the Court Meaſures; tho' I am not ignorant that ſeveral conſiderable Penſions were alſo paid out of the Exchequer to Members of both Houſes: For Places could not be had for all, tho' they have tried all imaginable Arts for dividing amongſt themſelves the conſiderable Poſts in the Kingdom: For, either by ſplitting of Offices amongſt ſeveral Perſons, which were formerly executed by one, or by reviving ſuch as were ſunk, or by creating others which were altogether uſeleſs and unneceſſary, or by Promiſes of Preferment to thoſe who could not preſently be provided for, they had made above 200 Members abſolutely dependent upon them. And what Points might not ſuch a Number carry in the Houſe, who were always ready and conſtantly attending with more Diligence to deſtroy our Conſtitution, than the reſt were to preſerve it? Who repreſented not their Country but themſelves, and always kept together in a cloſe and undivided *Phalanx*, impenetrable either by Shame or Honour, voting always the ſame Way, and ſaying always the ſame Things, as if they were no longer voluntary Agents, but ſo many Engines merely turn'd about by a mechanic Motion, like an Organ, where the great humming Baſes, as well as the little ſqueaking Trebles, are fill'd but with one Blaſt of Wind from the ſame Sound-board? Yet a few of them may, in ſome Meaſure, be diſtinguiſh'd from thoſe *point-blank* Voters, whom neither their Country's Safety, nor their own more dear and valu'd Intereſt, nor the Perſuaſion of their once intimate Friends, nor Fear of Reproach, nor Love of Reputation could ever prevail upon to join in an honeſt Point, or diſſent from a Queſtion that carried in it the Violation of the Rights and Properties of the Subject. Theſe are the Men who have perſuaded his Majeſty, or rather aſſum'd to themſelves, not to fill up any vacant Offices, whilſt the Parliament is ſitting; but to keep all Pretenders in a Dependence till the End of the Seſſion, and bind them up to their *ill* Behaviour, which will then be their beſt Pretence to demand their Wages of Unrighteouſneſs: Witneſs the Commiſſion of Exciſe the laſt Seſſion, which was ſued for by, and promis'd to, above 30 Competitors, who all did their utmoſt to ſignalize their ſeveral Merits for an Office, which doubtleſs will be at laſt divided amongſt thoſe

thoſe who have deſerv'd *worſt* of their Country. By theſe Means, they made their Numbers and Intereſt in the Houſe ſo great, that no Miſcarriage in the Government could ever be redreſs'd, nor the meaneſt Tool belonging to them be puniſh'd: Some of which they did indeed take into their own Hands, which rais'd in the People, a high Expectation that ſome extraordinary Penalties would be inflicted upon them; when their Deſign, at the ſame Time, was nothing elſe but to *protect* and *ſcreen* them from the ordinary Courſe of Juſtice: Such is now the Difference in Point of Corruption between a common Jury and the Grand Jury of the Nation! Such a mutual Aſſiſtance and Support have they been to one another, in the ſeveral Miſmanagements of their Truſts: So favourable have they been to their own Creatures, and ſo implacable to thoſe who have any way oppos'd their unjuſt Proceedings; witneſs their ſcandalous Partiality in the Caſe of *Duncomb*, which I hope to ſee printed at large, for the Satisfaction of the Publick. If it were tru'y repreſented, I am ſure, there needs nothing more to excite in the People an univerſal Deteſtation of their Arrogance and Injuſtice. And yet do theſe Apoſtates pretend to value themſelves upon their Merit, in contriving that moſt deſtructive Project of Exchequer Bills, by which all impartial Men muſt either think they notoriouſly diſſemble with us, or that they have indeed loſt their Senſes, when they ſpeak of publick Service; the Word is ſo unbecoming in their Mouths, and ſo aukardly pronounc'd, that they ſeem not to breathe in their own Element when they uſurp the Name. Theſe are the Men who have endeavoured to render our Condition hopeleſs, even beyond the Power of the King himſelf to relieve us: For tho' his Majeſty be deſervedly lov'd and honour'd by his People, for his Readineſs to do them Juſtice, and eaſe their Oppreſſions, yet can we not expect it from him whilſt he is thus beſet and ſurrounded, and his Palaces inveſted by theſe Conſpirators againſt his own Honour and the Welfare of his Kingdoms. The only Remedy therefore that remains is, to chuſe ſuch a Parliament who lie under no Temptations, and are acted by no other Motives but the real and true Intereſt of his Majeſty and his Dominions; a Parliament that will fall unanimouſly upon publick Buſineſs, and be free from thoſe petty Factions and perſonal Piques, which in the late Seſſion ſo ſhamefully obſtructed and delay'd the moſt important Service of the Commonwealth.

If it ſhould be pretended, that the Nation is yet unſettled, and the Fear of King *James* has forc'd them upon theſe extraordinary Methods for their own Preſervation; I anſwer, that no Cauſe whatſoever can be juſtly alledg'd in Vindication of ſuch vile Arts and pernicious Practices. But I would farther aſk them, what Neceſſity there is upon that Account for their gaining ſuch prodigious Eſtates to themſelves in ſo ſhort a Time, and in ſo mercileſs a Way, when the Nation was rack'd to the utmoſt by Taxes in a long and expenſive War? Is it the Fear of King *James* that has brought ſuch a Reproach upon our Revolution, as if it needed to be ſupported by ſuch mean and unjuſtifiable Practices? Is it the Fear of King *James* that makes us content he ſhould live ſo near us, or that he ſhould be maintain'd at our own Charge of 50,000*l. per Annum*? Or has not rather King *James* been made the Pretence for the unwarrantable Proceedings of our Conſpirators during the War, and ſince the Concluſion of the Peace? It is very ſtrange that King *James*, who is but their Jeſt in private, ſhould be thus made their publick Bugbear to frighten us out of our Senſes like Children; ſo that King *James* muſt be at laſt our Ruin abroad, who could not compaſs it by all his Power and Intereſt at home. And in this Senſe I am of their Opinion, that we are not yet quite delivered from the Fear of King *James*, who muſt be made the Inſtrument of our Slavery by thoſe very Perſons, who pretend their greateſt Merit to conſiſt in delivering us from him. But what is this but making the old abdicated King a Foot-ſtool to aſcend the Throne of abſolute Power, and a Scaffold for erecting that proud and ſtately Edifice, from whence we have ſo juſtly tumbled him down headlong? But 'tis to be hop'd the Nation will be no longer impos'd on by ſuch ſtale Pretences as theſe, and that a well-choſen Parliament will not fail to paſs their ſevereſt Cenſures upon thoſe, who would thus jeſt us out of all that is dear and valuable amongſt us: That they will no longer reſemble a Flock of Sheep (as *Cato* ſaid of the *Romans* in his Time) that follow the Bell-weather, and are contented, when all together, to be led by the Noſes by ſuch, whoſe Counſels not a Man of them would make uſe of in a private Cauſe of his own: That they will at laſt vindicate the Honour of *England*, and imitate their wiſe Anceſtors in hunting down theſe Beaſts of Prey, theſe noxious Vermin to the Commonwealth, rather than ſuffer themſelves to be led in Collars and Couples by one mighty *Nimrod*, who, upon the turning up of his Noſe, ſhall expect a full Cry of ſequacious Animals, who muſt either join Voices, or be turn'd out of the Pack.

Notwithſtanding what I have ſaid, I would not have any of them either really imagine themſelves, or falſely ſuggeſt to others, that I envy them their Places and Preferments, which I am ſo far from doing, that I wiſh they rather had them for the Term of their Lives; I deſire only they may be ſubject to the Laws, and to ſome Power on Earth that may call them to Account for their Miſbehaviours, that they may not be their own

Judges,

Judges, that our ſovereign Remedy may not prove our chief Diſeaſe, and that the *Kid* may be *ſeeth'd* in ſomething elſe than *its Mother's Milk*. Nor would I, by any Means, deny them their Seats in Parliament, provided they are in a Condition to ſpeak and act freely, and diſcharg'd from thoſe Temptations which, I find, they have not Conſtancy enough to withſtand; for after all, I ſtill believe many of them ſo honeſt, that nothing but Money or Preferments will corrupt them. But if nothing will ſatisfy them but the downright Subverſion of our Conſtitution; if they will be content with nothing but the utter Aboliſhing of all Laws, and the Rooting up of thoſe Fences and Securities provided by our Anceſtors, for the Preſervation of all Things that are ſacred and eſteem'd amongſt Mankind; it is high Time for the Electors to look about them, and diſappoint their unreaſonable and exorbitant Hopes, and to ſpew them out as deteſtable Members of the Commonwealth; not only as unfit to be truſted with their Liberties, but as unworthy to breathe in the Air of a free Government.

If any ſhould ſay, that the Alterations in Elections will ſtand us in no Stead, ſince whoever are choſen will ſtill be bought off and brib'd by Court Preferments; I anſwer, it will require a conſiderable Time to new-model and debauch a Houſe of Commons, nor can it be done, but by diſplacing all thoſe who are already poſſeſs'd, to make Room for theſe new Comers; which will make the Trade and Myſtery of Bribery more plain, and conſequently more abhorred. And ſince no Parliament can now ſit above three Years, the Court will meet with freſh Difficulties to interrupt them, which may poſſibly at laſt make them weary of theſe Practices. 'Tis true, indeed, this Conſideration ought to make us more circumſpect in our Choice of Members, for tho' we ſhould chuſe but an inconſiderable Number of Penſioners, yet will they ſoon be able to work over a Majority to their Side: So true is the Saying, *A little Leaven leavens the whole Lump.* Whoever therefore, out of any particular Friendſhip, or other Motives of Fear or private Intereſt, ſhould vote for any one Perſon ſo qualify'd; let him conſider, that as much as in him lies, he makes a Compliment of all the Liberties of *England*, to the unſatiable Avarice and Ambition of Stateſmen and Court Miniſters. Since, therefore, we have ſo narrowly eſcap'd our Deſtruction, and one Seſſion more of the laſt Parliament would infallibly have ruin'd our Conſtitution, we cannot ſurely be ſo groſsly over-ſeen as to neglect the Opportunity now put into our Hands, for avoiding the like Hazards in Time to come; which may eaſily be done, if the Freeholders and Burghers in *England*, will petition and engage their Repreſentatives to conſent to a Bill which ſhall be brought into the Houſe, to *incapacitate all Members for holding Offices and Preferments*: Or if it ſhould be thought too much to debar them altogether from the Enjoyment of Poſts of Honour and Advantage, let them keep them *during good Behaviour*, and not otherwiſe; that ſuch Places may not be reſerv'd in Store for thoſe who ſhall be from Time to Time elected, and thereby a continued Courſe of Corruption be carry'd on ſucceſſively thro' the whole Nation, who will, in a few Years, inſenſibly find themſelves ſo univerſally infected with this inſinuating Vice, that we ſhall be thoroughly ripe for Deſtruction, and readily expoſe to Sale, the Liberties of *England*, by Auction, to the faireſt Bidder. If it was deſervedly thought one of our moſt dangerous Grievances, that the Judges, who only declare the Law, ſhould hold their Places *ad beneplacitum*; what Condition muſt we be in, when our Law-makers themſelves are ſubjected to the ſame Temptations? Or what Advantage have we got by having our Judges Commiſſions for Life, when our very Legiſlature itſelf is proſtituted to Bribery and ſordid Gain? The Fortune of *England* is now brought to the niceſt Point, and there are critical Seaſons, which, if neglected, will never again be offer'd; and ſhould we now fail in our Duty to our Country, we ſhall aſſuredly fall unpitied by the reſt of the World. But if on the other hand we can, by our Foreſight and Diligence, prevent for the future the Bribing and Corruption of Parliaments, it is not to be imagin'd what Security, what Happineſs, and what immortal Reputation will be the never-ceaſing Concomitants of ſuch a Settlement. If the very Rump of a Parliament, even in the midſt of domeſtick Diſcontents, and beſet on all Sides with foreign Aſſaults and Invaſions, were able by that one *ſelf-denying Act* to maintain the publick Welfare from the Danger of inward Convulſions at home, and violent Concuſſions from abroad; if that ſmall and broken Number, without any Head, and under ſo many Diſadvantages, could by this only Means ſecure our Peace, and ſo widely extend the Repute and Honour of the *Engliſh* Name; what Country or what Region could ever give Limits to the unbounded Reputation of a full and legal Parliament, ſo nobly qualify'd? What Nation could there be ſo powerful as to reſiſt our Forces, or ſo politick as to infatuate our Counſels? There is nothing within the Compaſs of human Wiſhes that we might not aſſure ourſelves, from the Wiſdom and Virtue of ſuch a diſintereſted Aſſembly, headed and incourag'd by the moſt auſpicious Prince that ever yet ſwayed the *Engliſh* Scepter: A Prince who only waits the Opportunity of our own Willingneſs to be happy, and is fir'd with a longing Eagerneſs to ſee the Nation deſerve

the glorious Effects of his inimitable Conduct, and inexhauſted Beneficence; who only wiſhes a happy Conjuncture of a free and unbiaſs'd Parliament, that he might join with them in the Reſcue of himſelf and us from the Oppreſſion of thoſe devouring Harpies, who would tear off the yet green and flouriſhing Laurels from his majeſtick Brows, and ungratefully caſt a Tarniſh upon the Luſtre of his bright and ſhining Atchievements: That he might diſſipate thoſe inauſpicious Vapours, which have hindered him from breaking out in the Height of his meridian Glories, and intercepted his benign and noble Influence upon his inferior and dependent Orbs: That he might deliver up to Juſtice thoſe traiterous and inſinuating Paraſites, who endeavour to inſpire into his ſacred Breaſt an unworthy Jealouſy of his People, as if he wanted the Aſſiſtance of a *ſtanding Army* to ſecure and eſtabliſh to himſelf that Throne, which he has already ſo firmly erected in the Hearts and Affections of his Subjects: And laſtly, that he might wholly diſcharge himſelf of thoſe wretched and perfidious Stateſmen, who endeavour to fix the Brand of their own acquir'd Infamy upon their Maſter, that they may make him as hateful to one Party for their Vices, as he is already to another for his own Virtues, and deprive him of the glorious Title of the World's greateſt Benefactor, which he has ſo juſtly purchas'd to himſelf by his immortal Performances.

I ſhall conclude with one Word, in Anſwer to ſuch who may poſſibly think I have reflected too much upon the Supineneſs and baſe Neglect of the People of *England*; as if it were poſſible they could be ſuch monſtrous and unnatural Self-murderers, as to give away, with their own Breath, and free Conſent, all their Rights to their Eſtates and Lives. I confeſs I ſhould be glad to find my Labour loſt upon this Account: But I deſire ſuch to conſider, that there are many honeſt and well-meaning *Engliſhmen*, who do not diſtinguiſh between our preſent Government, and our preſent Way of Governing; whoſe Diſtance from the Parliament, Multiplicity of Buſineſs, or other Circumſtances in the World, render them leſs able to penetrate the Deſigns that are now carrying on, for the total Subverſion of our moſt excellent Conſtitution. And it is plain, on the other hand, that the great and unwearied Diligence of the preſent Conſpirators againſt our Government, in order to ſupport their future Elections, does inſer their Thoughts, that the Majority of the Electors are capable of being impos'd upon in this groſs and unexampled Manner. Since, therefore, thoſe who are making us Slaves, think it no great Difficulty to effect their Purpoſes, I ſee no Reaſon, why I ought to be ſo tender, as to forbear expreſſing my Fears and Apprehenſions of their Succeſs.

Common Senſe, Sept. 6. N° 187.

This Paper is a Sequel of that of Aug. 23. *concerning the miniſterial Writers attempting to draw a Parallel between* Cecil *and their Patron.* (*See p.* 395.)

THE Lineaments of *Cecil* are a little too delicate for our Mercenaries clumſy Pencils; however, to ſhew that I am in ſome Charity with them, I ſhall help them out a little.

It is a ſtrong Preſumption of the Uprightneſs of *Cecil*'s Meaſures, as well as the Integrity of his Intentions, that he did not beſiege his Sovereign in her Palace; every Body had Acceſs to her; ſhe was at Liberty to receive Information of her Affairs, as well as of the Conduct of her Miniſters, from other Hands beſides their own.

A particular Inſtance how eaſy Acceſs was to her, is mention'd by the Hiſtorians in the Caſe of one *Caermardon*, a ſenſible ordinary Man, by whoſe Advice ſhe improv'd that Branch of her Revenue, which was under the Management of Sir *Thomas Smith*, double to what it had been before, without vexing the Subject in the Method of Collection.

Some of the ſilly Fellows about the Court wonder'd, that ſhe would liſten to ſuch an obſcure Man, in an Affair that ſeem'd to bear hard upon the Character of Sir *Thomas Smith*. To which ſhe anſwer'd, That thoſe that accuſe the Counſellors of Kings, without being able to prove any Thing againſt them, ought to be cenſured; but thoſe that accuſed them juſtly, ought to be encouraged and rewarded above all other Men.

Why did not theſe Writers think fit to take Notice of *Cecil*'s Popularity, which was not owing to any Arts, but was the natural Conſequence of that Happineſs, which the Nation enjoy'd by the publick Counſels, in which he was known to have a Share?

To conceive a juſt Idea of the Wiſdom of this Adminiſtration, the great Difficulties with which they were to ſtruggle ought to be conſidered. They were to reconcile the Nation to the Eſtabliſhment of the reform'd Religion, which, conſidering the ſtrong Impreſſions made by Education, muſt be no eaſy Work. They were to reconcile them likewiſe to the Queen's Title, which thoſe who were diſcontented on the Account of Religion, might make a Handle of, for raiſing Troubles, ſhe having been illegitimated by Act of Parliament. *Scotland*, a conſtant Thorn in our Side, was not then united to *England*, and to be fear'd as an Enemy; add to this, a formidable Rebellion in *Ireland*: Beſides which, it was neceſſary to aſſiſt *Harry* IV. of *France* againſt the League, in order to maintain the Balance againſt *Spain*, at that

Time

Time the moſt formidable Power in *Europe*; and for the ſame Reaſon to ſuccour the *United Provinces*. So that our Hiſtorians have very good Authority for ſaying, that all the reſt of *Europe* was aſtoniſh'd how Q. *Elizabeth*'s Miniſters could do ſo many great Things with ſo ſmall a Revenue, and ſo few Taxes, conſidering, that in our own Quarrels they defended us without foreign Aſſiſtance, and keeping the Nation clear from all Debt, leſt no Taxes upon Poſterity.

Whoever takes a View of thoſe Times, may eaſily account for *Cecil*'s Popularity: The great Figure this Nation made was owing to the Wiſdom of thoſe Counſels, in which he had a Share. But not only the Good he did, but the Evil he forbore, deſerves ſome Notice.

Cecil was call'd to publick Buſineſs by the deliberate Choice of his Miſtreſs, upon the Reputation he had gain'd for Wiſdom, and Integrity. He did not purchaſe his Preferment at the Expence of his Honour, nor did he introduce himſelf by an infamous Bargain for ſkreening a Gang of publick Robbers. His Crimes did not drive him to a Neceſſity, nor did it ſuit his Inclination to ſupport himſelf by the Deſtruction of all publick Spirit, and a Scheme of univerſal Corruption.

He open'd no Shop for negotiating Bribes, nor were Jobbs divided into Shares, like Lottery Tickets in our Days.

The brave Men who had ſerv'd the Country, at the Hazard of their Lives, either by Land or Sea, were juſtly paid all that the Nation allow'd them; there were no Tricks to ſink their Debentures, in order to buy them up to enrich any of the Miniſters or their Tools. I am ſatisfied, ſuch a Fraud would have been puniſhed with Death.

He did not endeavour to perpetuate Debts upon the Nation, to maintain a Swarm of Drones, call'd Placemen, in Luxury; the Nation ſaw what they gave, applied to their Defence, not in protecting a Criminal in Power againſt them.

We don't find that he ever treated the Citizens of *London* with Inſolence, or even with Diſreſpect; for he had Senſe enough to know of what Conſequence they were for the Support of the Crown: He never abuſed them himſelf, or hired others to abuſe them.

He did not adviſe his Miſtreſs to place her Security either in a ſtanding Army, or in an immenſe Revenue; he was for fixing it in its natural Situation, the Affections of the People.

He found the Nation poor, and embarraſs'd with Difficulties; he left it rich, and at Eaſe: And the Hiſtorian has cloſed his Character with theſe Words——*He lived long enough for Nature, long enough for his own Glory, not long enough for his Country.*

I cannot imagine what our Mercenaries had in their wiſe Heads, by endeavouring to draw the Eyes of the Publick upon the Character of *Cecil*. Do they fancy it will fit their Friend? No, he is beyond Compariſon.

None but himſelf can be his Parallel.

Since they have begun, let them go on with the Farce; let them give us the Picture of St. *Paul*, and try to perſuade us that it is *Whitefield*; or let them compare little *C—bb—r* with *Alexander the Great*.

Craftſman, Aug. 30, *and* Sept. 6.

Theſe Papers give the remaining Part of the ADDRESS *to the* Farmers *and* Freeholders *of* England, *(ſee p.* 394.) *But, as much the ſame Things have been ſaid in the Courſe of this and former* Magazines, *particularly in our* Magazine *for* July *laſt, p.* 330, &c. *we ſhall content ourſelves with a few Extracts, as follows.*

NOTHING is more evident, than that every Fraud committed in negotiating the *publick Money* muſt increaſe the *publick Expence*; and I think it reaſonable, that the *Affairs of the Publick* ſhould be examined with the ſame Sharpneſs, as People manage their *private Affairs*, that all the Encroachments might be ſtopt in their Infancy, before evil Practice had made any Frauds look'd upon as the juſtifiable Perquiſites of Office; for who will ſerve his Country without *high Wages*, or ſell his Goods for a *reaſonable Profit*, if he can be kept out of his Money, till he is ſtarved into a Neceſſity of ſelling his Security at 20 or 30 *per Cent.* Diſcount, as often hath been the Caſe in *Navy Bills* and *Debentures*, which, it is ſaid, have been bought up clandeſtinely by *Placemen of Intereſt*, whoſe Influence, as ſoon as they and their Friends were ſerved, hath been ſufficient to get them immediately paid off? Theſe Dealings are call'd by the modeſt Name of *Jobbs*.

Will any Man ſell *Timber* or *Cattle*, as cheap to the *Publick*, as to *private Perſons*, if they are to perquiſite the open Fiſts of *half a Dozen Purveyors*; or, if the *Cloathing of a Regiment* is to be perquiſited out by a *Colonel* for 1000 or 1500 *l.* muſt not the *poor Soldier* ſuffer, and be forced upon needy Practices, or have his Pay increaſed?

Theſe, and ſuch like Practices, have been at various Times imputed to *Placemen*; but whether the *preſent Set* are guilty, is to me unknown.— The Suſpicion of ſuch Practices in *ſome Men* may probably ariſe from their expenſive Way of living, or their immenſe Wealth, where either of theſe apparently exceed the known Salaries of their Places.—But a Detection of the particular *Frauds* can only be come at by the Power and Integrity of a Majority of the *Houſe of Commons*.—And here

I ſhall only aſk this plain Queſtion; whether it is natural to ſuppoſe, that ſuch Enquiries will be effectually made by *Placemen?* — If any of them ſhould be contaminated with theſe Crimes, can we expect that the *Guilty* will reveal *their own Iniquities?* May we hope that *Colonels* and *Purveyors* will leſſen the Perquiſites of *Colonels* and *Purveyors?* Or is it common Prudence, or, in private Life, common Practice, that the *ſame Men* ſhould be intruſted to *raiſe Money, pay Money*, and be at laſt *accountable only to themſelves?*

Having ſhewn, from the Roman *Hiſtory*, the dangerous Conſequences of a *corrupted Senate*, he ſays, Should *Corruption* ever prevail in the *Britiſh Senate*, we muſt expect the ſame Fate. *Profuſeneſs* would then take Place of *OEconomy*, and voting for a *Miniſter* would be ſooner rewarded than beating an *Enemy*. A total Degeneracy muſt enſue. *Effeminacy* would attend upon *Luxury*; and, like the *Romans*, from being the moſt powerful and daring People in the World, we ſhould become the Scorn and Contempt of the moſt cowardly and impotent Nations. The *Britiſh Flag* would be no more dreaded by *foreign States*, than a *Standard* in the Middle of a Common; and our *Fleet* would become as little terrible, tho' hovering on the Coaſts of an *Enemy*, as if it remain'd at *Spithead*.

I will now prove, by another Quotation from Hiſtory, how neceſſary it may be, that *Placemen* ſhould be liable to the Inſpection of *Perſons*, who have an Intereſt in detecting *publick Frauds*.

Sir *William Monſon* tells us, in his *naval Tracts*, "That at the taking in of Victuals at *Tilbury Hope*, there appear'd a certain Proportion of *Beef* and *Pork*, ſufficient with its Scent to have poiſon'd the *whole Company*; but by the Carefulneſs of the *Quarter-Maſters* it was found unſerviceable; yet, after it was refuſed by the *ſaid Officers of the Ship*, and lay upon the Hatches unſtow'd, ſome of the *Officers of the Navy* repair'd on Board, and by their Authority, and great Anger, forced it to be taken in for *good Victuals*.—My Obſervation, ſays Sir *William*, upon this Point is, that tho' the *Officers of the Navy* have nothing to do with the *victualling Part*, yet it is likely, that there is a Combination between *one* and the *other*, like to the *Mayor of the Corporation*, a *Baker*, who for that Year will favour the *Brewer*, in Hopes that the *Brewer* will the next Year do him the ſame good Turn, when he becomes *Mayor*."

I ſhall now, *my Countrymen*, ſpeak a few Words to you concerning the *Qualification-Act*. As *this Law* now ſtands, I apprehend that if a Man, who hath not one Shilling a Year in *Land*, is return'd, without having his *Qualification* demanded within 14 *Days* after taking his Seat, he is ſafe from any farther Enquiry, during that Parliament.

I cannot take upon myſelf to ſay of any one Member of the *Houſe of Commons*, that he is not duly qualify'd.—Beſides, I profeſs to ſpeak in general of Things paſt, or of Dangers, which may happen, and may be prevented. As to what hath been done, I appeal to yourſelves, my *worthy Friends*, whether it hath not happen'd, within the Knowledge of moſt of you, that *three or four younger Sons*, or *Brothers of great Families*, have got into *Boroughs*, when in the Opinion of the World, if *Tradeſmens Debts*, and *all Incumbrances* were diſcharged, the *Family Eſtate* would not be worth redeeming.—Is it not proper for your Enquiry, if ſuch Things have ever happen'd within the Knowledge of any of you, how *ſuch Gentlemen* have been able to make themſelves welcome to *Corporations*; when, perhaps, within two Hours Ride, there have been *twenty* or *thirty independent Country Gentlemen* duly qualify'd, who never thought of *Penſions, Places*, or *Commiſſions?*

I ſhall now, with a few Queries, take my Leave of you.

1. Whether the *true Intereſt of the Kingdom* muſt not be the Intereſt of the *Farmer, Manufacturer* and *Merchant?*

2. Whether the Intereſt of the *Country Gentlemen*, and *Freeholders*, is not inſeparable from the Intereſt of the Kingdom?

3. Whether *heavy Taxes* and *Exciſes* muſt not be very prejudicial to the *Farmers, Manufacturers, Merchants, Country Gentlemen*, and *Freeholders?*

4. Whether it may not be the Intereſt of *Placemen* and *Officers*, to have *heavy Taxes, ſuperfluous Places*, and a *great ſtanding Army?*

5. Whether there is not at leaſt required as much Integrity, Wiſdom and OEconomy to the Management of *publick Affairs*, in *War*, as in *Peace?*

Common Senſe, Sept. 13. N° 188.

PUNCH *turn'd Miniſterial Writer.*

To the AUTHOR of COMMON SENSE.

SIR,

I SEND thee this Letter to acquaint thee, that *Punch* is engaged to write in Defence of the Pearl of Stateſmen and Flower of all Chivalry, the renown'd Knight of the Brazen Head; which is as much as to ſay, I am engaged to draw my Pen againſt thee and the whole World; thoſe choice Spirits of the Age, the preſent Set of Placemen, excepted.

You are therefore to receive this Epiſtle as *Punch*'s Memorial, or *Punch*'s Manifeſto, or, if you pleaſe, *Punch*'s Declaration of War againſt *Common Senſe*, and all his Adherents.

I own that you, and your ſeditious Colleague the *Craftſman*, have hitherto carried all before you: You have engaged the Attention of

of the Grave, and have also had the Laugh on your Side long enough; —— but it is all over with you, you may date your Ruin from this Minute; surrender your Pen, therefore, for *Punch* is entring the Lists against you.

I don't mean, as if I intend to whip you thro' the Lungs; I am no Brother of the Blade, the Sword I wear is no better than a A Dagger of Lath, and I deal in no Blows, but such as bruise; whenever, therefore, I meet with a Man that won't take a Beating from me, rather than push Things to Extremity, I always take a Beating from him; that's my Humour; so that I have kick'd one Half of the World, and the other Half hath kick'd me.

I shall leave it to my valiant Brother, *Ancient Pistol*, B to manage the Controversy by the Point of the Sword, while I attack you with my Wit. Know then, that I intend to puzzle you with Quibbles, bamboozle you with Conundrums, and pun you out of your seven Senses.

Don't flatter yourself, that you will come off in the same triumphant Manner you used C to do, when you were attack'd by those Sons of Dulness and of Sleep, the *Freemans* and the *Sidneys* of the Cause. No, Friend, you must now look to your Hits, for you are to defend yourself against no less a Man than facetious *Punch*, comick *Punch*, humorous *Punch*, and *Punch* the witty.—To let you into a Secret, I made it one of my Conditions, that I should not be obliged so much as to keep Company D with those stupid Rogues the *Gazetteers*, lest their Dulness might infect me.

The great Man is right at last; he never did a wiser Thing in his Life, than when he gain'd over *Punch* to take his Part; for nothing can be a stronger Advantage to any Cause, than to have popular Men engaged in it; and it is well known, that every Body E loves me: The Women love me for my Beauty, the Men for my Wit, and all the World for my good Humour. I may say, without Vanity, I am the most popular Man this Day living of our Party; I say, our Party, for I'd have you to know, that *Punch* is no Jesuit; take that, Friend; *Punch* is no Jacobite, and never will be, unless the Times should alter.

Since I have mention'd the Art of pleasing, F I can't forbear speaking a Word or two of the Negotiator General, who, tho' my very good Friend, I must needs say, it would make a Dog smile to see him pretend to imitate me, and set up for a Wit upon my cast-off Jokes; not considering, that it is the Manner which accompanies all I say and do, that makes them so pleasing, and that the G same Things must appear nauseous and silly in one who cannot give them the same *Agreemens*,—there's *French* for you.

That I am a Politician, appears by this, that like *Catiline*, I can accommodate myself to the Humour of my Company. When I'm among the Men of Wit and Pleasure of the Town, I can drink, sing, roar, break Windows, beat a Constable, or enter into any Frolick fit for a bright Fellow and a Rake; and if I happen to be put into the Stocks, I keep up my good Humour, and joke upon my own Misfortune to the great Diversion of the Spectators.

When I'm in Company with the Heads of our Party, I swear, lie, talk Bawdy, call Son of a Whore, and have bid them kiss my A— all round; with which sublime Stroaks of Wit they were all so tickled, that it was agreed amongst them, after mature Consideration, that, as Affairs are now managed, I should make the best ministerial Writer they ever had to their Backs.——By the Bye, it is an impudent Calumny in you to give out, that the Knight hates Men of Parts, for I am going to prove, that he is very fond of me.

Know then, that of his own free Motion he sent a Gentleman to treat with me. At this Gentleman's first Approach, I confess, I took him for one of our Puppets; his Dress, his Looks, his Motions and his Voice all spoke the Puppet: But when he offer'd me the genteel Bribe, the splendid Bribe, the fashionable Bribe, I began to smoak from whence he came.

To tell the Truth, such a Thing never was more wanted; for, by the Severity of the Weather our Theatre being deserted, our whole Company was just broke; not only our Cloaths and Scenes, but our very Properties were in Limbo; the Sun and Moon were sold out and out for Money to buy Coals; they were since hung up as Signs to two little drinking Booths upon the *Thames*;—Doctor *Faustus*'s Devils were all frozen;—the Sea was pawn'd, and the Mistress of our Company took down the Clouds to cover her Bed.

As to me, I looked like some Caitiff whom the Mob had duck'd for a Pick-pocket; never since I was a Stick, was I so reduced. The Gentleman before named found me hanging upon a Peg behind the Scenes, in a very melancholly Posture; I had not one Joke in my Mouth: Tho' in Distress, yet I appear'd in a Kind of State, betwixt two *bona Robas*, for I had *Cleopatra* on one Side, and *Jane Shore* on the other, without a Petticoat to cover them; poor *Jenny* modestly turn'd her Face to the Wall, to hide her Beauties before; the *Egyptian* Queen was not quite so bashful, you might have seen all her tawny Affairs for nothing.

Such was the low Condition of our Company, when, like *Cincinnatus* call'd from the Plough, to defend a ruin'd State with his Sword, *Punch* was invited from his Peg to support a sinking M—— with his Pen.

As

As I have lived in a long Intimacy with Frier *Bacon* and Frier *Bungy*, two profound Conjurers, there is no Danger but I ſhall make a better Figure in Politicks than any of my fellow Labourers; for you know, our Preſident himſelf is no great Conjurer that Way; he pretends to no more than a little Skill in Sleight of Hand: So that if I ſhould be employ'd abroad, you may expect other Kind of Conventions, than what have made ſuch a Noiſe in *Europe* of late.

In the mean Time, my Friend, I would adviſe thee to take Care of thyſelf; there are Deſigns on Foot for ruining you and all the Oppoſition: Meddle no more with high Points above thy Comprehenſion,—ſay nothing againſt Bribes,—open not thy Lips againſt Robbery; theſe are State Affairs;—ſoon will I take thee down from thy Altitudes. Thou ſayeſt it is the third Year of thy Reign; thy Reign is at an End, tho' thou doſt not know it: *Punch* will depoſe thee, and ſtep into thy vacant Throne.

Yours,

From *Punch*'s Theatre, the *little Tennis-Court* near the *Hay-market*. PUNCH, Senior.

Weekly Miſcellany, Sept. 20. N° 404.

Of the Diſtinction between a Man of Honour *and a* Perſon of Honour.

NOTWITHSTANDING the Similitude of Sounds, and the ſeeming Affinity of Characters, theſe are ſo far from being convertible Terms, that they convey quite diſtinct Ideas, and are very often as different as Light from Darkneſs. The *Man* of Honour is an internal, the *Perſon* of Honour an external; the one a real, the other a fictitious Character. The Words *Perſon* and *Perſona* are generally viewed in that Light. Nobody imagines that the *Dramatis Perſonæ* are real Characters, but borrowed Repreſentations of Princes or Peaſants, Heroes or Lovers, Harlequins or Philoſophers. I am therefore never ſurpriz'd to ſee or hear ſuch Things attempted, ſaid, or done, by a *Perſon* of Honour, which a *Man* of Honour would bluſh to think of.

A *Perſon* of Honour may be a profane, irreligious Libertine; a penurious, proud, revengeful Coward; may inſult his Inferiors, oppreſs his Tenants and Servants, debauch his Neighbours Wives or Daughters, defraud his Creditors, and proſtitute his publick Faith for a Protection; may aſſociate with Sots and Drunkards, Sharpers and Gameſters, in order to increaſe his Fortune: I ſay, it is not impoſſible, that a *Perſon* of Honour may be guilty of all theſe; but it is abſolutely impoſſible for a *Man* of Honour to be guilty of either.

Lucilius is a *Man of Honour*, tho' not—

Stuck o'er with Titles, nor hung round with Strings.

His Eſtate, honourably raiſed by his virtuous Anceſtors, and improved by himſelf, is ſufficient to ſupport a handſome Figure, which he does with a decent Frugality; and to do a great deal of Good, which he does with Chearfulneſs, Generoſity and Prudence. In all his Commerce with Mankind, in every Article of publick or private Life, he exerts a peculiar Dignity of Behaviour, ſuch as naturally flows from a generous Heart, ſoftened by Humanity, elevated by Religion, and directed by Prudence, conſcious of none but virtuous Deſigns, and honourable Intentions. In him you ſee the ſincere Chriſtian, the loyal Subject, the firm Patriot, the indulgent Huſband, the tender Father, the faithful Friend, the merciful Landlord, the compaſſionate Maſter, the generous Patron, the unwearied Advocate for the Poor, the Miſerable, and Helpleſs; and in a Word, the compleat *fine Gentleman*. He paſſes thro' all the various Scenes of Life like a River flowing with Bleſſings, conveying Beauty, Riches and Plenty into every Channel and Country thro' which it paſſes.

Clodius is a *Perſon of Honour*, a ſcrubby Branch of an ancient and honourable Stock, which for many Years has borne neither Fruit nor Bloſſom, but projected a noxious baneful Shade around it. *Clodius* bears himſelf high on account of his honourable Birth and Title, and never fails to exert an aukard ridiculous Superiority, whenever he falls in Company with wiſer or better Men than himſelf. But he has heard that Humility is a certain Token of good Senſe and true Honour, which he is reſolved to ſhew upon proper Occaſions, and when the humble Fit comes upon him, he will crack Jokes with his Footmen, get drunk with a Hackney Coachman, and beſtow his bodily Favours upon any pretty cleanly Female, without enquiring into her Quality; but he never forgets to reſume his Superiority, whenever he is converſing with a Man of real Merit, who cannot reckon ſo many honourable Grandfathers as himſelf. I had once the Honour to meet this extraordinary Perſon among other Company at a Gentleman's Table, who was the Delight of his Friends, a Bleſſing to his Neighbourhood, and an Ornament to his Country. In the Courſe of Converſation, honourable Mention was made of a late noble Lord, who by a Train of meritorious Services to his Prince and Country, had raiſed himſelf from an obſcure Birth and Fortune to the Dignity of Peerage. *Clodius* took fire at once, all his illuſtrious Blood boiled with Indignation, and he inſulted his Memory with all thoſe Expreſſions of Scorn and Contempt, which *Fools of Diſtinction* uſually pour out upon their Betters. My Friend had Patience to hear his

String

String of abusive Stories, and scurrilous Reflections, and then reply'd, Sir, says he, Lord * * * * * was my Friend, and had he been living, you durst not have used him at this Rate; and to attack his Memory with reproachful Language is mean and ungenerous, and which I cannot help resenting. The very Reflections you have made upon the Obscurity of his Birth and Fortune, are the highest Compliment you can make to his personal Merit, which in Spite of those Disadvantages, could so effectually recommend him to the Favour of his King and Country. The Advantages of Birth and Fortune, on which you set so immoderate a Value, are no Man's Merit, and are as often the Lot of a Fool, as of a wise Man; and whenever that is the Case, they are so far from doing him Honour, that they only serve to make him more egregiously ridiculous, by setting his Folly in a more conspicuous Point of View.

Craftsman, Sept. 20. N° 742.

EXTRACTS *from* Oliver Cromwell's *Declaration against* Spain, *in the Year* 1655. *Written originally in* Latin *by* Milton.

THE just and most reasonable Causes and Grounds of our late Enterprize upon some Islands possess'd by Subjects of the King of *Spain* in the *West-Indies*, are very obvious to any, that shall reflect upon the Posture, wherein the said King and his People have always stood, in Relation to the *English* Nation in those Parts of *America*, which hath been no other than a continual State of *open War* and *Hostility*, at the first most unjustly begun by them, and ever since in like Sort continued and prosecuted, contrary to the common Right and Law of Nations, and the particular Treaties between *England* and *Spain*.

It is true, indeed, that of late Years the *English* have for most Part been *Patients*, and upon the *Defensive* only, which may, possibly, occasion some to look upon the late Expedition into the *West-Indies*, as an Entrance into a *new War*, and not (as it was indeed) the Prosecution of a *War already in Being*, and still (notwithstanding all Endeavours on the Part of *this State*, for settling a firm Peace and friendly Commerce in those Parts) obstinately continued and carried on by the *Spaniards*; who, as often as they have Opportunity, without any just Cause or Provocation at all, cease not to kill and slaughter, nay sometimes, in cold Blood, to murder the People of this Nation, spoiling their Goods and Estates, destroying their Colonies and Plantations, taking also their Ships (if they meet with any) upon *those Seas*, and using them in all Things as *Enemies*, or rather as *Rovers* or *Pirates*; for so they most injuriously and ignominiously brand all Nations, except themselves, which shall presume to sail upon *those Seas*, upon no other or better Right and Title than that of the *Pope*'s Donation, and their first discovering some Parts of the *West-Indies*; whereupon they would appropriate to themselves the sole Seigniory of *that new World*; of which most absurd Pretension there will be Occasion to speak more largely, when we come to consider the Causes, why the *Spaniards* should think it reasonable for them to exercise all Manner of Hostility in those Parts against the *English*, in so far as to make such of them as, by Stress of Weather, Shipwrack, or other like Casualty, are cast upon those Coasts, Prisoners, nay Slaves, and yet to account it a great Injury, and Breach of the Peace, (even here in *Europe*) for the *English* to attempt any Thing upon them in those Parts, by Way of Retaliation, and for their just Satisfaction.

But altho' the King of *Spain*'s Embassadors (emboldened upon the Assurance of a *prevalent Spanish Faction*, always in the Council of the *late King* and his *Father*) have had the Confidence to make most ridiculous and irrational Complaints and Demands upon any Thing done in that Kind by the *English*; yet would not the *said Kings* (tho' too much addicted to the *Spaniards*) ever tie up their own Subjects Hands, where the *Spaniards* held their Hands to be loose, but suffered them to repel Force by Force, and to exercise Acts of Hostility in those Parts against the *Spaniards*, who never would keep any Peace there; insomuch, that about the Year 1640, when this Question came into Debate before the Council of the late King, the *Spanish* Embassador demanding the Stop of certain Vessels then in the River, ready to set Sail for *America*, with Commissions to exercise Acts of Hostility there against the *Spaniards*; and the *English*, upon a Demand made of Commerce in the *West-Indies*, by the Lords of the Council appointed for that Affair, being denied the same, they determined, that the Ships should proceed in their Enterprizes, which they did accordingly.

Thus far the *late Kings* own'd their Subjects in the War they maintain'd in those Parts, upon their private Account; altho', thro' the Prevalency of the *fore-mention'd Spanish Faction*, they would never afford them that publick Protection, which was due to them, and which was suitable to the Honour and Interest of this Nation. And it would have been as dishonourable and unworthy for *us*, who, thro' the Goodness and Providence of God, were so well furnish'd with *Ships of War* fit for *foreign Service*, to have let them *lye rotting at home*, rather than to have employ'd them for the just Revenge of so much *English*, (why may we not also say?) *Indian* Blood,

Blood, ſo unjuſtly, ſo inhumanly, and cruelly ſpilt by the *Spaniards* in thoſe Parts; *ſince God hath made of one Blood all Nations of Men, for to dwell on all the Face of the Earth, and hath determined the Times before appointed, and the Bounds of their Habitation*; and at one Time or another, by ſome Hand or other, God will have an Account of the innocent Blood of ſo many Millions of *Indians*, ſo barbarouſly butcher'd by the *Spaniards*, and of the Wrong and Injuſtice that hath been done unto them.

Then after a particular Account of the Contravention of Treaties by the Spaniards, *and of their Depredations, Inſults and Barbarities towards the* Engliſh; *the Declaration goes on thus.*

But ſince the King of *Spain* hath, both by Word and Deed, declared the Treaties of Peace to be ſo underſtood, he hath conſequently concluded himſelf to have firſt violated the ſacred Bonds of Friendſhip, by ſo many Acts of open Hoſtility, firſt exerciſed by him upon the *Engliſh* in thoſe Parts, and from Time to Time continued ever ſince the laſt Treaty of Peace, as before hath been particularly declared; which is a Thing ſo evident, and notorious, that our Adverſaries themſelves cannot ſurely have the Face to deny the *Matter of Fact*, but will chuſe rather to inſiſt upon the *Matter of Right*, &c. *

A double Title is pretended; that of the *Pope's Donation*, and that of *firſt Diſcovery*. As to the *former*, we know very well that the *Pope* hath, indeed, been very free in diſpoſing of Kingdoms and Countries, therein being very unlike him, whoſe *Vicar* he pretendeth to be, that would not take upon him ſo much as to be a Judge to divide Inheritances, much leſs to give them away at his Pleaſure, as the *Pope* hath done the Kingdoms of *England*, *Ireland*, and others. But we acknowledge no ſuch Power in him; nor do we believe that any Nation is ſo void of Senſe as to think he hath any ſuch Power; or that the *Spaniards* themſelves do believe it, or would affirm it, if the *Pope* had given as much away from them, as he hath given to them. And if the *French* and others, who acknowledge the *Pope's* Power in eccleſiaſtical Matters, do eſteem this Title of the *Spaniards* ridiculous, it cannot be expected that we account it any other; and ſo we leave it as not worthy any further Anſwer.

And of as little Weight is their *other Title*, as if the Subjects of the King of *Spain*, having firſt made Diſcovery of ſome few Parts of *America*, and having given Names to ſome *Iſlands*, *Rivers*, and *Promontories*, they ſhould be thereby intitled to the ſole Seigniory of *that new World*. But an *imaginary Title*, upon ſuch a *Preſcription*, without *Poſſeſſion*, cannot create any real Right. The beſt Title, that any can have to what they poſſeſs in thoſe Parts of *America*, is *Plantation* and *Poſſeſſion*, where there were no Inhabitants, or where there were any, by their Conſent, or at leaſt in ſuch waſte and deſolate Parts of their Countries, as they are not able in any Meaſure to plant and poſſeſs; God having made the World for the *Uſe of Men*, and ordain'd them to *repleniſh the ſame*.

Upon which Grounds, as the *Spaniards* will have little Right to what they hold, having got all they have, contrary to the Conſents, and out of the Bowels of the *firſt Inhabitants*, in whoſe Blood they have founded their Empire; and not found, but made great Iſlands and whole Countries void of Inhabitants, having rooted out all the *Natives*; ſo, on the other Side, the *Engliſh* will have a very clear Title to their Plantations, eſpecially to divers Iſlands, which the *Spaniards* have aſſaulted, and ſlain their Colonies in, which either never had any Inhabitants, or if deſtroy'd by the *Spaniards*, were alſo deſerted by them, and left unpeopled. So that by the Law of *Nature*, and of *Nations*, they rightfully accrue to the *Occupiers* and *Poſſeſſors* thereof, according to the known Maxim, *quæ Nullius ſunt, & pro derelictis habentur, cedunt Occupanti*; altho' if we had diſpoſſeſs'd the *Spaniards* of the Places, where we planted our *Colonies*, and where they had firſt diſpoſſeſs'd and rooted out the *Natives*; we, as Avengers of thoſe People's Blood and Wrongs, ſhould have had a better Title to their Countries than their Oppreſſors and Murderers. But our Plantations having been where neither *Natives* nor *Spaniards* had any Poſſeſſion, nor had left behind them any Habitations, Cattle, or other Thing, which might in any Sort retain, or preſerve their Claim or Title, our Right in thoſe Places was the more clear, and the Wrongs and Injuries done unto us by the *Spaniards* the more apparent; eſpecially in ſuch Places, as were ſeized upon in Time of open War between the two Nations, (as were the Iſlands of *Providence* and *Tortuga*) whereupon if the *Spaniards* could have pretended any precedent dormant Title, yet not making their Claim upon the Cloſe of the laſt Peace, by the 2d Article thereof they concluded themſelves, as to any ſuch Pretenſions, and extinguiſh'd all future Claim and Right thereunto.

I have not Room (ſays Mr. *D'Anvers*) to make any Comment upon *this Declaration*, nor indeed does it want any; for every Reader of common Senſe will infer, that if an *Uſurper* was not afraid to ſpeak in ſuch an high Strain, we can have no well-grounded Apprehenſion from the *Spaniards* under a *legal Monarch*.

I

* *See the reſt of this Paragraph in our* Magazine *for* March, 1738, *p.* 141. *where there are other Extracts from this Declaration, with Remarks, which we therefore omit here.*

I know it hath often been objected to *Cromwell*, that he nurſed up the Power of *France* by making War upon *Spain*. But let that be true or falſe, I believe all thoſe, who had any Hand in the Treaty of *Hanover*, and a long ſubſequent Train of Negotiations, will have more Regard to their own Characters than to inſult the Memory of *Cromwell* upon that Account.

Common Senſe, Sept. 27. N° 190.

AN Accident lately happen'd in the Camp on *Hounſlow-Heath*, which ought to have alarm'd the whole Nation; and yet the Generality receiv'd it with the ſame Indifference, as if they had read in a News Paper, that *Kouli Kan* had taken Phyſick, or the Great *Mogul* had got the Gripes.——What I mean is, that bold and unparallel'd Robbery lately committed by ſome Free Booters, upon ſome of thoſe intrepid Sons of *Mars*, who have done their Country as much Service this Campaign,——as ever they did in their Lives.—— Slily, (I may ſay) treacherouſly, they ſurpriz'd them in the Midſt of their Cannon, obſerving the ſame Diſpoſition which the *Germans* made in *Italy*, when the unfortunate Mareſchal *De Broglio* loſt his Breeches, thoſe fatal Breeches which are hung up as a Trophy in the Armory at *Vienna*, next to the Sword of *Francis* I.

This bold Attack was not made upon a raw new-rais'd Corps, but upon veteran Troops, Men of Mettle, Men that have ſeen Blood; for I am credibly inform'd, it was upon the very Troop that ſo bravely engaged an Attorney's Clerk upon the Banks of a Horſe-pond.

One of our News-Writers has juſt touch'd upon this Camp Robbery, and propoſes that Watchmen may be appointed to guard the Camp.——I don't know what he means by this, for it is very well known, that Watchmen are always aſleep; the Nights they ſleep for the Publick, the Days for themſelves: To deſcribe an exceſſive Sleeper, you need only ſay, *he ſleeps like a Watchman*. If the Army was to be truſted to the Guard of Watchmen, the Foot-Pads, might not only rob our Army, but run away with it.—— I on the contrary propoſe, that the Army may from this Time forward be guarded by the Militia; I think the City Trainbands the moſt proper for this Purpoſe.——The ſtanding Army muſt certainly be exceedingly beloved by the City,—the great Services they have done, and the little Money they coſt, muſt be always in their Mind.—The People were entertain'd for ſeveral Years with fine Sights upon the Water, the annual Fleets at *Spithead*, the *Downs*, &c. but as our Ships of War were this Summer deſign'd for Buſineſs *(as we were told)* we were made Amends by a very pretty Shew at Land. I have heard ſeveral Foreigners own, that no Troops in *Europe* were better powder'd. The Citizens ought to remember, that their Wives and Daughters partook of this Diverſion:—This Camp has ſaved many an honeſt Man the Charge of ſending his Family to *Bartholomew Fair*.

It is true, that many return'd much diſappointed that they did not ſee a Battle. This has furniſh'd the Diſaffected with a Pretence for ſaying, that our new prefer'd Colonels did not know how to exhibit the Repreſentation of a Battle. This is downright Scandal; ſome of them, no doubt, ſerv'd as Voluntiers, when the Artillery Company attack'd and took *Porto Bello*, Sword in Hand, upon a Dunghil in *Moorfields*: But ſuppoſe they had been employ'd in a Service of another Nature by the great Man that Day, yet ſtill they have all been at the Play-houſe, and there are ſeveral very good Battles ſtill extant in certain Plays.—I hope therefore, before the Army marches into Winter Quarters, they will give us one of the beſt Battles they can pick out.

As ſoon as this Robbery reach'd my Ears, the firſt Queſtion I aſk'd was,—have the Tea Equipages, dreſſing Tables, curling Irons, Eſſence Bottles, Paſte, Pomatum, &c. of the Army eſcaped the Enemy? For what Confuſion muſt an Officer be in, if he had not the Silver Lamp and Tea-board to produce to his Viſitors? Or how could he ſhew his Face to the World again, if he had appear'd unpowder'd and uncurl'd? Would not the Ladies p—s upon ſuch an Army?—But when I learnt that nothing was loſt but a few Guineas, I poſſeſs'd my Soul in Peace.

I muſt renew my Exhortation about taking Care of the Army, tho' I cannot agree with thoſe who are for ſending for the *Daniſh* and *Heſſian* Troops. Firſt, it is poſſible they may not come, if ſent for; they may be hired to two or three other Princes as well as to us, for *German* Troops often act like ſome *Engliſh* Lawyers, who take Fees on both Sides. Next, I am againſt their coming, becauſe two of a Trade can ſeldom agree. And laſtly, having been uſed to live upon free Quarter, they might rob our Army themſelves; they might rob them of their Valour, which would be a national Loſs.

To conclude: Whether our Army guards us or not, let us guard our Army, let us cheriſh our Army, let us nurſe our Army, nay, let us give Suck to our Army; for tho' it is above 25 Years old, it is ſtill in its Cradle: Foreigners ſay it hath not a Tooth yet; yet it is a full-grown Babe, and as its Education hath coſt this Nation ſuch immenſe Sums of Money, I hope I am not to blame for wiſhing it may come to ſome Good at laſt.

A Comparison between the PASTORAL *of the* EAST *and that of the* WEST.

PART I.

WHEN nothing serious entertains the town,
And only pamphlet and romance go down;
Trifling amusements —— which awhile may please,
But soon grown languid, in reflection cease;
Which like the meteor's ev'ning flames expire,
Form'd from the vapours of distemper'd air:
I chuse the calmer pleasures of the mind,
And in recess a sweet enjoyment find;
Free from the guilty scenes of life, peruse
The modest labours of the *Sylvan* muse;
On *Mantua*'s flow'ry plains refine my care,
And soften reason when it's too severe.
There happy *Tityrus* * fills the warbling reed,
And bids the list'ning flocks securely feed;
There peace and friendship are content to dwell
Beneath the covert of an humble cell.
There all is easy, no misfortune known,
But what arises from the factious town.
If *Mantua* feels the wars, the muse complains
In notes so soft, in such engaging strains,
Pollio must yield; for how can *Pollio* hear
The muse complain, and yet reject her pray'r?
Now sounds the grateful pipe in every grove,
O'er ev'ry plain is heard the voice of love;
Now ring the woods with *Amaryllis*' name,
Nor less the charms of *Galatea* claim;
The gentle swains contend in rival lays,
Each sings his mistress in alternate praise;
So well *Damætas* and *Menalcas* sung,
Suspension flutters on *Palæmon*'s tongue.
If in dispute the rival swains engage,
Their little quarrels never swell to rage;
They take the judgment of a neighbouring friend,
And in a song their short contentions end.
Each image is express'd with decent care;
No quarrel wounds the sight with scene severe,
Nor words immodest violate the ear.
Love sometimes wantons in the shepherds eyes;
Beyond just bounds their passions never rise.
If chance they feel a little short despair,
Returning reason cools their am'rous care;
Unless when *Gallus* leaves the mournful grove,
Forc'd by the cruel pain of anxious love:
For him, concern appears thro' all the plain;
For him the woods, for him the rocks complain;
In vain his friends, in vain the nymphs dissuade,
He will not, yet he will pursue the maid.
All, all their reasons ineffectual prove;
All, all must yield, the shepherd yields to love.
Thus sung the poet near old *Menzo*'s stream;
Thus sweetly various is the poet's theme:
His scenes are also like his subject, new,
Here the gray morning shades its silent dew;
But where *Silenus* sings, the ling'ring ray,
With humid influence paints declining day.
Scarce the same tree returns, but diff'rent greens
Protect the shepherds, and improve the scenes:
If chance old *Mopsus* and *Menalcas* mourn,
And spend a friendly tear on *Daphnis*' urn,
The scene itself in gloomy shade complains,
And bears a part in sorrow with the swains;
O'er the dark cave the mantling vines are spread,
And all conspire to form an awful shade.
Nor dwells concern upon the scenes alone,
The shepherd's grief is by his measures known.
The plaintive numbers murmur thro' the lines,
And as the needle to the pole inclines,
Sounds ever faithful prove to all he wrote,
Move to the sense, and tremble to the thought.
Nor mourn the shepherds in too mean a strain,
Nor with an unbecoming grief complain;
Nor sighs, nor tears, can one rude page defend,
Nor speak the poet, tho' they shew the friend.
The past'ral muse should mourn with decent ease,
And by the sweetness of her sorrows please:
So *Venus*, when she mourns her only care,
Was wond'rous sad, but yet was heav'nly fair.
Nor stay the shepherds in the cave too long,
But with the praise of virtue close the song;
Just to the theme, the numbers swiftly rise,
And lift immortal *Daphnis* to the skies;
Then altars burn in honour of the god,
Joy rings in ev'ry grove, and sports on ev'ry flood.
So sung the poet, where the chearful page
Describes the blessings of the golden age;
Or where he celebrates, in strains sublime,
The dawn of nature, and the birth of time:
Style to the standard of his subject's brought,
And gently rises with a rising thought.
Thus for a while does old *Alpheus* guide
His modest streams beneath th' *Ionian* tide;
But when the muse of *Syracusa* sings,
Its silver stream the old *Certicia* springs.
Some weakly think the shepherds here exceed,
And rather sound the trumpet than the reed;
But surely such (whoe'er they are) must own
A diff'rence 'twixt the shepherd and the clown,
And grant *Menalcas* might have seen the town.
He never travels very far from home,
Yet warms the country with the sense of *Rome*.

PART II.

SUCH are the scenes of friendship and of love,
So sweet the poet's various numbers move;
I could for ever tend the flocks that feed
On the fresh verdure of the *Mantuan* mead,
For ever listen to the tuneful reed.

But

* *See our* Magazine *for* August, 1740, *p.* 396.

But while the *Mantuan* warms to ſoft deſire,
The muſe of *Salem* ſets my ſoul on fire;
Love flows with ſtrong perſuaſion from her tongue,
Ten thouſand raptures raiſe the charming ſong;
Yet no rude voice the name of love blaſphemes,
Nor burns its altar with unworthy flames;
How hallow'd the deſign! when every page
Teems with the bleſſings of a future age.
She ſings of truth's harmonious ſweet increaſe,
The ways of pleaſure, and the paths of peace;
The numbers wing'd with holy tranſport ſeem,
While promis'd glory warms the ſacred theme;
Ev'n thro' tranſlators language and abuſe,
We trace the foot-ſteps of an heavenly muſe.
Thus, tho' the golden beams of *Phœbus* ſhine
With greateſt ſplendor o'er the burning line,
Yet northern *Zembla* feels a diſtant ray,
And owns the comfort of a weaker day.
Such is the force, that energy divine,
That ſoul of verſe which ſtrengthens ev'ry line;
The ornaments ſo rich, that ſome refuſe
To grant ſuch honours to the rural muſe.
But theſe mean criticks ſurely know no more
Than what is common to their native ſhore;
Mere ſtrangers to the ſtyle of antient time,
And the rich produce of *Judæa*'s clime;
Where the ſun kindles raptures in the veins,
Fires the young blood, and calls for higher ſtrains.

Well might the blooming *daffodil* infold
Menalcas' temples with its humble gold;
The beech, o'er *Menzo*'s murmuring fountain ſpread,
May veil the ſhepherds with its trembling ſhade;
But wou'd we form the ſcene to *Juda*'s clime,
What here is judgment, would be there a crime;
What there is humble, wou'd be here ſublime.
There the bright ſun muſt dart a fiercer ray,
While riſing cedars cool the ſultry day;
There *zephyrs* dip their wings in ſcented air,
While *caſſia*, *myrrh* and *nard* adorn the fair.
Oh! how ſhe melts in languiſhing deſires,
Or ſmiles expreſſive of the ſofteſt fires!
Briſk as the morn that walks with early dawn
And roſy bluſhes o'er the eaſtern lawn;
While *Corydon* deceives the ling'ring hour
With diſtant pleaſures of an old amour;
A nobler flame the ſons of *Hermon* warms,
The ſons of *Hermon* feel immediate charms;
Sweet as the lily of the vale, or roſe
That on the ſpicy fields of *Sharon* grows;
Her teeth like flocks of fertile *Hermon* ſeem,
When pure they riſe from *Jordan*'s limpid ſtream;
Her eyes are like the eyes of doves; her hair
Like fruitful herbs of happy *Galaad* fair;
Her voice as ſweet as honey that diſtills
From the rich bloom of *Sanir*'s ſhady hills.
Thus *Juda*'s ſhepherds heighten ev'ry charm,
Soft is their language, their alluſions warm;
Their paſſions glow with more than uſual fire;
Their loves are zeal; and all their loves inſpire.
Diſſolv'd in mutual joys they chaſtly rove
Thro' all the bliſsful ſcenes of myſtic love;
Nor *Jordan*'s fountain, nor th' impetuous ſtream
Of *Lebanon*, can quench the ſacred flame.
When evening ſhades to ſoft repoſe invite,
And all things reſt beneath the wings of night;
Their paſſion dawns in dreams upon the mind;
Love, no repoſe, but in itſelf can find.

An Extract from the VERSES *to the Right Hon. the Lady* Elizabeth Haſtings. (*See p.* 48.)

AS when the fount, which to its ocean tends,
Firſt iſſuing, from the natal cliff deſcends;
Small in its riſe, but gath'ring as it goes,
Drinks the large ſhow'r, and heav'n-deſcending ſnows:
Nor leaves its courſe, yet bounteous all around
Teems on the meads, and ſlakes the thirſty ground;
Bids its waves widen, and its wealth expand,
And pours a year of plenty o'er the land.
So down the ſtream of life while *Haſtings* rode,
Her heart with heav'n's deſcending grace o'erflow'd;
To thirſt, and toil, ſhe turn'd the welcome tide,
Sweet flow'd her wealth, and her compaſſion wide;
Bid ev'ry ſoul along her banks be bleſt,
And ſhow'd them heav'n reflected in her breaſt;
Then loos'd from earth, and purg'd from ev'ry ſtain,
She reach'd her *wiſh*, and mingled with her *main*;
No more to ſep'rate from the bright *abyſs*,
To *God* united, and abſorb'd of *bliſs*.

On the Pleaſures of the COUNTRY.

O WHAT joys the country yields!
Charming joys the country yields,
When wild roſes make ſweet poſies,
And new verdure decks the fields.

O how pleaſant 'tis to view!
Wond'rous pleaſant 'tis to view,
Freſh *Aurora* vie with *Flora*,
And the cowſlips ſhine with dew.

How delightful 'tis to hear!
O delightful 'tis to hear!
Blackbirds ſinging, and woods ringing,
While ſweet Zephyrs fan the air.

O how pleaſing 'tis to praiſe!
More than pleaſing 'tis to praiſe,
In green bowers crown'd with flowers,
Cloe in unſtudied lays.

But how charming 'tis to ſpy!
More than charming 'tis to ſpy,
At the peruſing her ſweet muſing,
Bluſhing cheeks, and tender eye.

Engrav'd on a DOG'S COLLAR.

THO' much careſs'd I am, now in my prime,
An *ugly change* is ſure to come in time.
This *brazen collar*, which my neck does grace,
Muſt to an *hempen cord* at laſt give place.
As ſoon as grown an *uſeleſs tike*, you'll ſee
Old honeſt *Maſter* grinning at a tree. [breath
And wherein's the harm, thus to reſign one's
In good old age, and die a *natural death*?
Were *two-legg'd dogs* try'd by ſuch law, few then [ten.
Wou'd live to count their *threeſcore years and*
And to the *gallows*, who wou'd not conſent,
Thoſe *collar'd curs* ſhou'd be an *ornament*,
Which plac'd in truſt their *maſter's flock* to keep,
Rather than hurt the *wolves*, betray the ſheep;
Wou'd *Damon* let his *Bobtails* ſwing,—behold,
His *faithful maſtiffs* ſoon wou'd clear the *fold*.

Wigan, 1740.

ORPHEUS *and* EURYDICE: *Or, the unfaſhionable Huſband.* A TALE.

ORPHEUS of old (as poets tell)
Took a fantaſtick tour to hell,
To ſeek his ſpouſe; as wiſely gueſſing,
She muſt be there, ſince ſhe was miſſing.

Downwards he journey'd, wond'rous gay,
And angel-like, ſang all the way;
The reaſon was, as they bely'd him,
He had no *yoke-fellow* beſide him.

Whole grotto's, as he paſs'd along,
Danc'd to the muſick of his ſong:
So have I ſeen upon the plains,
A fidler captivate the ſwains.

To *Pluto*'s court, at laſt, he came,
Where the *god* ſat enthron'd in flame;
And aſk'd if his loſt love was there,
Eurydice, his darling fair.

The fiends, who liſt'ning round him ſtood,
At the odd queſtion laugh'd aloud:
'This muſt ſome mortal madman be,
'We fiends are happier far than he!'

Muſick's ſweet ſounds o'er *hell* prevail,
With good ſucceſs he tells his tale;
Sooths with ſoft arts the monarch's pain,
And gets his *bargain* back again.

'Thy pray'rs I've heard, grim *Pluto* cries,
'On this condition take thy prize!
'Turn not thine eyes upon the fair;
'If once thou turn'ſt, ſhe flies in air.'

In am'rous chat they climb th' aſcent;
Orpheus (as order'd) foremoſt went:
But when two lovers downwards ſteer,
The man falls always in the rear.

Soon the fond *fool* turn'd back his head;
As ſoon *Eurydice* was fled:
If 'twas deſign'd, 'twas wond'rous well;
But if by chance, more lucky ſtill.

Happy's the man, all muſt agree,
Who once from *wedlock*'s nooſe is free:
But he who *twice* from *one* is freed,
His moſt *prodigious luck*, indeed.

XANTIPPE Rediviva.

Xantippe, longo quondam devicta ſopore,
Creditur extremum ſuſtinuiſſe diem:
Protinus effertur (ſic vult pia cura mariti)
Ocyus extructis injicienda rogis. [ſtruit
Dum nimis, heu! properat Libitinæ turba, fe-
Labitur, & magno verbere tundit humum.
Excutitur ſomno Xantippe, & territa clamat,
Quo rapitis? vivam ſolvite. Sponſa ubi eſt?
Solvitur, auriculas demittit ad inſtar aſelli
Vir bonus, & dominæ ſervit, ut ante, ſuæ.
Longa decennalis tandem poſt tædia regni, [ſatus.
Ecce! iterum ad tumulum mortua ferte
Cautior hinc conjux, & dentius ite ſodales,
Ne redeat laſſu priſcus in oſſa calor.

Thus ENGLISH'D.

AS wrap'd in death-like ſleep *Xantippe* lay,
'Twas thought her ſoul had gently ſtol'n away;
Th' officious huſband, with a pious care,
Made no delay her fun'ral pile to rear:
Too faſt, alas! they move the ſeeming dead,
With heedleſs ſteps the haſty bearers tread,
And ſlipping, thump'd the coffin on the ground,
Which made the hollow womb of earth reſound:
The ſudden ſhock unſeal'd *Xantippe*'s eyes,
O! whither do you hurry me? ſhe cries:
Where is my ſpouſe? lo! the good man appears,
And like an aſs hung down his dangling ears,
Unwillingly renews his ſlaviſh life,
To hug the marriage chain and hated wife:
For ten long, tedious years he felt her pow'r,
At length 'twas ended in a lucky hour.
But now the huſband, wiſer than before,
Fearing a fall might former life reſtore;
Cries, ſoft! my friends! let's walk in ſolemn meaſure, [ſure.
Nor make a toil of that which gives us plea-

FLORIMEL. A SONG.

THE charms of *Florimel*,
No force of time nor art,
Shall ſever from my heart;
But ever to the world I'll tell
The charms of beauteous *Florimel*.

Each rock and ſunny hill,
The flow'ry meads and groves,
Shall ſay *Mertillo* loves;
And e'ery ſound conſpire to tell
The charms of beauteous *Florimel*.

Each tree within the grove,
Which on its bark doth wear

The

The triumphs of the fair,
To future times in verſe ſhall tell
The charms of beauteous *Florimel.*

Each brook and purling rill,
Shall on its bubbling ſtream,
Convey the charmer's name,
And as it rolls in murmurs tell
The charms of beauteous *Florimel.*

Ye *Sylvan* gods, that dwell
Within this ſacred grove,
Bear witneſs of my love;
And *Echo* ſhall be true to tell
The charms of beauteous *Florimel.*

The foregoing render'd into *LATIN.*

FLORELLA. CANTICUM.

FLORELLÆ Veneres non ars non temporis ætas
Delebit, Veneres quas meminiſſe juvat!
Captanti at populo longe lateque ſiebo
Laudes, Florellam dum lyra docta ſonat.

Horti naturæ, montes & ſaxea moles
Mœſte clamabunt, prob, Corydonis amor!
Omnia terrarum concordi & voce ſonabunt,
Florellæ quantum ſplenduit ore decus.

Arbor quæque ſuo cælato nomine gaudens
Effigiem ramis ambitioſa tenet;
Proli venturæ dum carmen amabile dicet,
Florellæ quantum ſplenduit ore decus.

Rivulus & rivus turgenti devehet undâ
Regnantis nomen, quod mihi dulce ſonat;
Et dum labuntur, narrabit murmure murmur,
Florellæ quantum ſplenduit ore decus.

Vos, Fauni, memori ſervetis pectore fatum,
Noſcatur, Corydon pectore quanta tulit!
Totam & clamanti ſylvam, Florella, ſonabit
Echo Florellam per juga celſa vigil.

Written Extempore at ASTROP-WELLS, *in* Auguſt, 1740. *By a young Gentleman of* Oxford, *who came thither after having reſided for ſome Time at* College.

WIthdraw, young *Strephon*, from the learned gown,
And ſhun the pain of philoſophic frown;
In *Aſtrop*'s milder ſcenes of joy, delight, [vite.
Where all, that grateful pleaſe, the ſenſe in-
Oh had I *Cowley*'s artful pen,
Cou'd ſpeak of love, how, where and when;
Or like *Anacreon* paint the fair,
With *jen' ſcai quoy & debonair!*
Or cou'd I, like ſweet *Waller*'s flowing lays,
In numbers ſoft tell *Sachariſſa*'s praiſe;
Or how ſad *Thyrſis* on his arm reclines,
And penſive all for *Amaryllis* pines!— [fill,
But ah! tho' theſe fond thoughts my boſom
Yet they're too nice for *Strephon*'s ruder quill.
—But truth aloud, my faithful muſe, proclaim,
Aſtrop o'er *Cyprus* ſhall furmount in fame;
That but one *Venus* all its due cou'd prove,
This ſhows not one, but many *queens of love.*

On CAPTAIN P——R S.

TELL me, my heart, without diſguiſe,
Why thoſe unuſual fears?
And why my ſighs unbidden riſe,
At ſight of captain *P—rs?*

And why the blood from thee withdraws,
And in my face appears?
Say, is not mighty love the cauſe?
Why did I look on *P—rs!*

The wounded deer flies ſwift away,
Forſook by other deers;
But I my weakneſs ſtill betray,
And tell my love for *P—rs.*

The part which pois'nous ſerpents wound,
The ſkilful artiſt ſears
With iron; but alas! has found
No cure for wounds from *P—rs?*

With patience I endure the pain
Of ridicule and jeers,
In ev'ry place where I complain
Of cruelty from *P—rs.*

Coquets and prudes my conduct blame,
I value not their ſleers!
For I will ever be the ſame,
Faithful to love and *P—rs.*

Th' attractive loadſtone is the guide,
By which the ſailor ſteers
His courſe o'er boundleſs oceans wide;
My magnet's captain *P—rs.*

No city lady has more pride,
Dreſt in her fineſt geers,
Than I, when to the camp I ride
To viſit captain *P—rs.*

Not looking-glaſſes are to beaus,
Or to the taylors ſhears
More uſeful, than for my repoſe
A look from captain *P—rs.*

One tender thought from him to gain,
I'd freely give my ears:
Well wou'd it recompence the pain
I feel for captain *P—rs.*

Vain are thy wiſhes! hapleſs maid!
In vain are all thy tears!
Vainly thou hop'ſt for any aid
From charming captain *P—rs.*

The youth, on nobler conqueſts bent,
At thy complaining ſneers;
And nymphs more beautiful prevent
Thy leaſt ſucceſs with *P—rs.*

The dying ſaint, with bliſs in view,
His head on pillow rears;
Till death I will my love purſue,
And brave my fate for *P—rs.*

If to my life the gods beſtow
A hundred thouſand years,
Not all that time can ever ſhow
So bright a youth as *P—rs.*

Tho' *Hymen* ties the *Gordian* knot,
To bind the married dears;

The

The womens vows are ſoon forgot,
If once they look on *P—rs.*

But thoſe, whoſe paſſions ev'ry turn
Of fickle fortune veers,
Alike for diff'rent ſwains may burn;
My only flame is *P—rs.*

May heav'n that's witneſs of my pain,
So puniſh as it hears;
When I a wiſh ſhall entertain,
That centres not in *P—rs.*

Germans and *Spaniards* I deſpiſe!
With *Monſieurs* and *Mynheers*;
An *Engliſhman* is what I prize!
For ſuch is captain *P—rs.*

Fly hence, ye glitt'ring coxcombs, fly!
And ceaſe your am'rous leers:
In vain you languiſh, vainly die!
For oh! I die for *P—rs.*

To love a victim, lo! I'll fall,
And pay my laſt arrears;
One ſigh, for my ſad fate! is all
I aſk of lovely *P—rs.*

Shock'd at the dreadful pomp of death!
Of coffins, ſhrouds, and biers!
On ſecond thoughts, I'll keep my breath:
A fig for captain *P—rs.* SYLVIA.

An ÆNIGMA.

WHEN firſt created *Sol*'s reviving light
Shot thro' the chaos of eternal night,
And when his genial beams were downward hurl'd,
From heav'n benign, to warm the infant world
To chaſe, with glowing rays, the miſt away,
Gladden the earth, and blaze the firſt-born day;
On that great hour, did I deſcend to earth,
From parent *Sol*, the author of my birth;
From thence exiſting to the preſent time,
I traverſe ev'ry nation, ev'ry clime;
Deck'd in the beggar's rags, or monarch's robe,
I paſs each province of the ſpacious globe;
All forms, all ſhapes, promiſcuouſly I wear,
Sometimes a man, ſometimes a beaſt appear,
Sometimes like thing inanimate am ſeen,
And look a ſtately poplar on the green.
To me the languid lover oft repairs,
I oft aſſuage his pains, and lull his cares.
Tho' neither form nor ſubſtance can I claim,
Yet form and ſubſtance ſeem to be my frame.
Each morn a ſure attendant I ariſe,
When father *Phœbus* gilds the eaſtern ſkies.
All day on earth in ev'ry ſhape I tread,
But diſappear, when he deſcends to bed;
Then, when the moon aſſumes her ſilver reign,
A conſtant vigil I ariſe again;
When oft the pallid villain I affright,
Intent on murder, at the noon of night,
Whoſe guilty conſcience often I diſmay,
Haunting, with ſilent ſteps, his bloody way;
And often too, in wond'rous ſtrides I ſeem,
To ſtalk upon the ſurface of a ſtream;
Thus ſafe thro' wat'ry elements I 'ſcape,
Whereas on earth I'm ſeen in ev'ry ſhape:
I'm ſomething, nothing, ev'ry thing together,
And always ſeen, except in cloudy weather.
E.

To a young LADY, *who aſk'd what there cou'd be in her to excite* Deſire.

SINCE you can boaſt that heav'nly face,
That ſhape which all admire,
You ſure, my lovely maid, may ceaſe
To wonder, whence *deſire.*

Muſick has charms to melt the rock
Or bend the knotted oak,
To animate the ſenſeleſs ſtock
Attracted by its ſtroak.

If beauty be compar'd with this
Superior 'twill be found:
The one affords ſubſtantial bliſs,
The other's empty ſound.

Can man then whoſe e'er thoughtful mind
Explores earth, ſea and ſkies,
Be to thy bright perfections blind
Or to thy radiant eyes?

No, all thy matchleſs worth confeſs:
But what muſt I endure,
Who ſtill adore, ſtill ſeek redreſs,
Am ſtill deny'd a cure?

A Paſtoral SONG *on the Death of the late Duke of* Tuſcany. *By a young* Engliſh *Nobleman, then in* Italy.

WHEN here, *Lucinda*, firſt we came
Where *Arno* rolls his ſilver ſtream,
The nymphs how briſk, the ſwains how gay!
Content inſpir'd each rural lay:
The birds in livelier concerts ſung,
The grapes in thicker cluſters hung;
All look'd as joy could never fail
Among the ſweets of *Arno*'s vale.

But now ſince good *Palæmon* dy'd,
The chief of ſhepherds, and the pride,
Now *Arno*'s ſons muſt all give place
To northern ſwains, an iron race!
All taſte of pleaſure here is o'er,
Thy notes, *Lucinda*, pleaſe no more:
The muſes droop, the *Goths* prevail,
Adieu! the ſweets of *Arno*'s vale.

LOVE *and* ANGER.

SOFT *love* and *rage* by turns your breaſt inſpire;
Truth ſhines in *both*, each ſets my heart on fire;
In a ſea proſpect, ſmooth waves pleaſe the ſight,
And ſtorms may give us terrible delight;
But when inur'd to *both*, we find no harm;
Alike the calms, alike the tempeſts charm.

The Verſes to Miſs T——n, *and ſeveral other Pieces we have receiv'd, muſt be deferr'd to our next.*

THE

THE Monthly Chronologer.

SIR *John Norris*'s Fleet, which ſailed on the 22d of laſt Month, (ſee p. 403.) on the 25th at Night were a-breaſt of the *Lizard*, when the Wind coming out at S. S. W. they were obliged to return to *Torbay*.

The following Inſtructions were preſented to the Knights of the Shire for the County of *Derby*.

To the Right Hon. Lord Charles Cavendiſh, *and Sir* Nathaniel Curzon, *Bart. Repreſentatives in Parliament for the County of* Derby.

We the High Sheriff, Grand Jury, Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders of the County of *Derby*, take this Opportunity of expreſſing our Concern, that all Endeavours for obtaining a Bill for reducing and limiting the Number of Placemen in the Houſe of Commons, have hitherto proved fruitleſs: We therefore recommend, and inſiſt upon it, that you uſe your utmoſt Endeavours in the enſuing Seſſion of Parliament, to promote a Bill for that Purpoſe, which we think ſo abſolutely neceſſary for the ſecuring of the Independency of Parliaments, and preſerving our Liberties and ancient Conſtitution.

Inſtructions from the Gentlemen, *&c.* of the County of *Somerſet*, to their Repreſentative *.

To Thomas Strangeways Horner, *Eſq;*

We the High Sheriff, Grand Jury, Gentlemen, and Clergy of the County of *Somerſet*, aſſembled at the Aſſizes and General Meeting at *Bridgewater*, on *Friday*, *Auguſt* the 15th, 1740, take this Opportunity of declaring how ſenſible we are of the Neceſſity of promoting a proper Bill for limiting the Number of Placemen in Parliament. We are convinced, that the Security of our Liberties is entirely founded upon the Independence of our Repreſentatives; and we think the notorious Influence uſed by the Miniſter, over his Dependants, if not timely prevented, muſt prove fatal to thoſe Rights, which we are determin'd to enjoy ourſelves, and to tranſmit to Poſterity. Therefore, we require you, to employ the utmoſt of your Endeavours to promote ſuch a Bill, as will effectually put a Stop to this growing Evil. And farther we enjoin you, according to the ancient Uſage of Parliament, not to give your Aſſent to any Money Bill, or Supply, until the Grievance above-mention'd be fully and effectually redreſs'd.

The City of *Worceſter* has admitted Admiral *Vernon* a Freeman of their Corporation.

A Repreſentation having been made to the Lords of the Admiralty, of the precarious Situation of the Trade of the Iſlands of *Jerſey* and *Guernſey*, from the Number of *Spaniſh* Privateers on the *French* Coaſt; their Lordſhips have order'd the *Lyme* and *Swift* Men of War, and two arm'd Sloops, to cruize on the ſaid Coaſt.

Letters from *Cadiz* confirm the Account of the *Ferrol* Squadron's being ſailed, and add, that there are five Battalions of regular Troops on board, beſides ſeveral Independent Companies, with a large Quantity of Fire-Arms.

There were Letters alſo which gave an Account, that the *Thoulon* Squadon, conſiſting of 12 Ships of the Line, were actually put to Sea.

On *Aug.* 28, the Dean of the Guild and his Council attended his Grace the Duke of *Argyle* with the Compliments of the whole Guildry, as follows:

My Lord,

We are deputed by the *Guildry* of the City of *Edinburgh*, to wait upon your Grace with the Compliments of that Body, and in their Name to return you their hearty Thanks for the many Favours which they owe to your Grace.

They think it doubly their Duty to give you this publick Mark of their Gratitude; *as Citizens* of *Edinburgh*, for the Protection which you gave in ſo generous and ſo ſucceſsful a Manner to this City and Magiſtrates thereof, when her Privileges, and even her very Being, as a corporate Body, were in the utmoſt Danger; *as Britons*, for your noble and diſintereſted Behaviour in Parliament.

They are very ſenſible how cloſely the real Intereſt of the *King* and *Country* is connected with the Independency of Parliaments; that it is the Duty of every good Subject and true Lover of his Country, to have that in their View in all Elections, and ſo far as they have any Influence, it ſhall be employed in promoting ſo valuable a Purpoſe.

His Grace's Anſwer.

Gentlemen,

If I had ſerved my King, his Royal Family, and my Country, with as much Ability and Succeſs,

* *Their other Repreſentative was Sir* William Wyndham, *who is lately dead.* (See p. 301.)

Succeſs, as I have done with Zeal and Honeſty, I might have deſerved ſome Share of the Applauſe you are generouſly pleaſed to beſtow upon my good Intentions. I have undoubtedly meant to do my Duty, and to that End have ever ſteadily avoided all Manner of Dependance upon any of my Fellow-ſubjects in Power; and have never attempted, directly or indirectly, to bring any Man to the leaſt Dependance upon me. I have ſtrictly obſerved the Golden Rule, *of doing by others as I deſire they would do by me.* But as careful as I have been by all my Actions to prove this Truth, there are, it ſeems, ſome Perſons, tho' pretending to be my Friends, who find it their Intereſt, by injurious Inſinuations, to diſpute it. All Men muſt expect to have Enemies. I heartily forgive mine, and ſhall never endeavour to inflict any other Puniſhment upon them, than that of forcing them to eſteem the Man, whom their dirty pecuniary Views oblige them to hate.

Gentlemen, I thank God, he has given me Spirit enough, to deteſt and ſcorn all Views of Self-intereſt in my publick Conduct; and, as one Evidence of my Sincerity, I heartily wiſh and pray, that every Man may do what his Conſcience directs him to think will conduce to the Service of his King and Country, without the leaſt Regard to his private Intereſt, or to any Subject whatever. For my own Part, I hope I ſhall be able, by my future Conduct, to convince every Man, who is capable of Conviction, that I moſt ſincerely look upon *Virtue* to be its own Reward.

There was a prodigious Struggle in many Boroughs of *Scotland* relating to their Election of Magiſtrates, as the Choice of Parliament Men muſt be affected by it. One Thing is remarkable of *Dumfries*, that they have come to very ſtrong and ſolemn Reſolutions amongſt themſelves to oppoſe, detect, and puniſh Bribery, if it ſhall ever appear amongſt them.

THURSDAY, *Sept.* 4.

At the Seſſions at *Briſtol*, four Perſons receiv'd Sentence of Death, and three were order'd for Tranſportation.

SATURDAY, 6.

The Seſſions ended at the *Old Baily*, when the two following Perſons receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz. Abraham Hancock*, for aſſaulting *Hannah Prince* on the Highway, and robbing her of ſeveral Pieces of Linen: And *George White*, for robbing a Surgeon on the Highway near *Old Ford* by *Bow*.

WEDNESDAY, 10.

His Majeſty's Royal Charter paſs'd the Broad Seal to erect *Hart-Hall* in *Oxford* into a College, by the Name of *Hertford* College in the County of *Oxford*; to conſiſt of a Principal, four ſenior and eight junior Fellows. Alſo his Majeſty's Grant, appointing *Richard Newton*, D. D. and Principal of *Hart-Hall*, to be firſt and modern Principal of *Hertford* College; to hold in Mortmain, not exceeding 500*l.*

On a Tomb-Stone prepar'd to be ſent to *Jamaica*, under the Arms, is this Motto:

Dieu ſur Tout.

Here lies the Body of *Lewis Galdy*, Eſq; who departed this Life at *Port Royal* the 22d of *December* 1739, aged 80. He was born at *Montpellier* in *France*, but left that Country for his Religion, and came to ſettle in this Iſland, where he was ſwallow'd up in the great Earthquake in the Year 1692, and by the Providence of God was by another Shock thrown into the Sea, and miraculouſly ſav'd by ſwimming until a Boat took him up. He liv'd many Years after in great Reputation, belov'd by all that knew him, and much lamented at his Death.

SATURDAY, 13.

This Day Sir *John Norris*, with the Squadron under his Command, arriv'd at *Spithead*. And about Eleven at Night his Royal Highneſs the Duke of *Cumberland* arriv'd at St. *James*'s from on board his Majeſty's Ship the *Boyne*.

SUNDAY, 14.

Extract of a Letter from Dover.

We hear from *Dunkirk*, that they are actually at Work in repairing that Place, and cleanſing the Harbour; that there are ſeveral Engineers, and a great Number of Hands employed; and that there are ſeveral Veſſels taken up for that Purpoſe. Alſo, that they are raiſing three Batteries of 50 Guns each.

MONDAY, 15.

Extract of a Letter from Portſmouth.

This Moment arriv'd the *Grampus* Sloop in 16 Days from Admiral *Haddock*, and brings Advice that the *Toulon* Squadron, conſiſting of about twelve Sail, and the *Spaniſh* Squadron of ſix Sail from *Carthagena* were arriv'd at *Malaga*, and were buſy in taking on board a Number of Troops.

THURSDAY, 18.

This Day at Noon Commodore *Anſon*, in his Majeſty's Ship the *Centurion*, with all the Ships and Veſſels under his Command, ſailed from *St. Helen*'s with the Wind at *South-East*.

The ſame Day was held a General Court of the Bank of *England*, when a Dividend of 2½ due at *Michaelmas* next, for the Half-Year's Intereſt, was declar'd on the capital Stock of the ſaid Company, to be payable the 16th of *October* next.

FRIDAY, 19.

Was held a Board of Admiralty, when their Lordſhips ſign'd a Commiſſion, appointing *Philip Cavendiſh*, Eſq; Admiral of the Blue, to be Commander in Chief of all his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels, in the Abſence of Sir *John Norris*, Vice Admiral of *England*.

SATURDAY, 20.

This Morning the Fleet from *Torbay* joined

the Fleet under the Command of Commodore *Anſon* from St. *Hellen's*, and ſail'd Weſtward with the Wind hard at Eaſt.

Ships of War intended for the Weſt-Indies, *under the Command of Sir* Chaloner Ogle.

Ten Third Rates of 80 Guns, and 600 Men, *viz.* Boyne, Shrewſbury, Norfolk, Torbay, Ruſſel, Cumberland, Princeſs Amelia, Princeſs Caroline, Chicheſter, Cambridge.—Nine Third Rates of 70 Guns, and 480 Men, *viz.* Prince Frederick, Prince of Orange, Leopox, Kent, Elizabeth, Grafton, Buckingham, Orford, Suffolk.—Ten Fourth Rates of 60 Guns, and 400 Men, *viz.* Auguſta, Lyon, Rippon, York, Montague, Jerſey, Dunkirk, Deptford, Weymouth, Superb.—Four Fourth Rates of 50 Guns, and 300 Men, *viz.* Litchfield, Faulkland, Aſſiſtance, Newcaſtle.—One Sixth Rate of 20 Guns, and 130 Men, *viz.* Sea Horſe.—Six Fire-Ships of 45 Guns, *viz.* Scipio, Strombolo, Firebrand, Veſuvius, Vulcan, Etna.—Two Hoſpital Ships of 92 Men each, *viz.* Princeſs Royal, Scarborough.

THURSDAY, 25.

The Parliament which ſtood prorogu'd to the 30th Inſtant, was order'd to be farther prorogu'd to *Nov.* 18. when they are to ſit for the Diſpatch of Buſineſs.

Great Numbers of Liverymen having reſolv'd to renew the Oppoſition to the Election of Sir *George Champion* to the Office of Lord Mayor; on this Day, after ſeveral previous Meetings, a great Body of very eminent Citizens met at *Vintners-Hall*, when Mr. *Glover* being in the Chair, made a very pathetick Speech; after which, they unanimouſly reſolv'd to return Sir *Robert Godſchall* and Mr. Alderman *Heathcote* to the Court of Aldermen, for one of them to be Lord Mayor.

The Account of the *French* Troops marching towards the Sea Coaſts of *France*, is confirm'd by a great Number of Letters, ſome of which ſay, that the Body ordered along the Coaſt next *Great Britain*, will make at leaſt 60,000 Men.

SUNDAY, 28.

Mr. Alderman *Marſhall* and Mr. Alderman *Hoare*, the two new Sheriffs, were this day ſworn in at *Guild-Hall*.

MONDAY, 29.

George Heathcote, Eſq; Alderman, was return'd (by the Court of Aldermen) Lord Mayor of the City of *London* for the enſuing Year; ſo that Sir *George Champion* was again laid aſide. (See *London Magazine* for *October*, 1739, p. 499, *&c.*)

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

RICHARD *Clarke*, Eſq; of *Northamptonſhire*, to Miſs *Elizabeth Aſhley*.—Right Hon. the Lord Viſcount *Barrington*, Memb. Parl. for *Berwick*, to Mrs. *Grimſton*, Widow of the Hon. Mr. *Grimſton*, eldeſt Son of the 3rd Viſc. *Grimſton*, and Daughter of the late Sir *Jeremy Lovel*, Eſq; a 50,000*l.* Fortune.—*Daniel Bineham*, Eſq; to Mrs. *Walton*, Relict of *Peter John Walton*, Eſq;—Mr. *Edward Cookes*, an eminent *French* Merchant, to Mrs. *Le Hunt*.—*Watkyn Wynn*, of *Voylas*, Eſq; to Miſs *Clayton*, an Heireſs of 2000 *per Annum*.—*Joſeph Searle*, of *Wincheſter*, Eſq; to Mrs. *Pengry*.—Mr. *John Lyde*, Apothecary in *Alderſgate-ſtreet*, to Mrs. *Aprice* of *Goodman's Fields*.—*William Calvert*, Eſq; to Mrs. *Sampſom*, a Fortune of 500*l. per Annum*.—Mr. *Chriſtopher Horſenail*, a Common-Council Man for the Ward of *Farringdon Without*, to Mrs. *Hayward*.—Dr. *Sibthorp*, Brother to *Coningſbey Sibthorp*, Eſq; Member of Parliament for *Lincoln*, to Miſs *Waldo*.—The Lady of Sir *William Wolſeley*, Bart. ſafely deliver'd of a Son and Heir.—Counteſs of *Stamford*, of a Son.—The Lady of Col. *Dives*, of a Son and Heir.—The Lady of *Chriſtopher Wyvill*, Eſq; Auditor of the Exciſe, of a Son and Heir.—Hon. Lady *Arabella Monk*, Siſter to the Duke of *Portland*, of a Son.—The Lady of Sir *Roger Burgoyne*, Bart. of a Son.—The Lady of *Lewis Way*, Eſq; of a Son and Heir.—The Lady of Sir *Robert Eden*, Bart. of a Son and Heir.

DEATHS.

DR. *James Elderton*, who was lately appointed chief Surgeon of the Hoſpital-Ship ſtation'd at *Portſmouth*.—Sir *Robert Baird*, of *Sauchton-hall* in *Scotland*, Bart.—*Hugh Smithſon*, Eſq; who repreſented the County of *Middleſex* in ſeveral Parliaments, Great Uncle to Sir *Hugh Smithſon*, Bart. one of their preſent Repreſentatives, to whom his Eſtate falls.—Capt. *John Aldred*, a brave and experienced Officer, who in the Reign of Queen *Anne*, was Commander of the *Solebay* and *Rocheſter* Men of War: In 1710, he was Commander in Chief of all her Majeſty's Forces in *Newfoundland*, and in Conjunction with the *Severn*, Capt. *Padner*, and the *Portland*, Capt. *Purvis*, took and deſtroy'd great Numbers of *French* Ships on the Banks of *Newfoundland*, *Bay of Bulls*, &c.—At *Gaywood* in *Norfolk*, *John Harris*, Eſq; who has left a Legacy of 5000*l.* to the Daughter of *Francis Hebbourne*, of *Lynn*, Eſq;—Mr. *William Gowell*, who rebuilt *Shoreditch* Church, and many other publick Edifices.—At *Chatham*, Mr. *Beſt*, Brewer to the Navy, and Father of the brave Admiral *Vernon's* Lady.—Mrs. *Wilks*, Relict of Mr. *Wilks*, the celebrated Comedian.—Dr. *John Smart*, Phyſician to *Chelſea* Hoſpital.—*Henry Grey*, Eſq; Member of Parl. for *Reading* in *Berks*.—Rev. Dr. *Henry Barker*, a Prebendary of *Weſtminſter Abby*, aged 85, who gave 300*l. per Ann.* away in Charities.—The Lady of Sir *Thomas Parkyns*, of *Bunny* near *Nottingham*, Bart.—Sir *Robert Fagg*, Bart. Member of Parliament for *Steyning* in *Suſſex*.—Mr. *Alveris*, an eminent *Jew* Merchant of this City.—Rev. Mr. *Seymour*, Fellow of *Merton* College, *Oxford*,

—Rev. Dr. *William Tilly*, formerly Fellow of *Corpus Chriſti* College, and Rector of *Albury* and *Ricott* in *Oxfordſhire*.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

JOHN *Downing*, L. L. D. inſtituted to the Rectory of *Wentworth* in the Iſle of *Ely*. —Mr. *Carr*, of *Twickenham*, collated to the Rectory of *Strethall* in *Eſſex*. — Mr. *Ditton* choſen Lecturer of St. *Mary's*, *Iſlington*. — *John Lacey*, M. A. made a Prebendary in the Cathedral Church of *Rocheſter*.—Mr. *Timothy Rutter* inducted into the Rectory of *Upwell* in *Norfolk*, worth upwards of 500 *l. per Annum*. — Dr. *Nichols*, Head Maſter of *Weſtminſter* School, made a Prebendary of *Weſtminſter-Abby*, in the Room of Dr. *Barker*, deceaſed.

PROMOTIONS *Civil and Military*.

MR. *Harris*, Gentleman to the Lord *Sundon*, made Regiſter in the Stamp Office.—Lord *George Sackville*, Captain in Lord *Cathcart's* Reg. of Horſe, made Lieut. Col. of the Reg. of Foot, commanded by Col. *Bragg*.—Lord *Montague Bertie*, firſt Lieut. of the *Glouceſter*, made Capt. of one of the new 20 Gun Ships.—Capt. *Cotterel*, of the *Canterbury*, made Capt. of the *Lion*.—*William Tucker*, and *Matthias Hilderſon*, Eſqrs. made Gentlemen Penſioners to his Majeſty.—*Richard Gildart*, Eſq; jun. made Receiver General of the Taxes or the County of *Lancaſter*.—*John Wilſon*, Eſq; made Attorney General of *Rhode* Iſland, and of *Providence* in the *Leeward* Iſlands.—Capt. *Ambroſe* made Capt. of the *Rupert*, a 60 Gun Ship.—Capt. *Clinton*, of the *Naſſau*, an 80 Gun Ship.—Capt. *Denniſon*, of the *Auguſta*, an 80 Gun Ship.—Capt. *Rycaut*, of the *Grafton*, —Capt. *Peter Oſbourn*, of the *Saliſbury*, of 50 Guns.—Lord *Forreſter*, Capt. of the *Biddiford*, a 20 Gun Ship.—Capt. *Tho. Oſbourn* of the *Prince of Orange*, of 70 Guns.—Capt. *Robert Martin*, of the *Litchfield*;—Capt. *Robert Allen*, of the *Rocheſter*;—and Capt. *Trevor*, of the *Chicheſter*; of 50 Guns each.—Dr. *Hoadley*, M. D. Son of the Right Rev. Dr. *Hoadley*, Lord Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, appointed Phyſician to *Chelſea* College, in the room of Dr. *Smart*, deceas'd.

PERSONS *declar'd Bankrupts*.

EDWARD *Ford*, late of *Exeter*, Grocer. —*William* and *John Johnſton*, late of *Exeter*, Chapmen and Partners.—*Joſiah Ridgwell*, of *Shoemaker-Row*, *Black Fryars*, *London*, Robe-maker. — *Samuel Tucker*, of the Borough of *Southwark*, Chapman. —*Thomas Martyr* the Elder, of the Pariſh of *Hadley* in the County of *Surrey*, Grazier and Dealer.—*John Burnham*, of *Tothill-ſtreet*, *Weſtminſter*, Linen-draper.—*William Donn*, late of *Thorn-Coffin* in the County of *Somerſet*, Chapman.—*Thomas Timbrell*, of *Lombard-ſtreet*, Goldſmith and Banker. —*Thomas Lucas*, late of *Leeds*, Woolſtapler.—*Benjamin Bailey*, of *London*, Vintner.—*John Strudwick*, late of *Chicheſter*, Maltſter.—*William Watſon*, of *Durham*, Mercer.—*Henry de la Rivier*, of *Berkley-Row* near *Groſvenor-ſquare*, Warehouſeman and Taylor.

STOCKS.

S. Sea 96 a 95 ¼	*African* 10
—*Ann.* 111 a 110 ¼	*Royal Aſſ.* 91 ½
Bank 141 ¼ a 140 ½	*Lon. ditto* no Transf.
—*Circ.* 6*l* 7*s* 6*d*	3 *p. C. Ann.* 100
M. Bank no Transfer	*Salt Tallies* ¼ a ¾
India 155 a 154	*Emp. Loan* 108 1/7 a ⅝
—*Bonds* 3*l* 9*s* a 6*s*	*Equiv.* 112

The Courſe of EXCHANGE.

Amſt. 35 2 a 2 ½	*Bilboa* 41 ⅛
D. Sight 34 8 ½ a 8	*Leghorn* 50 ½
Rotter. 35 2 a 1	*Genoa* 55
Hamb. 34	*Venice* 51 ½
Paris 32 ½	*Lisbon* 5*s* 3*d* ¾ a ⅝
Bourdx. 32 ¾ a ⅝	*Porto* 5*s* 4*d* ¼
Cadiz 42 ¼	*Antw.* 35 11
Madrid 42	*Dublin* 7 ⅝ a ½

Prices of Goods at *Bear-Key*.

Wheat	37	41	*Peaſe*	12	13
Rye	18	20	*H. Peaſe*	16	20
Barley	17	19	*H. Beans*	19	26
Oats	15	16	*B. Malt*	19	20
Tares	21	25	*P. Malt*	19	25

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Aug.* 26. to *Sept.* 23.

Chriſtned	Males 558	Females 524	1082
Buried	Males 844	Females 850	1694
Died under 2 Years old			704
Between 2 and 5			169
5	10		64
10	20		50
20	30		105
30	40		150
40	50		151
50	60		114
60	70		80
70	80		53
80	90		30
90 and upwards			1
			1694

Hay 56 to 63*s*. a Load.

THE

THE *Dutch* have at laſt agreed upon the propoſed Augmentation of their Army and Navy, the Reſolution for that Purpoſe being unanimouſly agreed to by the States General upon the 14th of laſt Month. Whereupon the ſeveral Colleges of Admiralty were ſummoned to meet at the *Hague*, towards the latter End of laſt Month, to confer with the Deputies of their High Mightineſſes upon the propereſt and moſt expeditious Means of fitting out the appointed Equipment, which was to be begun with 6 Ships of about 60 Guns. At the ſame Time a Committee of the aforeſaid Deputies was appointed, in Conjunction with ſome of the Council of State, to conſider of and regulate the Time and Manner in which the new Levies are to be raiſed.

The Intereſt of the Prince of *Orange* ſeems in ſome of the United Provinces to be upon the Decline; for thoſe of *Frieſland*, *Guelderland*, and *Groninguen*, whereof he is Stadtholder, are not ſo condeſcending to him, as they have been heretofore; and at a late Aſſembly of the States of *Frieſland*, there appeared a Party which complained highly of ſome Encroachments made by the Prince upon the Rights of the States; upon which Occaſion, the Diſpute grew ſo warm, that the Aſſembly was ſaid to reſemble a *Poliſh* Dyet, rather than an Aſſembly of wiſe and cool *Dutchmen*.

Towards the latter End of laſt Month, as ſome Meal-Waggons were going thro' *Verſailles* for *Paris*, the Bakers of that Village ſtopt them, and inſiſted upon the Meal's being ſold to them, which the others refuſing to comply with, and the Bakers being aſſiſted by the Mob, a Tumult enſued, in which 3 or 4 Perſons were killed, particularly a Woman with Child, who came to the Aſſiſtance of her Huſband. But tho' that Village be always full of regular Troops, we do not hear, that any of them were ſent to diſperſe the Mob.

About the Middle of laſt Month, a Squadron of 15 *French* Men of War ſailed from *Breſt*, ſteering their Courſe to the Southward; and about the ſame Time, another Squadron of 12 *French* Men of War, with ſome Frigates, ſailed from *Toulon*, directing their Courſe towards the Mouth of the Streights. Where theſe two Squadrons are deſigned, or what Inſtructions they are furniſhed with, remains as yet a Secret. But his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty now begins to declare, that as he is Guarantee of the *Spaniſh* Dominions by the Treaty of *Utrecht*, he thinks himſelf obliged to aſſiſt *Spain*, if we attempt to take any of their Dominions from them; and as his Subjects are greatly concerned in the *Spaniſh Flota's* and *Galleons*, he muſt fall upon ſome Method to ſecure and bring home their Effects. Thus *France* ſeems to tell us, that we ſhall proſecute the War no Way but by Reprizals at Sea, which ſhe will take Care to render quite ineffectual with Regard to us, by carrying on the *Spaniſh* Trade in *French* Bottoms; and as theſe are Terms we cannot comply with, a War with *France*, as well as *Spain*, ſeems now to be unavoidable; which the *French* ſeem to foreſee, and for this Reaſon they have already begun to repair and reſtore the Harbour and Fortifications of *Dunkirk*, in open Violation of that very Treaty from whence they now claim a Pretence to aſſiſt *Spain* againſt us.

The *Ferrol* Squadron being ſailed, and the *Spaniards* thinking it impoſſible, or not worth their While, to amuſe us any longer with an intended Invaſion, the late Duke of *Ormond* has received ſome Part of his Arrears, and is preparing to ſet out from *Madrid* upon his Return to *Avignon*.

We hear from *Naples*, that two *Dutch* Veſſels have been taken by a *Spaniſh* Privateer, and brought into *Meſſina*, both which he pretends to be lawful Prize. One of them was bound from *Gallipoli* to *Rotterdam*, which the *Spaniard* ſeized becauſe, as he pretends, the Cargo belongs to *Britiſh* Subjects; and the other was bound from *Trani* to *Liſbon*, which he ſeized, becauſe the Maſter was an *Engliſhman*, tho' a Burgher of *Amſterdam*. Thus the *Spaniards* ſhew us, how we are to treat any neutral Ships that ſhall be employed in carrying on the *Spaniſh* Trade.

The Difficulties which retarded the *Turkiſh* Ambaſſador's Entry at *Vienna*, being all at laſt removed, that Miniſter made his ſolemn Entry on the 12th of laſt Month. Upon this Occaſion, the Ambaſſador was mounted upon one of the Emperor's fineſt Horſes, with ſtately Accoutrements. He was dreſſed in a ſcarlet Robe lined with Ermine, and richly embroidered with Gold. He had upon his Head a Turban, with a Plume of Feathers adorned with precious Stones; and he carried in his Hand a Sort of Fan or Umbrella of Feathers. The Ambaſſador and his Retinue, which is very numerous, are lodged in the Suburb St. *Leopold*, where eight of the largeſt Houſes in that Quarter were prepared for their Reception; and great Care has been taken at *Vienna*, to prevent any Quarrel happening with any of this Miniſter's Retinue.

A Diſpute having lately happened between the King of *Pruſſia* and the Biſhop of *Liege*, in relation to a Right of Sovereignty claimed by the latter, over ſome Part of the Territory of *Herſtal*, and his *Pruſſian* Majeſty thinking himſelf injured, cauſed to be publiſh'd his Manifeſto againſt the Biſhop on the 10th of laſt Month at *Weſel*; which Manifeſto was on the 13th followed by 2000 *Pruſſian* Grenadiers and Dragoons, who entered the Barony of *Herſtal* at *Maſeyck*, where they

they are to live at Diſcretion, till the Biſhop of *Liege* agrees to do Juſtice to his *Pruſſian* Majeſty.

The World has been lately ſurprized with the King of *Sweden*'s Letters Patent for convoking the general Diet of the States of that Kingdom, which was publiſhed the 18th of laſt Month, and was the leſs expected, becauſe it was thought the Miniſtry were againſt it; but it ſeems, they at laſt, by the Advice of the *French* Ambaſſador, propoſed it in the Senate, whereupon it was agreed to, and the Diet is to aſſemble on the 4th of *December* next. In the mean Time, the *French* and *Ruſſian* Parties in that Kingdom are buſy making Intereſt, and 'tis thought there will be a very great Conteſt between *French* Louis d'ors and *Ruſſian* Ducats. Perhaps the latter may be ſupported by ſome *Engliſh* Guineas, which may be uſefully employed there at this preſent Juncture.

We have juſt received a long Account of the vaſt Riches which *Thamas Kouli Kan* has brought from the *Great Mogul*'s Country. It would be too long to give the Particulars, but the Whole amounts to near 550,500,000*l. Sterling*; and he has obliged that Prince to promiſe him an annual Tribute of 7,500,000*l. Sterling*; which Sums, are perhaps, too large for the Belief of thoſe that are unacquainted with the immenſe Riches of that Part of the World.

The Monthly Catalogue *for* September, 1740.

Historical.

1. THE Hiſtory of the Life of *Peter* I. Emperor of *Ruſſia*. By *J. Mottley*, Eſq; in 3 Vols. 12mo. Embelliſhed with curious Frontiſpieces, an accurate Map of the *Ruſſian* Empire, and ſeveral other Copper-Plates, repreſenting a Proſpect of the City of *Moſcow*, a Plan of the City of *Peterſburgh*, the Fortreſs of *Cronſlot*, and the different Habits and Cuſtoms of the ſeveral Nations ſubject to that great Empire, *&c.* Sold by *T. Aſtley*, price 9*s.*

2. A full Account of the Life of *Roger Johnſon*. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 6*d.*

3. The Life of *Gilbert Langley*. Sold by *J. Applebee*, price 1*s.*

Miscellaneous.

4. The Archdeacon's Examination of Candidates for Holy Orders. By *A. St. George*, D. D. Sold by *R. Manby*, price 4*s.* 6*d.*

5. The Impoſture of Methodiſm diſplay'd. By *W. Bowman*, M. A. Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 1*s.*

6. A Charge deliver'd to the Grand Jury at *Durham*, by the Biſhop of *Durham*. Printed for Meſſ. *Knapton*, price 6*d.*

7. *Buchanan*'s and Dr. *Johnſton*'s Paraphraſe of the Pſalms compar'd. Printed for *J. Davidſon*, price 6*d.*

* 8. *Ovid*'s *Triſtia*. In 5 Books. By *N. Bailey*. The 2d Edition with Improvements. Printed for *T. Cox*, *J. Wood*, and *C. Woodward*, price 2*s.* 6*d.*

* 9. A ſhort Syſtem of Rhetorick, in a Method entirely new. Containing all the Tropes and Figures neceſſary to illuſtrate the Claſſicks, both Poetical and Hiſtorical. By *John Stirling*, M. A. The 3d Edition. Printed for *T. Aſtley*, price 4*d.* ſtitch'd.

10. *Scotch* Preſbyterian Eloquence diſplay'd; or, the Folly of their Teaching diſcover'd, from their Books, Sermons, and Prayers. Interſperſed with ſome genuine Love Adventures. With a curious Frontiſpiece. Sold by *T. Cooper*, price 2*s.*

Physical *and* Mathematical.

11. Horti Chelſeiani Index. Ab I. Rand, R. S. S. Proſtant apud J. Whiſton, pr. 3*s.* 6*d.*

12. Oratio Anniverſaria in Theatro Coll. Med. Lond. A Fr. Nicholls, M. D. Impenſis T. Woodward, pr. 1*s.*

* 13. Synopſis Medicinæ. Tranſlated from the laſt Latin Edition. By Dr. *Allen*, himſelf, 2d Edit. Printed for *W. Innys*, *W. Meadows*, *R. Manby*, and *J. Pemberton*, 2 Vols. 8vo, pr. 10*s.* 6*d.*

* 14. Dr. *Turner*'s Syphilis, Vol. II. 2d Edit. Printed for *J. Clarke*, 8vo, pr. 4*s.*

* 15. The young Mathematicians Guide. By *J. Ward*, 7th Edit. pr. 5*s.* 6*d.*

Poetry.

16. *Volmnia*'s Complaint to her Lord. Printed for *T. Robbins*, price 6*d.*

17. The Stateſman. A Poem. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 1*s.*

Sermons.

18. A Viſitation Sermon in the Cathedral Church of *Clogher*. By *John Copping*, Dean of *Clogher*. Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 6*d.*

19. Two Sermons preach'd at the Aſſizes at *Hertford*. By *Ch. Browne*, A. M. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d.* each.

20. Forty two Sermons. By the late Rev. Mr. *E. Smith*. In 2 Vols. 8vo. Printed for *J. Hodges*, price 10*s.* 6*d.*

21. A Sermon preach'd at the Aſſizes at *Exeter*. By *Hugh Trevannion*, Vicar of *Weſt Alvington* in *Devon*. *Exon*: Printed for *J. Drew*, and ſold by *T. Aſtley*, price 6*d.*

* 22. A Sermon preach'd before K. *Charles* II. By *Z. Cradock*, D. D. The 2d Edition. Printed for *O. Payne*, price 6*d.*

Theological.

23. The Works of the late Rev. Mr. *John Flavel*. In two Volumes, Folio. The 4th Edition.

24. Social Religion exemplified in ten Dialogues compleat. Printed for *J. Buckland*, 8vo, pr. 5*s.* 6*d.*

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

OCTOBER, 1740.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 436.

In the Debate upon the Motion made by M. Horatius Barbatus, *begun in my laſt, the next Speech I ſhall give you was that made by* C. Plinius Cæcilius, *who ſpoke in Subſtance thus:*

My Lords,

BEFORE we can with any Propriety enter ſeriouſly into the Debate, 'tis neceſſary we ſhould well underſtand the Nature of the Queſtion before us. I ſhall not, therefore, at preſent trouble you with entering into the Merits, I ſhall only take the Liberty to ſtate the Queſtion, according as it appears to me. His Majeſty, in his Speech from the Throne, at the Opening of the Seſſion, demanded of the other Houſe a Supply for the ſervice of the enſuing Year, and told them he would order Eſtimates of the particular Services to be laid before them. Thoſe Eſtimates were accordingly laid before them; but then, as we are now engaged in a War, and as his Majeſty, it ſeems, is reſolved to undertake, if poſſible, ſome ſecret Expeditions againſt the Enemy, an Account of which neither can nor ought to be made publick, a greater Supply will be neceſſary than can appear by the Eſtimates laid before the other Houſe, and this his Majeſty thought himſelf obliged to acquaint them of; becauſe, otherwiſe, he could not have expected any greater Supply than appeared neceſſary by the Eſtimates he had ordered to be laid before them, and conſequently he could not have undertaken any ſecret Expedition againſt the Enemy, however probable the Succeſs might have appeared, or however expedient future Accidents or Circumſtances might have rendered it for him to engage in ſuch a one.

The Meſſage, therefore, which is now under your Lordſhips Conſideration, I can look upon in no other Light, than as a Meſſage to the other Houſe, to acquaint them, that ſome Expence would be neceſſary, of which no Eſtimate could be made; and in this Light I muſt look upon it as a Sort of Eſtimate,

and muſt think, that your Lordſhips have as much Reaſon to complain, that all the Eſtimates for the particular Services of the enſuing Year were not communicated to you, as well as to the other Houſe, as you have to complain, that this Eſtimate was not communicated to you at the ſame Time it was ſent to the Commons.

Upon this M. Agrippa *ſtood up, and ſpoke to this Effect:*

My Lords,

I AM ſurprized to hear the noble Lord that ſpoke laſt, ſtate the Caſe as he has done. It is not poſſible to look upon this Meſſage in any Light that can make it bear the leaſt Reſemblance to an Eſtimate. It is a Meſſage for a new Supply; a Supply ariſing from new Meaſures, which were not ſo much as hinted at in his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne. Let us, my Lords, but conſider the Words of his Majeſty's Speech, and we muſt conclude, that the Meſſage now under our Conſideration, can have no Relation to any Supply thereby demanded. His Majeſty, when he addreſſes himſelf to the Houſe of Commons, tells them, that he has ordered Eſtimates for the Service of the enſuing Year, and likewiſe Accounts of the extraordinary Expences of the current Year, as alſo an Eſtimate of the Charge of raiſing a Body of Marines, to be laid before them; and then he ſays, he cannot doubt but they will grant ſuch effectual Supplies, as may enable him to carry on the War with Vigour. Can the Word, Supplies, here relate to any Thing but the Eſtimates and Accounts, which his Majeſty had ordered to be laid before them? Can any one ſuppoſe, his Majeſty meant, that it ſhould relate to a Charge, of which no Eſtimate or Account could be laid before them? Or could any Lord in this Houſe ſuppoſe, from what his Majeſty there ſaid, that any Meaſures were to be undertaken, which were not to be mentioned in any of the Eſtimates? If any ſuch Meaſures were then thought on, they ought to have been mentioned in his Majeſty's Speech from the Throne: If they have ſince fallen under Conſideration, his Majeſty ſhould have been adviſed to have come again to the Houſe, and acquainted us of it by a new Speech, or at leaſt he ſhould have been adviſed to have communicated it to both Houſes by Meſſage. If his Majeſty had by either of theſe Methods told us, that he had under his Conſideration ſuch Meaſures as would require an additional Expence, but could not be communicated, I am ſure, I ſhould not, I believe no Lord in this Houſe would have deſired a Diſcovery.

It is the Buſineſs of the other Houſe, my Lords, to conſider and determine, what Supplies may be neceſſary for the publick Service: It is their Buſineſs to conſider and determine, what Ways and Means may be moſt proper for raiſing thoſe Supplies; and we are to give our Concurrence, if we think they are in the Right. But as to the Meaſures or Services which make thoſe Supplies neceſſary, it is our Buſineſs to conſider and determine, whether or no they are proper: It is this Houſe that his Majeſty ought chiefly to conſult upon ſuch Occaſions; therefore no Supplies ought to be either aſked or granted, till the Meaſures or Services have been communicated, or at leaſt mentioned to this Houſe, either by Speech or Meſſage; and as from the very Words of the Meſſage, it appears to be a Meſſage for a new Supply, which is to be applied to Services or Meaſures, that were never before ſo much as hinted to this Houſe, it ought

ought for this Reaſon to have been communicated to this Houſe, to the End that we might have had ſome Opportunity of approving or diſapproving of the Meaſures; and, at the ſame Time, it ought to have been communicated to the other Houſe, to the End that they might have provided the Supplies neceſſary for carrying on thoſe Meaſures.

Having thus ſhewn, my Lords, that it is not poſſible to put ſuch a Meaning upon this Meſſage, as has been put by the noble Lord that ſpoke laſt, I ſhall not trouble your Lordſhips at preſent with entering farther into the Debate, becauſe I have as yet heard very little ſaid againſt the Motion; but if I ſhould hear any material Objection made to it, I ſhall beg Leave to riſe up again, in order to approve of the Objections, if I think them ſuch as ought to be approved of, or to give them ſuch an Anſwer, as I may think ſufficient for preventing their having any Influence in this Debate.

The next that ſpoke was C. Cicerejus, *whoſe Speech was in Subſtance as follows*, viz.

My Lords,

HOWEVER proper or neceſſary the Motion now under our Conſideration may be, I wiſh that noble Lords would, when they make any Motion, keep cloſe to the Argument, and avoid launching out into perſonal Invectives. The introductory Speeches that have been made in Favour of this Motion, look'd, in my Opinion, more like an Introduction to an Impeachment, than an Introduction to a Motion for vindicating the Privileges of this Houſe. If our Liberties are expiring, my Lords, or if any Attack has been lately made upon them, why does not ſome one of the noble Lords that think ſo, ſtand up in his Place, and impeach thoſe who are carrying on, or contriving any ſuch Attack? It is what every Lord has a Right to do: It is what every Lord ought to do. Inſtead of bewailing upon every Occaſion the Danger our Liberties and Conſtitution are expoſed to, by ſecret Machinations or fraudulent Practices, they ought to explain thoſe Machinations and Practices to the Houſe, and they ought to conclude with an Impeachment in Form againſt the Perſons they ſuppoſe to be the Authors of ſuch wicked and dangerous Deſigns.

I hope, my Lords, I have as great a Concern for the Liberties of the Nation, and for the Rights and Privileges of this Houſe, as any Lord that has the Honour of having a Seat in this auguſt Aſſembly: If I thought, that any Attack had been made upon either, no Lord ſhould be more ready than I, to concur in Meaſures for bringing the guilty Authors and Abetters to condign Puniſhment. But I do not think, that the leaſt Attack has been lately made upon either; and in the preſent Caſe, I do not think it can be ſuppoſed, there was any Deſign of attacking the Rights or Privileges of this Houſe. His Majeſty, in his Speech from the Throne, deſired ſuch Supplies as might be effectual for enabling him to carry on the War with Vigour; and if any one of thoſe Supplies be of ſuch a Nature, as not to admit of an Eſtimate, can we ſuppoſe, that his not acquainting us of this, was deſigned as a Violation of any of the Privileges of this Houſe? It is well known to every Lord here, that no Eſtimate is ever laid before us: We generally agree, or we may diſagree, to the Supplies granted by the other Houſe, without ſeeing any Eſtimate. Whereas, in the other Houſe, a particular Eſtimate for each particular Service is always laid before them, and they never grant a larger

Sum for any particular Service, than appears from the particular Eſtimate to be neceſſary; nor do they grant any Sum for any particular Service, without having an Eſtimate for that particular Service previouſly laid before them. Therefore, when a Service was to be incurred, for which no particular Eſtimate could be made, it was neceſſary for his Majeſty to tell them ſo; but in my Opinion, it would have been both improper, and contrary to the Uſage of Parliament, to have ſaid any Thing of it to this Houſe in his Majeſty's Speech, and much more ſo, to have acquainted us of it by a particular Meſſage. It would very probably have given the Alarm to the other Houſe, as if his Majeſty deſigned, that we ſhould interfere with them in granting the neceſſary Supplies; and therefore, I think, his Majeſty's not communicating this Meſſage to us, was ſo far from being any Sign of Diſreſpect towards us, that it was a new Teſtimony of his Wiſdom, and of the great Regard he has to the Uſage of Parliament, and to the Peace and Happineſs of his People.

But ſuppoſe, my Lords, I were of Opinion, that this Meſſage ought to have been communicated to this Houſe at the ſame Time it was communicated to the other; yet, as I am fully ſatisfied, that no Affront was intended to be put upon us, by not ſending this or ſome ſuch Meſſage to us, at the ſame Time it was ſent to the other Houſe, I could not, in our preſent Circumſtances, concur with the Motion now before you; becauſe I ſhould be afraid, that our coming to ſuch a Reſolution might interrupt that Unanimity, which is ſo neceſſary for bringing the War we are now engaged in, to a happy and ſpeedy Iſſue; and when the noble Lord conſiders this, I hope he will not inſiſt upon having his Motion put to the Queſtion.

C. Oppius *next ſtood up, and made a ſhort Speech to the Effect as follows, viz.*

My Lords,

I CANNOT pretend to be ſo nice a Judge of the Rights and Privileges of this Houſe, as ſome of your Lordſhips may be; but I cannot think, that an Application to the other Houſe ſingly, in any Matter that relates to the Supply, is ſuch a direct and open Violation of the Rights and Privileges of this Houſe, as ought to prevail with us, to come to a Reſolution that may raiſe Heats and Animoſities about particular Rights and Privileges amongſt ourſelves, when the Rights and Privileges of the whole Nation are in ſo much Danger. I am perſuaded, an Account of this Motion will be look'd on as very good News by the late Duke of *Ormond* at the Head of his Rebel Army in *Spain*. From the very Motion itſelf, I believe, both he and the Court of *Spain* will conceive Hopes of Succeſs in their intended Invaſion; and if they conceive ſuch Hopes from the Motion, what will they not expect, ſhould they hear of its being agreed to? I am for doing nothing that may give them the leaſt Encouragement to attempt an Invaſion upon this Nation, and therefore I ſhall be againſt agreeing to the Reſolution propoſed.

L. Duronius *then ſtood up again, and ſpoke thus:*

My Lords,

I WAS in ſome Hopes, the noble Lord would have been prevailed on to have ſtood up and waved his Motion; but as the Queſtion ſeems to be inſiſted on, and as ſome Lords may be under Difficulties with regard to a Negative's being put upon ſuch a Motion, and yet may be con-

convinced, that the preſent is a very improper Time for our coming to ſuch a Reſolution, therefore I ſhall beg Leave to move, that the previous Queſtion may be put.

Upon this M. Agrippa *ſtood up again, and ſpoke in Subſtance as follows,* viz.

My Lords,

UPON ſuch a Motion as this, I am extremely ſurprized to hear any of your Lordſhips move for the previous Queſtion. The previous Queſtion, my Lords, may in many Caſes be right, but ſurely it cannot be ſo in this. When a Motion is made, which appears to be in itſelf right, but which is neither neceſſary nor proper to be put to the Queſtion at that Time, the previous Queſtion may then properly be moved for, and it is prudent to make uſe of it for waving a Queſtion, which does not then neceſſarily require an Affirmative, and which cannot, in its own Nature, admit of a Negative. But can the Queſtion now before you be ſaid to be of ſuch a Nature? My Lords, if it cannot admit of a Negative, it neceſſarily and immediately requires an Affirmative. It is a Queſtion that affects the Honour of this Houſe, and conſequently the Honour of every Lord in it. If the Honour of this Houſe has been attacked by ſending ſuch a Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons ſingly, which the previous Queſtion ſuppoſes, will any of your Lordſhips ſay, that we ought not immediately to vindicate our own Honour, at leaſt by ſuch a Reſolution as my noble Friend has been pleaſed to propoſe? Can our agreeing to ſuch a Reſolution be attended with bad Conſequences at this Time, any more than at another? My Lords, it can be attended with no bad Conſequences either to the Nation in general, or to any particular Man. It is ſo prudently drawn up, that it can affect no Perſon in the Kingdom: But if ſuch a Thing could be ſuppoſed, ſhall we allow the Safety of any Subject whatever, to ſtand in Competition with the Honour and Dignity of this Houſe?

We may talk of Impeachments, my Lords, and of the Right that every Lord in this Houſe has, to ſtand up in his Place, and impeach whomſoever he ſuppoſes to be guilty; but if it ſhould appear, which, I hope, it never ſhall, that the Majority of your Lordſhips have a greater Regard for the Safety of any particular Subject, than for your own Honour, or the Honour of this Aſſembly, I am ſure it would be an imprudent and very ridiculous Step in any Lord, to riſe up and impeach that Perſon before this Aſſembly, even tho' he could bring evident Proofs of his being guilty of the moſt heinous Crimes and Miſdemeanors. In all Caſes of Impeachment, there are ſeveral preparatory Steps or Motions neceſſary, before any Lord can directly impeach; and when ſuch preparatory Motions are diſagreed to by the Houſe, it becomes impracticable for any Lord to proceed to an Impeachment. In the preſent Caſe, if what is now complained of, were of ſuch a heinous Nature, as to deſerve an Impeachment, the firſt preparatory Step would be ſome ſuch Motion as this, and the next would be a Motion for addreſſing his Majeſty to know who had adviſed him; both which Motions muſt be agreed to, and an Anſwer returned from his Majeſty, before any Lord could ſtand up in his Place, and impeach the Perſon who gave the Advice. But at preſent there is no ſuch Deſign: If there were, the Motion would have been drawn up in much ſtronger Terms. We may ſee from the Terms in which it is drawn up, that

that the noble Lord has no other Deſign, than to vindicate the Rights and Privileges of this Houſe; and for this Purpoſe, his Motion will have a good Effect, whatever may be its Fate. Even tho' our agreeing to it ſhould at this Time be prevented by the previous Queſtion, yet the very Motion will, I hope, prevent any Miniſter's daring to ſhew ſuch a Contempt of this Houſe for the future.

This, I hope, my Lords, will be the Conſequence of the Motion, even tho' you ſhould put the previous Queſtion upon it; but, if that Queſtion ſhould paſs in the Negative, I muſt beg your Lordſhips to conſider what Effect it may have with regard to your own Characters. By putting the previous Queſtion, you admit, that the Motion is in itſelf right: What Reaſon then can be aſſigned for your not agreeing to it? None but the Regard you have for thoſe who have, at preſent, the Honour to be his Majeſty's Counſellors and Adviſers; and will not the cenſorious World from thence conclude, that you have a greater Regard for them, than you have for your own Honour or Reputation? Therefore, if the previous Queſtion ſhould be put, as it muſt be, if inſiſted on, I hope every Lord that thinks the Honour of this Houſe is not in the leaſt affected, by the ſending of this Meſſage to the other Houſe without taking any Notice of this, as well as every Lord who thinks otherwiſe, will give his Affirmative upon the previous Queſtion, in order that the principal Queſtion may be put; for thoſe who think the Honour of this Houſe not in the leaſt affected, ought to be for having a Negative put upon the principal Queſtion, in order to vindicate their own Characters; and thoſe who think otherwiſe, ought to inſiſt upon having the principal Queſtion immediately agreed to, in order to vindicate the Honour of this Aſſembly. In a Caſe of Honour, my Lords, there is no Doubt to be admitted of; for no Man can have a true Regard to his Honour, that does not immediately endeavour to vindicate it, in every Caſe where there is the leaſt Suſpicion of its being attack'd.

But, my Lords, can any one of your Lordſhips doubt of the Affront that has been put upon this Houſe, in not communicating to us a Meaſure in which the Nation is ſo much concerned? Are we to agree to the Supplies voted by the other Houſe, without knowing any one Reaſon for our ſo doing? The other Houſe will probably, I hope they will, grant a Supply for the Meaſures now under his Majeſty's Conſideration; but how are we to know that there are any ſuch Meaſures under his Conſideration? Are we to take an Information, with regard to his Majeſty's Intentions, from the Commons? God forbid, my Lords, that ever any of your Lordſhips ſhould entertain ſo mean a Thought. What can we think then of this Neglect? Muſt we not think, that we are forgotten by his Majeſty, or, at leaſt, by thoſe who have the Honour to adviſe him? And, if this Houſe ſhould once come to be forgotten by the Crown, it will be forgotten by every Man in the Kingdom. It will be deſerted even by thoſe who then have the Honour, I may ſay the Misfortune of being Members. It will then be attended only by three or four Court Lords, and perhaps half a Dozen or a Dozen of Prelates; and, if this ſhould ever come to be the Caſe, we may eaſily judge what Weight or Authority it will have among the People.

For this Reaſon, my Lords, I think we are infinitely obliged to the noble young Lords that made and ſeconded this Motion; and, if they have expreſſed themſelves a

little

little warmly, they ought to be applauded. It is natural for a young Gentleman of any Spirit to grow warm, when he thinks his Honour in the leaſt Degree attack'd. My Lords, it is with Pleaſure I perceive a Spirit of Virtue and Liberty beginning to prevail among the young Lords of this Houſe. Their Example will, I hope, be followed by all the Youth of the Nation; and therefore, I muſt look upon them as the beſt Securities we can have for the Preſervation and Improvement of our Conſtitution. Old Men may, perhaps, be a little too paſſive: They may ſit ſtill under an Incroachment, rather than expoſe themſelves to the Danger and Fatigue of oppoſing it; and thus, by ſuffering Incroachment after Incroachment, the Conſtitution may be undone: But, when the Youth of a free Nation are indu'd with a true Spirit of Virtue and Honour, they will take fire upon the firſt Incroachment: They will bear any Fatigue, they will expoſe themſelves to any Danger, rather than allow the firſt to go unpuniſhed, or at leaſt unreſented; and thus, by oppoſing the firſt, they will prevent a ſecond.

It is needleſs, my Lords, to aſk a Precedent for our complaining of the Meſſage now under our Conſideration. It is hardly poſſible there ſhould be any one directly in Point. There never was ſuch a Meſſage ſent to both, or either Houſe of Parliament, before the Year 1717. But, I muſt obſerve, that this is not the firſt Affront that has of late been attempted to be put upon this Houſe. In the Year 1726, his late Majeſty was adviſed, in a Meſſage then ſent, to call the other Houſe the Parliament, as if this Houſe had been no Branch of the Legiſlature. This was then properly reſented: Thoſe who adviſed it, were obliged to own it was a Miſtake; and it was, almoſt with Tears in their Eyes, they prevented a farther Reſentment. This is a Precedent for our complaining when any Neglect ſeems to be ſhewn us by the Crown. The two Caſes, I ſhall grant, are far from being parallel; for the preſent Caſe is as much ſtronger than the former, as Facts are ſtronger than Words. In the former Caſe, the other Houſe was, in Words only, called the Parliament; but in the preſent, they are, in Fact, treated as ſuch. They have been ſingly conſulted in a Point of the greateſt Importance and Concern to the Publick, as if we, of this Houſe, had no Share in the Legiſlature or Government of our Country. Therefore, if we had then Reaſon to complain, as the Majority of this Houſe, at that Time, thought we had, the Reaſon we now have, is more cogent, and ought to be more prevailing.

Our Sovereign's addreſſing himſelf, in his Speech, to the other Houſe particularly, when he mentions the neceſſary Supplies, can afford no Pretence or Excuſe for the Neglect now ſhewn to this. In every Speech from the Throne, the firſt Part of it is addreſſed to both Houſes; and, in that, the Meaſures or Services which make the Supplies neceſſary, are mentioned: Being thus informed of the Services, we may judge of them, and may declare againſt them, if we think them improper or inconſiſtent with the publick Good. But with regard to the Services or Meaſures mentioned in this Meſſage, we have had no Information of them, in a Parliamentary Way, and therefore can no Way judge of them, or give his Majeſty any Advice concerning them. If his Majeſty had been ſo good as to let us know, that he has certain Meaſures under his Conſideration, which will occaſion ſome extraordinary Expence, not comprehended in the Eſtimates laid be-

fore the other Houſe, I ſhould certainly have approved, without enquiring what the Meaſures were, and ſhould have been ready to have concurred in granting a Supply ſufficient for carrying them into Execution, becauſe, I believe, they are right, and ſuch as may contribute to our Succeſs in the preſent War. But, if I had thought otherwiſe, if I had thought that his Majeſty had been adviſed to ſend the Fleets and Armies of this Kingdom upon ſome romantick Expedition, I would have been ſo far from approving, that I ſhould probably have moved for an Addreſs, in order to give his Majeſty proper Advice upon the Occaſion; and, if the other Houſe had granted a Supply for the carrying on of ſuch Meaſures, I ſhould have refuſed giving it my Concurrence in this Houſe. Whereas, in the preſent Caſe, I can neither approve nor diſapprove of the Meaſures; and, if the Grant of a Supply for carrying on Meaſures I know nothing of in a Parliamentary Way, ſhould come up from the other Houſe, I am ſure, I ſhall think myſelf bound in Duty to my King and Country, as well as for the Sake of the Honour of this Houſe, to oppoſe as much as I can our giving our Concurrence to ſuch a Grant.

'Tis true, my Lords, the Eſtimates for the particular Services are not laid before this Houſe; but I hope no Lord imagines, that it is becauſe we have not a Right to examine into the Supplies granted by the other Houſe for anſwering thoſe Services. We may not only examine into them, but we may prevent their having any Effect, by refuſing our Concurrence: We ought to do ſo, when we know nothing in a Parliamentary Way, of the Services for which they were granted; and tho' the Eſtimates for the particular Services are not uſually laid before us, yet our Sovereign, in his Speech from the Throne, at the Opening of the Seſſion, either does, or ought to communicate to us, in general Terms, the Services for which the Supplies are to be granted, and in our Preſence acquaints the other Houſe, that he has ordered the particular Eſtimates and Accounts to be laid before them. Nay, even as to thoſe Eſtimates and Accounts, we may, if we pleaſe, call for them, and may examine particularly into every one of them: 'Twould be our Duty to do ſo, if we ſhould have the leaſt Suſpicion, that any one of them were falſe, or over-charged.

From what I have ſaid, my Lords, I hope, it will appear, that thoſe who adviſed his Majeſty to ſend a Meſſage to the other Houſe, relating to publick Meaſures to be undertaken, without taking any Notice of this Houſe, have been guilty of a Violation of our Rights and Privileges, as one, and I hope I may yet ſay, the ſuperior Houſe of Parliament; and this Violation, 'tis the more neceſſary for us to take Notice of, becauſe it is a Violation of thoſe Parliamentary Forms of Proceeding which, by our Conſtitution, it has always been thought neceſſary to obſerve. Such a Violation, my Lords, gives me a moſt melancholy Conſideration; becauſe the Subſtance of a Conſtitution of Government muſt be gone, before any one will dare to attack the Forms. Even in the moſt abſolute Governments that have been eſtabliſhed upon the Ruins of Liberty, the Forms of their ancient Conſtitution have been preſerved. The *Romans* retained their Senate and their popular Magiſtrates, even under their moſt arbitrary and tyrannical Emperors; and the Conſent of that Senate ſeemed to be aſked to every publick Act; the Election of their Conſuls, their Tribunes, and ſeveral other Magiſtrates, ſeemed to be

left

left to the free Choice of the People; but every one knows, that their Senates always approved what the Tyrant's chief Miniſter dictated, and the People always choſe for their Magiſtrates, the Perſons that were nominated by him; ſo that in Effect the Government was as abſolute, and much more tyrannical, than it could have been, had they had no Appearance of a Senate, or of any popular Magiſtrate. In *France* likewiſe, the Forms of their ancient free Conſtitution are ſtill preſerved. The Parliament of *Paris* ſtill regiſters the King's Edicts; but that Parliament has not now the Liberty to refuſe. So in this Houſe, we may be allowed to approve of thoſe Meaſures, which our Sovereign and his Miniſters have before reſolved on; and this Form, or rather Farce of having our Approbation, may be continued for many Years after our Liberty or Power of refuſing it is taken away. I hope the Ceremony of having our Approbation is not as yet become a mere Piece of Form, or a mere Farce; but from the Treatment now complained of, I muſt ſuppoſe, that thoſe who adviſed his Majeſty to treat us in ſuch a Manner, are of Opinion, that even this Farce is now become unneceſſary, for, it ſeems, they do not think our Approbation to their Meaſures ſo much as worth aſking.

My Lords, the Conſtitution of our Government, according to its ancient Form, is the moſt perfect, I believe, that was ever eſtabliſh'd; and therefore we certainly will, as long as we have any Honour or publick Spirit left, endeavour to preſerve it. A very great Hiſtorian and Politician has long ago ſaid, that the beſt Form of Government is that, which conſiſts of a certain Mixture of the three principal Sorts of Government; but ſuch a Form of Government, ſays he, cannot poſſibly long endure. We in this Kingdom have fallen upon that Mixture, which he recommends; and thank God, we have hitherto defeated his Prophecy. Our Anceſtors have preſerved that Mixture for many Ages, often at the Riſk of their Lives and Fortunes: God forbid! my Lords, it ſhould periſh in our Hands. But if we ſhould once allow any Miniſter to tread under Foot, or in the leaſt deſpiſe the Rights and Privileges of this Houſe, or to adviſe our Sovereign to do ſo, the Dignity of the Peerage will evaniſh; and if the Dignity of the Peerage ſhould evaniſh, the Dignity of the Crown itſelf will be gone; for the Dignity of our Sovereign conſiſts in his being ſovereign Lord of a free People, and a great Number of conſiderable and independent Lords. Our Conſtitution will ſoon deviate into a Democracy, which will of courſe ſoon come under the abſolute Rule of one, perhaps, one of the loweſt Rank among them. This has been already once our Fate, and this may probably be again our Fate, if we ſhould ever bring ourſelves into publick Contempt, by allowing a daring and uſurping Miniſter to trample upon our Rights and Privileges. To prevent this for the future, is the only Intention of the preſent Motion; and therefore, I hope, every Lord that thinks there is the leaſt Cauſe to ſuppoſe, that our Honour has been attacked by the late Neglect that has been ſhewn us, will give his Affirmative to the principal Queſtion; for I cannot think the noble Lord will inſiſt upon the previous Queſtion, becauſe I have ſhewn, that every Lord in this Houſe, let his Opinion be what it will, ought to be for having the principal Queſtion immediately determined.

The next that ſpoke was Cn. Domitius Calvinus, *the Purport of whoſe Speech was as follows*, viz.

My Lords,

WITH regard to the Motion now under your Lordſhips Conſideration, the previous Queſtion I think is right, and for this very Reaſon, becauſe the principal Queſtion is not right. There are many Queſtions, which ought to have a Negative put upon them, whereof I think this is one, and yet there may be Danger in attempting to put that Negative; becauſe, if the principal Queſtion ſhould be put, what by the ill-grounded Prejudices of ſome, and the unreaſonable Difficulties of others, it may be carried in the Affirmative, very much to the Detriment or Danger of the Commonwealth.

The preſent Queſtion, my Lords, is, I ſay, in my Opinion, a Queſtion of this Nature: If it were to be put, I ſhould be under no Difficulty in giving my Negative to it, becauſe, I think, the ſending of this Meſſage to the other Houſe ſingly, was neither contrary to the Cuſtoms of Parliament, nor any Way derogatory to the Rights or Privileges of this Houſe. His Majeſty, in his Speech from the Throne, acquainted us of the juſt and neceſſary War he was engaged in, and in our Preſence demanded of the other Houſe ſuch effectual Supplies, as might enable him to carry on the War with Vigour. In our Preſence he told the other Houſe, that he had ordered the Eſtimates, for the Service of the enſuing Year, to be laid before them; but could any Lord of this Houſe, or any Member of the other, then imagine, that Eſtimates could be made of all the Services that in Time of War might become neceſſary? We all know, my Lords, that in Time of War, the moſt effectual Meaſures for carrying it on with Succeſs, are generally ſuch as ought to be kept ſecret, till the very Moment of Execution. The Preparations for the Execution of ſuch Meaſures muſt be attended with an extraordinary Expence, and it is impoſſible to lay any Eſtimate of that Expence before either Houſe of Parliament, without divulging thoſe Meaſures which are to be carried on. Therefore, I think, from his Majeſty's Speech itſelf, we could not but expect, that, beſides the Eſtimates uſually laid before the other Houſe, and which might be laid before them without divulging thoſe Meaſures that ought to be kept ſecret, I ſay, we could not but from thence expect, that ſome certain Sum would be demanded for the carrying on of Meaſures, that neither could, nor ought to be communicated; and the aſcertaining of that Sum may, I think, properly be called the Eſtimate for thoſe Services or Meaſures; ſo that the Meſſage complained of, I muſt look upon as an additional Eſtimate, or as an Extenſion of the Eſtimates previouſly laid before that Houſe; and I do not think it is contrary to the Cuſtoms of Parliament, or derogatory to the Privileges of this Houſe, in his Majeſty, to lay, or to order to be laid, any Sort of Eſtimate before the other Houſe, without ordering it at the ſame Time to be laid before this.

From the Journals of Parliament, my Lords, it will appear, that during the War in Queen *Anne*'s Reign, there were many ſuch Meſſages ſent to the Houſe of Commons only. Nay, during the whole War, it was in every Seſſion the Cuſtom, to enable her Majeſty to apply any Part of the Supplies granted in that Seſſion, to ſecret, or not then thought of Services. And ſo far was that Houſe at that Time from imagining, they were to be conſulted with reſpect

reſpect to every warlike Meaſure, the Crown might think proper to undertake, that thoſe diſappropriating Clauſes, as I may call them, were always agreed to without the leaſt Intimation from the Crown, that any ſecret Meaſures were then under Conſideration.

I ſhall grant, my Lords, that when his Majeſty is to aſk the Advice of his Parliament, it is this Houſe he ought principally to apply to. I ſhall likewiſe grant, that it is prudent in the Crown to adviſe with its Parliament in all Caſes of great Importance, unleſs they be ſuch as require great Secreſy. His preſent Majeſty has always done ſo; and has never, in the leaſt, departed from that Advice which has, from Time to Time, been given him by his Parliament. But, I hope, no Lord will ſay, that his Majeſty is never to make the leaſt Step, without firſt conſulting his Parliament; and, in Caſes which require Secreſy, it is impoſſible for him to have the Advice of his Parliament, becauſe he cannot apply for it without divulging the Secret. The Meaſures he has now under Conſideration, and which will require ſome extraordinary Expence, an Eſtimate of which, or the Amount of which, he has, according to Cuſtom, ordered to be laid before the other Houſe, are Meaſures which muſt be kept ſecret, and therefore they are ſuch as he can have no Advice about from his Parliament. If he had, by Meſſage, applied for the Advice of the other Houſe about thoſe, or about any Meaſures, the noble Lord would have been right in his Motion. A Meſſage for Advice ſent ſingly to the other Houſe, would certainly have been derogatory to the Privileges of this; but, his Majeſty neither aſks, nor can aſk any Advice as to thoſe Meaſures, either of them or us. As the Meaſures muſt be kept ſecret, it would, in my Opinion, have been abſurd to have ſent any Meſſage relating to them, to this Houſe. His Majeſty was obliged to tell the other Houſe, that beſides the Eſtimates laid before them, ſome farther Expence would be neceſſary for carrying on the War with Vigour, of which no Eſtimate could be laid before them, becauſe the Meaſures concerted for that Purpoſe, were ſuch as could not be communicated. Such a Meſſage could not, I am ſure, be properly ſent to this Houſe; and, I muſt deſire Lords to conſider, how it would have ſounded, to have deſired our Advice about Meaſures, and at the ſame Time to have told us, that thoſe Meaſures were ſuch as could not be communicated to us. Therefore, I muſt think that the not ſending of this Meſſage to us, is ſo far from being derogatory to our Privileges, that it would have been inconſiſtent with our Dignity, to have ſent it to us in the Terms in which it was ſent to the other Houſe, or in any Terms in which it could have been conceived.

Thus, my Lords, it appears, that his Majeſty could not ſay any Thing to us in relation to thoſe Meaſures, which render this extraordinary Supply neceſſary; and, as to the Supply itſelf, as well as the Meaſures for which it is granted, we ſhall have an Opportunity to give our Conſent to both, when the Appropriation Clauſe comes to receive the Concurrence of this Houſe, which it muſt do, before it can be paſſed into a Law. Therefore, there can, in my Opinion, be no juſt Reaſon for this Complaint, and I am ſure, there is no Precedent for it. That in 1726, is far from being an Authority for it. The other Houſe ſingly was then called the Parliament, which was certainly a Miſtake, and which might, perhaps, have been of bad Conſequence to the Honour and Dignity of this Houſe, if it had not been reſented;

but, in the Meſſage now under our Conſideration, the other Houſe is neither called the Parliament, nor treated as ſuch: It is treated only as that Houſe of Parliament before which the Eſtimates are uſually laid, and in this, I think, no Lord can ſay, there is any Miſtake or Impropriety, nor can it, in my Opinion, in the leaſt affect either the Honour and Dignity, or the Rights and Privileges of this Houſe.

For theſe Reaſons, my Lords, I ſhould be under no Difficulty in giving my Negative to the Motion; but, as other Lords may not be ſo fully convinced in this Caſe as I am, and may therefore be unwilling to put a direct Negative upon the Motion, therefore, I think it the beſt Way to put the previous Queſtion, and when that Queſtion is put, I ſhall moſt heartily give it my Negative, in which, I hope, moſt of the Lords that hear me will concur.

L. Piſo *was the next that ſtood up, whoſe Speech was in Subſtance thus:*

My Lords,

I AM ſurprized to hear the noble Duke ſay, that this Meſſage ought to be conſidered as an Eſtimate, or that it could not have been conceived in ſuch Terms, as to make it proper for being communicated to this Houſe. Is there any one Word in the Meſſage, that can make it look like an Eſtimate? Is there the leaſt Mention of any Sum, either in general or particular? If his Majeſty, in his Meſſage to the other Houſe, had ſaid, that he had under his Conſideration certain Meaſures, which would occaſion an extraordinary Expence of 2 or 300,000 *l.* not comprehended in the Eſtimates laid before them, there might then have been ſome Reaſon to call it an Eſtimate; tho' even in that Caſe, it ought to have been communicated to this Houſe, as well as the other. But in the Words it is expreſſed, I think it impoſſible to find out a Pretence for calling it an Eſtimate, or any Thing like an Eſtimate; at leaſt I muſt think, that thoſe who have found out ſuch a Pretence, are mighty ingenious in contriving how to palliate or excuſe an Affront, that has been put upon this Aſſembly; which is a Sort of Ingenuity that would not look very well in private Life, whatever it may do in publick. In private Life, if a Man ſhould, without deſigning an Affront, do or ſay any Thing, or commit any Miſtake or Overſight, that might look like putting an Affront upon another, he would be in the Right, ſhould he uſe all his Art to explain and excuſe himſelf; but if the Perſon who receives the Affront, ſhould make uſe of any Art or Ingenuity for palliating the Affront put upon him, I ſhould be apt to conclude, that ſuch a Perſon had not ſuch a Regard to his own Honour, as he ought to have.

I am, therefore, not a little ſurprized, to find among your Lordſhips, ſo much Art made uſe of upon this Occaſion, and ſuch farfetch'd Gloſſes put upon this Meſſage, in order to palliate or excuſe the Neglect, or rather Contempt, that has been ſhewn us. But, my Lords, it is impoſſible, in my Opinion, to find any Excuſe that can have the leaſt Weight upon thoſe, who have a true and a nice Regard to the Honour of this Aſſembly. The Meſſage is plainly this, that his Majeſty has under his Conſideration, certain ſecret Meaſures or Deſigns for attacking or diſtreſſing the Enemy, which will occaſion an extraordinary Expence, the Particulars of which he cannot, for the Sake of Secreſy, communicate, but deſires the Aſſiſtance of the other Houſe, for enabling him to carry them

them on, in the moſt effectual Manner. Is not this a Communication of his Majeſty's Deſigns, as far as they could be communicated? and ought not we to have had this Communication made to us, as well as the other Houſe? Or was it leſs neceſſary to aſk our Aſſiſtance, than to aſk the Aſſiſtance of the other Houſe? No Miniſter could think it was, but he who thinks himſelf ſo ſure of our Favours, that they are not worth aſking. This, my Lords, is treating us like the moſt common Proſtitute. We have from his Majeſty heard of Augmentations of our Forces by Sea and Land, we have heard of raiſing a Body of Marines: When the Supplies granted by the other Houſe for theſe Purpoſes, ſhall come before us, we ſhall know what they are for; and I do not queſtion, but your Lordſhips will moſt readily give them your Concurrence. But have we from his Majeſty heard any Thing of certain ſecret Meaſures now under his Royal Conſideration? And if the other Houſe ſhould grant a Supply for thoſe Meaſures, can we concur in granting ſuch a Supply, when we do not know, that there are any ſuch Meaſures. The Appropriation Clauſe may inform us, that the Commons have granted a certain Sum of Money for the carrying on of certain ſecret warlike Meaſures, but it cannot inform us, that his Majeſty then has, or ever had ſuch Meaſures in View; for this is an Information we can take from none but his Majeſty himſelf, and without this Information, we ſhall act inconſiſtently with the Honour and Dignity of this Houſe, if we give our Concurrence to a Supply granted for ſuch a Purpoſe.

This, my Lords, muſt ſhew how neceſſary it was for his Majeſty, to acquaint us by Meſſage with his having ſuch Meaſures under his Conſideration; and it was ſo eaſy to have formed a proper Meſſage for that Purpoſe, that I am aſtoniſhed to hear the Poſſibility of it doubted of. Other Lords may, perhaps, much better underſtand the Method of drawing up a Meſſage from the Crown to this Houſe, becauſe they have of late Years had great Practice in this Way, more, I hope, than I ſhall ever have Occaſion for; but, in my Opinion, even the Meſſage ſent to the Commons would have required but very little Alteration, in order to have made it a Meſſage proper to be ſent to this Houſe. If the Words, *not comprehended in the Eſtimates laid before this Houſe*, had been left out, and the Word, *Lords*, put inſtead of the Word, *Commons*, I can ſee no Reaſon, why it might not have been a Meſſage proper enough to have been ſent to this Houſe. We ſhould then have had a proper Information of his Majeſty's having ſuch Meaſures under his Conſideration; and we ſhould have had an Opportunity to approve of his Majeſty's Care and Concern for the Succeſs of the War, and, perhaps, to give him ſome general Advice in Relation to the Meaſures proper to be purſued, in Caſe we had thought it neceſſary. I hope the Danger of our preſuming to give our Advice upon ſo important an Occaſion, was not the Reaſon of his Majeſty's being adviſed not to let us know, that he had any Meaſures for the Proſecution of the War under his Conſideration; for I am ſure, if it was, it ought to be reſented in a much ſtronger Manner, than the noble Lord has by his Motion propoſed.

But, my Lords, whatever was the Reaſon for neglecting, or purpoſely avoiding to communicate his Majeſty's Intentions to us, at the ſame Time they were communicated to the other Houſe, it muſt appear, from what I have ſaid, to be a moſt notorious and unprecedented Slight

put

put upon this Houſe. I ſhall not ſay, my Lords, we were forgotten, or that any real Injury has been done us. We were, I believe, remembered; but it was, in order to put a deſigned Affront upon us. We have not been injured, but we have been ſlighted, which is worſe; becauſe a Slight proceeds always from Contempt, whereas an Injury proceeds often from Fear. A powerful, warlike, and jealous People can never be ſlighted; but if their Neighbours think them too powerful, they will, probably, take an Opportunity, if they can lay hold of one, to do them a real Injury, in order to diminiſh their Power. It is the ſame with any Aſſembly of Men: They muſt be contemned, before they can be ſlighted; and if we ſubmit tamely to the Slight we have upon this Occaſion met with, we may aſſure ourſelves of meeting very ſoon with a ſecond from the ſame Hand, and ſo with a third, a fourth, till at laſt, we ſhall come to be contemned, ſlighted, and inſulted by the whole World.

The noble Lord was, therefore, much in the Right to take Notice of this Slight, that has been put upon us, and to take Notice of it in the moſt ſolemn Manner. I hope the Majority of your Lordſhips, at leaſt, will join with him upon this Occaſion. His Youth can be no Reaſon for preventing the oldeſt Lord in this Houſe from joining with him in ſuch a juſt, ſuch a neceſſary, and ſuch a modeſt Sort of Reſentment. It is not the firſt Time a Nation has been ſaved by the Vigilance, the Alacrity, and the Courage of a young Man of Quality. *Rome* was ſaved by a very young Lord, or Patrician, when many of thoſe that were much older than he, were like to have ruined their Country by their Deſpair. When I ſay this, my Lords, every one muſt know, I mean the great *Scipio*, afterwards called *Africanus*, who, before he was 20 Years of Age, ſaved his Country, by compelling thoſe that were deſpairing, to take a ſolemn Oath, that they ſhould never leave nor forſake it. And if there be any amongſt us, that deſpair of being able to preſerve the Dignity and Authority of this Houſe, I hope the Example of the young Lords that made and ſeconded this Motion, will revive their drooping Courage, and make them reſolve never to forſake or give up thoſe Rights and Privileges, for which their Anceſtors have ſo bravely fought, and ſo often bled.

But for God's Sake, my Lords, why ſhould we be ſo ſhy of declaring our Opinion upon this Occaſion? Many, I hope the Majority of the Lords of this Houſe, are of Opinion, that the Neglect lately ſhewn us, affects our Honour in the moſt ſenſible Part. Why ſhould we refuſe, or delay to reject or embrace this Opinion? Let us peremptorily declare, whether it does, or does not. Suppoſe we ſhould declare it does, by agreeing to the preſent Motion, what Prejudice can from thence enſue to the Commonwealth? Such a Reſolution may, indeed, reflect a little upon the Man, who was the Occaſion of this Slight being put upon us. Who he may be, I cannot comprehend. Such a Slight could not proceed from the Crown itſelf, nor would it have been allowed, if the Advice of any Lord of this Houſe had been aſked. Yet there are ſeveral amongſt us, who have the Honour to be of his Majeſty's Council; but I muſt ſuppoſe, that none of them were conſulted upon the Occaſion. I am ſorry they were not: I hope they do not often find themſelves ſo much neglected. But let this Reſolution, if agreed to, reflect upon whom it will, it can do no Hurt to the Commonwealth, nor to any Com-

Community or Body of Men in the Kingdom. In the Preſervation of the Rights and Privileges of this Houſe, every Community, every Body of Men in the Nation, have a Concern. If ours ſhould be brought into Danger, the Rights and Privileges of no Body of Men, nor of any particular Man, in the *Britiſh* Dominions could be ſecure. Therefore, my Lords, for our own Sakes, for the Sake of our Fellow-Subjects, for the Sake of our King, for the Sake of our Country, we are obliged to be jealous of the Rights and Privileges of this Houſe, and conſequently, I think, we are obliged to agree immediately to this Motion.

The next Speech I ſhall give you, was made by C. Plinius Cæcilius, *who ſtood up again, and ſpoke to this Effect*, viz.

My Lords,

AS I have yet given you no other Trouble in this Debate, than merely to ſtate the Queſtion under your Conſideration, I ſhall now give you my Opinion upon it, which I ſhall do in as few Words as poſſible. My Lords, if I thought that any of our Rights or Privileges had been in the leaſt violated, by not ſending the Meſſage complained of, to this Houſe, at the ſame Time it was ſent to the Commons, no one of your Lordſhips could be more ready than I ſhould be, to agree to this Motion, or to any farther Step that ſhould be thought neceſſary for aſcertaining and ſecuring our Rights and Privileges in Time to come; but, I am ſo far from thinking it a Violation, or even a Neglect of any of our Rights and Privileges, that I think it was abſolutely unneceſſary, and would have been very imprudent, to have ſent any Meſſage to this Houſe, upon the Subject this Meſſage related to. We know how ſtrenuouſly, and with what Warmth, the other Houſe have for many Years aſſerted their having the ſole Right of granting Supplies. We know what Animoſities and Diviſions have ariſen between the two Houſes, as often as any Queſtion has been ſtarted upon this Subject, and every Lord muſt, with Terror, form in his Mind, an Idea of the unhappy State of Anarchy this Nation would be thrown into, ſhould a Breach happen in our preſent Circumſtance between our two Houſes of Parliament. This, I am convinced would have been the Conſequence, had his Majeſty ſent to this Houſe, a Meſſage of the ſame Kind with that ſent to the other. The Commons would have immediately taken the Alarm, and would have ſaid, that his Majeſty, by ſuch a Meſſage, had in a Manner directed us to interfere with, and incroach upon them in their ſole Right of granting Supplies.

Thus I have ſhewn, my Lords, that it would have been very imprudent in his Majeſty to have ſent any Meſſage upon this Occaſion to us; and that none of our Rights or Privileges, or even the Deference that is due to us, made the ſending of ſuch a Meſſage to this Houſe neceſſary, I ſhall now endeavour to ſhew. My Lords, there are three Sorts of Meſſages which are uſually ſent by the Crown, to both or either Houſe of Parliament. The firſt Sort are ſuch as uſually are, and ought to be ſent to both Houſes: The ſecond, ſuch as are, and ought to be ſent but to one Houſe; and the third, ſuch as ought to be ſent to one or other of the two Houſes, according to the Nature of the Buſineſs to which they relate. Of the firſt Sort are all Meſſages for Advice, or for any new Powers, eſpecially in Affairs that relate to the Publick in general; as to which we all know, that his preſent Majeſty

jeſty has been very exact, and has never ſhewn the leaſt Sort of Neglect to one or other of his Houſes of Parliament. Of the ſecond Sort, are all Meſſages that relate to the Peerage, ſuch as that in the Year 1718, which was ſent to this Houſe only, and likewiſe all Meſſages relating any way to Judicature, which are to be ſent to this Houſe ſingly, without taking Notice of the other, becauſe the Cognizance of all ſuch Affairs belongs ſolely to this Houſe; and yet, if an Act of Parliament be neceſſary for introducing any new Regulation, with reſpect to either of theſe Caſes, we muſt have the Concurrence of the other Houſe, before that Regulation can be paſſed into a Law. Of this ſecond Sort likewiſe are all Meſſages relating ſingly to the Buſineſs of Supplies, which, in order to prevent a Breach between the two Houſes of Parliament, are now to be ſent ſingly to the other Houſe, without taking Notice of this; and yet the Grants of thoſe Supplies, that are made by the other Houſe, before they can be rendered effectual by being paſſed into a Law, muſt have the Concurrence of this. And of the third Sort, are all Meſſages which are ſent to either Houſe of Parliament, relating to any one particular Affair at that Time under the Conſideration of that Houſe.

Now, my Lords, if we conſider the Meſſage upon which the noble Lord's Motion is founded, and which he was pleaſed to read to you, we muſt conclude, that it is one of that Sort of Meſſages which are now to be ſent ſingly to the other Houſe, without taking Notice of this; becauſe it is a Meſſage that relates ſingly to the Buſineſs of Supplies. His Majeſty does not thereby deſire the Advice of Parliament, nor does he deſire any extraordinary Powers. The Word Meaſures are, indeed, mentioned, but they are ſuch Meaſures as neither are nor can be explained, therefore his Majeſty could neither deſire nor expect the Advice of either Houſe of Parliament in relation to them: And as they are Meaſures which his Majeſty, it ſeems, may undertake and carry on without any new Powers, he had no Occaſion to aſk for ſuch, either from us or the Commons. He wants nothing but a Supply of Money for that Purpoſe, and that the other Houſe inſiſts upon the ſole Privilege of granting; ſo that if his Majeſty had aſked any ſuch Supply of us, they would certainly have look'd upon it as an Incroachment upon their Privileges; and as this is a Point we have never yet given up, it would of courſe have occaſioned a Breach between the two Houſes. That this would have been the Conſequence, we may be convinced of, from the Method in which this Meſſage was treated by the other Houſe. Upon their receiving this Meſſage, they did not vote an Addreſs by Way of Anſwer to the Crown, which is the uſual Method upon other Occaſions; but they immediately referred it to the Committee of Supply, and in that Committee, I ſuppoſe, they have granted ſuch a Sum, as they thought ſufficient for the Purpoſe; and that Sum will, in the Appropriation Bill, be appropriated to carry on ſuch Meaſures, as his Majeſty ſhall judge neceſſary in the further Proſecution of the War. When this Clauſe comes before us for our Concurrence, we have no Occaſion to enquire, whether his Majeſty has any, or what Meaſures under his Conſideration. From the Nature of Things we know, that in Time of War, ſome Meaſures may become neceſſary, which could neither be particularly communicated to, nor particularly provided for, by Parliament, either becauſe it was neceſſary to keep them ſecret, or becauſe they were not then thought of;

of; and therefore, we could not but expect, that ſome ſuch Grant would be made by the other Houſe, and would be ſent up for our Concurrence. Nay, even from his Majeſty's Speech we muſt have expected ſome ſuch Thing; for there, his Majeſty tells us, that the Services will be various and extenſive; from whence we could not but ſuppoſe, that particular Eſtimates could not be made up for every Service that might occur in the Courſe of this enſuing Year.

From what I have ſaid, my Lords, I hope it will appear, that the ſending of this Meſſage to the Commons ſingly, without taking Notice of this Houſe, was no Slight, nor an Attack upon any of our Rights or Privileges, and that it would have been very imprudent in his Majeſty to have ſent a Meſſage of this Kind to us; and it will likewiſe, I hope, from thence appear, that it would not only be wrong, but very imprudent in us, to agree to the Reſolution propoſed; for the ſame Reaſons that would have made it imprudent in his Majeſty to ſend any ſuch Meſſage to us, muſt make it imprudent in us to agree to ſuch a Reſolution. If we ſhould agree to it, we may expect, that the other Houſe will preſently take the Alarm. They will certainly hear ſomething of the Reſolution: They will thereupon order a Committee to ſearch our Journals, which they have a Right to do; and upon that Committee's reporting, that they have found ſuch a Reſolution in our Journals, the other Houſe will certainly come to ſuch Reſolutions, as muſt occaſion a Breach between the two Houſes: How fatal the Conſequences of this Breach may be to the Commonwealth, in our preſent Circumſtances, I ſhall leave to your Lordſhips Conſideration.

This muſt ſhew, my Lords, that we ought to be extremely ſhy of agreeing to the Reſolution propoſed; and at the ſame Time I ſhall grant, that we ought alſo to be ſhy of giving it a direct Negative; for tho' what is now complained of, is no Violation of our Rights or Privileges, nor of that Deference that is due to us from the Crown; yet, if we ſhould put a flat Negative upon this Motion, as it will ſtand upon Record in our Journals, it may hereafter be made a Precedent for ſomething, that will be a real and downright Violation of our Rights and Privileges, or of that Regard which ought to be ſhewn us, as the higher Houſe of Parliament; and for this Reaſon, I think, it is the moſt prudent Method to ſuſpend the Deciſion of this Affair, by putting the previous Queſtion upon the Motion.

The next Speech, and the laſt I ſhall give you upon this Occaſion, was made by M. Agrippa, *who ſtanding up a third Time, ſpoke in Subſtance as follows*, viz.

My Lords,

I AM ſorry I ſhould be ſo often obliged to trouble your Lordſhips upon this Occaſion, but really the more I hear ſaid againſt this Reſolution, the more important the Affair ſeems to grow, the more neceſſary, I think, it becomes for us to agree immediately to what my noble Friend has been pleaſed to propoſe. His Motion I at firſt thought would have had a good Effect, even though our Approbation of it ſhould have been ſuſpended by the previous Queſtion; but from what the noble Lord, who ſpoke laſt againſt the Motion, has ſaid, I find the Motion will have no Effect upon the future Conduct of Miniſters, unleſs it now meets with the Approbation of this Houſe. My Lords, it is impoſſible for any Miniſter or ambitious Prince to ruin our Conſtitution,

ſtitution, without firſt proſtituting the Honour, and debaſing the Dignity of this Houſe; and this can never be done without our own Concurrence or Connivance. If what has been laſt ſaid againſt this Motion, be allowed to have any Influence upon this Aſſembly, every future Miniſter that pleaſes will, at every Turn, take an Occaſion to affront us, and to violate our Rights and Privileges, and will plead for his Excuſe, that he durſt not do otherwiſe, for fear of alarming the other Houſe, and occaſioning a Breach between the two Houſes of Parliament. Nay, his Creatures in this Houſe, as a future Miniſter may have ſome, tho', I am ſure, no Miniſter has any ſuch at preſent, will tell us, that we muſt not attempt to vindicate our Honour, or aſſert our undoubted Rights and Privileges, for fear of occaſioning a Breach between the two Houſes; and will be ſure to repreſent to us in the moſt hideous Light, the fatal Conſequences of ſuch a Breach.

I know, my Lords, that a Breach, or a Diſpute about Privileges, between the two Houſes of Parliament, is a very troubleſome Affair: I am ſenſible, that it ought to be avoided as much as poſſible; but it was never yet attended with any fatal Conſequence. When ſuch a Diſpute happens, one or other muſt be in the Wrong; and when Men are allowed Time to cool, and to think deliberately upon the Subject, they generally at laſt give Ear to Reaſon, or ſome Methods are found out to put an End to the Diſpute without a Determination; one of which has in a ſhort Time been the Conſequence of all the Diſputes that have happened between us. Suppoſe the other Houſe, at the Inſtigation of ſome ambitious and artful Member, ſhould be ſo unreaſonable, as to find fault with our vindicating our Honour, and aſſerting, againſt an incroaching and arrogant Miniſter, that Regard which is due to us from the Crown, are we therefore to ceaſe doing our Duty? Or muſt we, for fear of this Conſequence, ſubmit tamely to every Indignity ſuch a Miniſter may pleaſe to put upon us?

For God's Sake, my Lords, do not demean yourſelves ſo much, as to allow ſuch an Argument to have any Weight in this Debate. Conſider alone, whether in the preſent Caſe you have been neglected, and if you think we have, I am certain you will reſolve to vindicate your Honour, let the Conſequence be what it will. But, in my Opinion, there is not the leaſt Danger of the other Houſe's taking amiſs any Reſolution you can come to upon this Occaſion. There would not have been the leaſt Danger, as the noble Lord has been pleaſed to inſinuate, of their taking it amiſs, had his Majeſty ſent this Meſſage to us, at the ſame Time he ſent it to them. His Lordſhip may diſtinguiſh Meſſages into as many Sorts as he pleaſes, but I muſt inſiſt upon it, that all Meſſages that relate ſingly to the Buſineſs of Supplies, are not to be ſent to the other Houſe ſingly, without taking Notice of this. A Meſſage for a Vote of Credit, is a Meſſage that relates ſingly to the Buſineſs of Supplies, and yet no Member of the other Houſe, I believe, ever imagined, that a Meſſage for a Vote of Credit ought not to be ſent to us, as well as them. My Lords, this very Meſſage is a Meſſage for Credit. It is a Meſſage for an Act of Credit, which is ſtill more than a Vote of Credit. The other Houſe may limit the Credit they give upon this Occaſion, as well as they generally do the Credit they give by a Vote; but whatever the Sum may be that is granted or promiſed, for doing what we know nothing of, it is a Grant or

Vote of Credit, and every Meſſage deſiring ſuch a Vote or Grant, ought to be ſent at the ſame Time to both Houſes. The other Houſe's referring this Meſſage immediately to the Committee of Supply, without voting an Addreſs by Way of Return to it, is no Argument for ſhewing, that they thought the Meſſage ought not to have been communicated to this Houſe. Laſt Seſſion they treated the Meſſage then ſent in the ſame Manner. Tho' it was a Meſſage for a Vote or an Act of Confidence, as well as Credit, they referred it immediately to the Committee of Supply, without thinking of addreſſing his Majeſty by Way of Return: Nor did they think of taking it amiſs, that the Meſſage was communicated to us, as well as them. Have we not within theſe few Years ſeen ſeveral Meſſages for a Vote of Credit only? Have not all theſe Meſſages been ſent at the ſame Time to both Houſes? And did the other Houſe ever think of taking it amiſs, that ſuch a Meſſage was communicated to this Houſe? The Caſe would have been the ſame, had this Meſſage been ſent to us: The other Houſe would not have ſo much as thought of taking it amiſs; nor would ever ſuch a Thought have entered, I believe, into any Man's Head, if it had not been to excuſe the Blunder of a Miniſter, which, I think, is the ſofteſt Name I can give the Neglect, that has been ſhewn us upon this Occaſion.

I am really ſurprized to hear any Lord of this Houſe arguing from the ſole Right the Commons pretend to, of granting Supplies, that they may from thence take Occaſion to prevent all Sort of Communication between the Crown and this Houſe, which might be the Caſe, if they ſhould be allowed to be Judges, what Sort of Meſſages ought to be ſent to this Houſe. My Lords, we have never yet yielded to them the ſole and excluſive Right of granting Supplies, or that we have not a Right to alter and amend thoſe Money-Bills they ſend up to us. It was but in the Year 1696, that they came to a Reſolution, which they afterwards made a ſtanding Order, not to confer with this Houſe about any Amendment made by us to a Money-Bill, and this is the only Determination this Affair has as yet met with, which is a Determination we are not in the leaſt obliged to ſtand to. This very Diſpute, it is true, occaſioned a Breach between the two Houſes in the Year 1671, which was the Occaſion of dropping one of the Money-Bills ſent up by the Commons that Seſſion; but this was ſo far from being a Misfortune, that it was lucky for the Nation, becauſe it prevented the intire Ruin of the *Dutch*; for King *Charles* II. had in that Year been drawn into an Alliance with *France* for attacking *Holland*, which was accordingly ſoon after put in Execution; but the Loſs of this Money-Bill prevented his Majeſty's attacking the *Dutch* with that Vigour he might otherwiſe have done, and this gave them Time to prepare, and to withſtand the *French* Attack by Land, much better than they could have done, had they at the ſame Time been vigorouſly attacked by Sea; ſo that our inſiſting ſtrenuouſly upon our Rights at that Time, tho' it occaſioned a Breach between the two Houſes, was of great Service to this Nation, and to *Europe* in general.

This, my Lords, may ſerve as a Proof of what I take to be a general Rule in all human Affairs, which is, that in every Caſe that occurs, we ought to do our Duty, and truſt the Event to Providence. But in the preſent Caſe, it is evident, that our agreeing to this Reſolution can occaſion no Breach between the two

Houſes, nor be attended with any bad Conſequence; for I have ſhewn, that the Commons could not have taken it amiſs, had this Meſſage been communicated to us, at the ſame Time it was to them, and conſequently they cannot take amiſs our agreeing to the Reſolution propoſed. I believe, moſt of them will agree with me in Opinion, that it is a dangerous Thing for the Crown to ſend any Meſſage in Writing to either of the Houſes, without taking Notice of the other; for there is a great Difference between a Meſſage in Writing, and thoſe verbal Meſſages ſent by ſome of the King's Miniſters or Servants. Theſe laſt, indeed, may be ſent to either Houſe, according to the Nature of the Affair to which they relate; but a ſolemn Meſſage in Writing, I will venture to ſay, ought generally to be ſent to both Houſes. If a Meſſage relating to Judicature ſhould be ſent to this Houſe ſingly, the other might probably take it ill; becauſe they have never allow'd us the ſole Right of being the ſupreme Judicature, no more than we have allowed them the ſole Right of granting Supplies. And even with regard to the Peerage, if a Meſſage in Writing were neceſſary for introducing or paſſing any Law relating to it, I believe the ſafeſt Way would be, to ſend it to both Houſes; but I cannot conceive, how a Meſſage can be neceſſary in either of theſe Caſes: Tho' no Bill becomes a Law, till it receives the Royal Aſſent, yet we have, in both Houſes, a Power to bring in and paſs ſuch Bills, as we think neceſſary for the publick Good, or the Preſervation of the Conſtitution, without having Leave from the Crown by Meſſage, or any other Way; for upon ſuch Occaſions no Prerogative ought to be allowed to ſtand in our Way.

I know that in the Year 1718, a Meſſage in Writing came to this Houſe relating to the Peerage Bill; and, my Lords, it was a wiſe, a tender, and a ſalutary Meſſage: I wiſh I could ſee ſuch another: I am ſure, if I could expect to ſee ſuch another, I ſhould be among the firſt to move for bringing again ſuch a Bill as that was, into this Houſe. If that Bill had paſſed into a Law, our Conſtitution would have been more ſecure, and this Houſe a better Barrier againſt the Ambition of Miniſters, than it is at preſent. We know by whom it was oppoſed: We know it was oppoſed by one, who has now great Weight in the other Houſe; and while he has the ſame Weight, I believe we ſhall never ſee the ſame Bill revived. But the Meſſage ſent to us by the Crown upon that Occaſion, was far from being neceſſary. It proceeded entirely from the Goodneſs of the late King, who was willing to give that early Teſtimony of his Approbation, in order to remove the Clamours of ſome Courtiers, who ſeemed to be againſt the Bill; and had that Meſſage been likewiſe communicated to the Commons, I believe it would have been right: I cannot think it would have been attended with any bad Conſequence. For in all Caſes where a new Law is neceſſary, if a ſolemn Meſſage in Writing from the Crown be neceſſary, as the Law muſt have the Concurrence of both Houſes, the Meſſage ought regularly, I think, to be ſent to both.

We have been told, my Lords, that during the late War there were ſeveral Precedents of ſuch Meſſages as this being ſent to the other Houſe, without taking any Notice of this. I wiſh the noble Lords had mentioned but one of theſe ſeveral Precedents, I am ſure I know of none. I have ſhewn, that the Meſſage now under our Conſideration is directly a Meſſage for a Vote

of

of Credit: It is, with reſpect to the Credit Part, expreſsly the ſame with that Meſſage which was ſent laſt Year to both Houſes, and has been treated in the ſame Manner by the other Houſe; and before the Year 1717, ſo far as I remember, there was never any ſuch Meſſage ſent to both, or to either Houſe of Parliament. That Meſſage, we know, was violently oppoſed, and particularly by an eminent Member of the other Houſe, who has ſince, it ſeems, got a new Light; for he has been not only the Supporter, but, I believe, the Adviſer of many ſuch Meſſages ſince that Time. During the late War, I can think of no Meſſage in Writing, relating to the War, but what was ſent to both Houſes of Parliament. After the unfortunate Battle of *Almanza*, there was a Meſſage in Writing from the Crown; but it was ſent to both Houſes. After the Death of the Emperor *Joſeph*, there was a Meſſage in Writing from the Crown; but it was ſent to both Houſes. All the Meſſages I can think of, that related to the Publick in general, have been ſent to each Houſe of Parliament; for it is but of late, that this Method of ſending Meſſages has been begun. When our Sovereign had any Thing new to communicate, or any Thing new to aſk, the ancient Method was, to come to his Parliament, and make a new Speech; and I wiſh this Method had never been altered; for it is more ſolemn, and more becoming that Regard which our Sovereign ought to ſhew to the ſupreme Council of the Nation.

Suppoſe, my Lords, we ſhould think it neceſſary to diſagree to the Credit deſired by the Crown. Suppoſe we were convinced, that the Credit or Money deſired would be employed in carrying on Meaſures, that muſt redound to the Prejudice of the Nation. This was the Caſe in the Year 1671, and may again be the Caſe: I am far from thinking it is ſo at preſent; but if it were, we could, in this Method, have no Opportunity of refuſing this Credit, but by doing, perhaps, an infinite Prejudice to the Publick; for the Clauſe of Appropriation, with reſpect to the Sum granted by the other Houſe, in Purſuance of this Meſſage, will certainly come up to us in ſome Money-Bill, which the publick Service neceſſarily requires to paſs; and if we ſhould think it neceſſary to throw out the Clauſe, we muſt of courſe throw out the Bill, or occaſion a Breach between the two Houſes of Parliament, which, the noble Lords, who are againſt this Motion, have told us, would be of the moſt terrible Conſequence in our preſent Circumſtances.

A noble Lord has told us, that the Sum granted by the other Houſe in Compliance with this Meſſage, will, in the Clauſe of Appropriation to be ſent up to us, be appropriated to the carrying on of ſuch Meaſures, as his Majeſty ſhall think proper, in the further Proſecution of the War. My Lords, I know nothing of the Words that may be made uſe of in that Clauſe; but ſuppoſe it comes up in theſe Words, and that the Sum granted may be 200,000*l.* is not this giving the Crown a Credit for 200,000*l.* in the very ſame Manner we gave it a Credit laſt Year for 500,000*l.*? The only Difference is, that laſt Year, his Majeſty deigned to aſk it of us, and to tell us, it was neceſſary; but this Year, it ſeems, we are to give it without aſking, and without knowing it is neceſſary. The noble Lord ſays, the Neceſſity of giving ſuch a Credit in Time of War, appears from the Nature of Things. My Lords, the very contrary appears from Experience; for during the long and heavy War in Queen *Anne*'s Time,

no

no ſuch Credit was ever given. Her Majeſty was often impower'd to apply any Part of the Supplies to ſecret or unthought-of Services; but there never was any particular Sum granted for that Purpoſe: Therefore, if we judge from Experience, as well as the Nature of Things, we muſt ſuppoſe, that no ſuch Credit is neceſſary, and conſequently, as the Crown has neither told us that it is, nor aſked any ſuch of us, we muſt throw out that Clauſe, and of courſe the Money-Bill in which it is inſerted.

The noble Lord ſeemed to be ſenſible, that the Neceſſity of this Credit was not very apparent from the Nature of Things, and therefore, he endeavoured to ſhew, that his Majeſty had told us of it, and aſked for it in his Speech from the Throne. Whether any ſuch Thing can be gathered from the Words he mentioned, or from any Words in his Majeſty's Speech, I muſt leave to your Lordſhips to judge. In Time of War, the Services muſt always be various and extenſive, but we could not ſuppoſe, that his Majeſty thereby meant, that we muſt now grant a particular Credit for thoſe Services, or that ſuch a Thing would be neceſſary now, tho' it was never before thought neceſſary. I ſhall grant, my Lords, that ſome few Words might very eaſily have been inſerted in his Majeſty's Speech, which would have prevented the Neceſſity of ſending this Meſſage to either Houſe of Parliament; but his Miniſters, by not thinking of, and foreſeeing Things before hand, have brought themſelves into this Labyrinth; and I wiſh with all my Heart, they may not, by the ſame Sort of political Thoughtleſſneſs and Blindneſs, have brought the Nation into ſuch a Labyrinth, as we ſhall not ſoon, or eaſily get out of.

I muſt beg Pardon for having given your Lordſhips ſo much Trouble; but the Motion now under our Conſideration has, by the Debate upon it, become an Affair of ſo ſerious a Nature, that I think the very Being of this Houſe concerned in the Queſtion. A particular and diſtinct Correſpondence is now opened between the Crown and the Commons, and that too about Affairs which relate to the Publick in general, Affairs of the greateſt Importance: That Correſpondence may increaſe to ſuch a Degree, as to render your Lordſhips quite uſeleſs; and if you ſhould once become ſo, you may depend upon your being at laſt voted uſeleſs by the other Houſe, as you have been heretofore. I thought it my Duty to oppoſe with all my Might, the firſt Approach of ſuch another Misfortune. Our Honour, our very Being requires an immediate Aſſent to this Motion; and as I look upon the previous Queſtion to be a Sort of Negative, I ſhall, therefore, be againſt our diſagreeing to the Motion, by that or any other Method.

The next Debate I ſhall give you an Account of, happened on the 29th *of* January *laſt, when ſeveral of the Members of our Club being withdrawn into other Rooms of the Tavern, where our Club is kept, and into the adjacent Coffee-Houſes, about their particular Buſineſs,* Aulus Gabinius *ſtood up and propoſed, that a Meſſenger ſhould be ſent to the other Rooms of the Tavern, and the adjacent Coffee-Houſes, to deſire that the Members ſhould forthwith repair to the Club; and a Meſſenger being accordingly ſent, and moſt of the Members convened,* L. Junius Brutus *ſtood up and ſpoke in Subſtance as follows,* viz.

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

I AM now going to lay before you a Propoſition, which has already been

been ſeveral Times made to you, without meeting with that Succeſs, which I thought it deſerved; but as I think it a good one, and abſolutely neceſſary for the Preſervation of our Conſtitution, I am far from being diſcouraged by its former bad Succeſs, nor ſhall I be diſcouraged from a future Attempt, even tho' it ſhould now meet with as bad a Reception as heretofore; becauſe I am fully convinced of the Truth of that Obſervation, which was long ago made by one of our beſt Lawyers, that a good Bill or Motion once propoſed in Parliament, and entered upon our Journals, can never die: It may at firſt meet with bad Succeſs: It may meet with repeated bad Succeſs; but unleſs our Conſtitution be abſolutely and irrecoverably deſtroyed, it will by its own Merits at laſt force its Way through the ſeveral Branches of our Legiſlature.

The Propoſition I am to make, Sir, is plainly and in ſhort this, that Criminals may not be allowed to be their own Judges, and that our Liberties may not be committed to the Keeping of thoſe, who are retained to deſtroy them. It is the Duty of Parliament to redreſs all publick Grievances, and puniſh all high and heinous Offenders, who have been artful or powerful enough to evade the Laws of the Kingdom: It is the Duty of Parliament to grant no more Money for the publick Service, than what is abſolutely neceſſary, and to ſee that Money properly applied, and duly accounted for: And it is the Duty of Parliament to watch over the Liberties and Privileges of the People, by taking Care not to paſs any Laws, that are inconſiſtent with the Liberties and Privileges of the People, and by providing ſpeedy and effectual Remedies againſt all Incroachments that have been, or may be made, by ambitious Princes, or guilty Miniſters. Theſe, Sir, are among the chief of the Duties of Parliament; but how can we expect a Performance, if a Majority of the Members be ſuch, whoſe Self-Preſervation or Security depends upon their neglecting, or acting contrary to theſe Duties? Can we expect, that publick Grievances will be redreſſed, if a Majority of Parliament be ſuch as have themſelves been, or ſuch as are the Friends and Confederates of thoſe that have been the Cauſe of theſe publick Grievances? Can we expect, that any high Offender will be puniſhed by Parliament, if the Majority of it be ſuch as have been Companions and Sharers with him in his Crimes, or ſuch whoſe chief Subſiſtence depends upon ſcreening him from Juſtice? Can we expect, that any Supply demanded by the Crown will be refuſed, if it is to be granted by thoſe, whoſe chief Subſiſtence depends upon making the Grant; or that the publick Money will be properly applied, or duly accounted for, if thoſe that have applied it, or may apply it, to their own Uſe, are to be the only Inſpectors of the publick Accounts? Or laſtly, Sir, can we expect, that a Parliament will guard againſt the Incroachments of an ambitious Prince, or guilty Miniſter, if the Majority of that Parliament be ſuch as have the Whole, or a neceſſary Part of their Subſiſtence, from the Places or Penſions they hold at the arbitrary Will of that ambitious Prince, or guilty Miniſter?

Theſe are Queſtions, Sir, which, in my Opinion, can be anſwered in the Affirmative by no Man, that will and dare make uſe of his Reaſon; and yet every one of theſe Queſtions muſt, I think, be anſwered in the Affirmative by thoſe who affirm, that our Conſtitution can never be in any Danger from a Majority, or near a Majority of this

Houſe's

Houſe's being compoſed of ſuch as hold Places and Penſions at the arbitrary Will of the Crown. I ſhall grant, Sir, that it may be neceſſary for us to have amongſt us ſome of the chief Officers of the Crown. It may be neceſſary to have always in this Houſe ſome of the chief Officers of the Treaſury, Admiralty, and Army, as well as ſeveral others of thoſe that are employed by his Majeſty, as chief Officers in the executive Part of our Government. Theſe, I ſay, it may be neceſſary to have amongſt us, in order to give us ſuch Informations, as may often become neceſſary in the ſeveral Branches of Buſineſs that come regularly before this Houſe; but, I am ſure, it is no way neceſſary, and quite inconſiſtent with the Dignity of this Houſe, to have it filled with Clerks of Offices, and inferior Officers of our Navy and Army. I confeſs, I have the greateſt Regard for ſuch of thoſe as we have at preſent amongſt us; becauſe, I hope they have all ſo much Honour, that they would diſdain to ſacrifice their Duty, as Members of this Houſe, for any ſelfiſh Conſideration; but, we cannot be aſſured, that thoſe who ſucceed them in their Offices and Employments, will be Gentlemen of ſo much Honour, and as they may likewiſe ſucceed them with regard to their Seats in this Houſe, our Conſtitution may be thereby brought into the utmoſt Danger; for, if I were not well aſſured of the Honour of thoſe Officers we have now amongſt us, we have already ſuch a Number, that I ſhould think our Conſtitution upon the Brink of Deſtruction; and, as this Number may increaſe ſo as in a ſhort Time to become the Majority of this Houſe, whilſt we have it in our Power, we ought to take care to provide againſt this Danger, by limiting the Number of Officers that are to have Seats in this Houſe; for, if the Majority of this Houſe ſhould once come to be compoſed of Officers, and thoſe Officers ſuch as had a greater Regard to the Places they poſſeſs, or Preferments they hope for, than to the Liberties and Conſtitution of their Country, it would be ridiculous to think of getting the Approbation of this Houſe to any ſuch Regulation. Therefore, Sir, as this is not yet, I hope, our unfortunate Caſe, I ſhall beg Leave to move, *That Leave may be given to bring in a Bill, for the better ſecuring the Freedom of Parliaments, by limiting the Number of Officers to ſit in the Houſe of Commons.*

This Motion introduced a very remarkable Debate in our Club, in which A. Sempronius Atratinus *ſtood up and ſpoke to this Effect*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

I SHOULD readily join not only in bringing in but in paſſing ſuch a Bill as the Hon. Gentleman has been pleaſed to propoſe, if I thought it were neceſſary for the Preſervation of our Conſtitution: Nay, I ſhould join with the Hon. Gentleman in his Motion for bringing it in, in order to ſee what Sort of Remedy he has a Mind to propoſe, if I thought that the Conſtitution were now, or ever could be in any Danger from the Number of Officers in this Houſe: Nay farther, I ſhould probably join with him in this Motion at leaſt, if I were not fully convinced, that the Excluding of any Officer who may have Fortune and Intereſt enough in his Country to get himſelf choſen, would be a moſt dangerous Infringement of our Conſtitution, and at laſt an infallible Cauſe of its Diſſolution.

The Hon. Gentleman has himſelf, Sir, furniſhed us with what I take to be an unanſwerable Argument againſt the Bill he propoſes: He

He ſays, and, indeed, it muſt by every one be granted, that no Danger can enſue from the Number of Officers in this Houſe, unleſs that Number be ſo great, as to make a Majority, and that even in this Caſe, no Danger can from thence enſue, unleſs that Majority conſiſts of ſuch Men, as have a greater Regard for the Offices they poſſeſs, or the Preferments they hope for, than they have for their own Honour, or the Liberties of their Country. Theſe, therefore, are two Caſes, which we muſt ſuppoſe may happen, before we can ſay there is any Neceſſity for ſuch a Bill, as he has been pleaſed to propoſe; and theſe two Caſes are, in my Opinion, of ſuch a Nature, that we cannot ſuppoſe it poſſible, that either of them ſhould ever happen, and much leſs can we ſuppoſe, that both may happen at one and the ſame Time.

We know, Sir, that a great Number of thoſe, who have Offices and Employments under the Crown, I mean all the Officers of the Revenue, are already excluded from having Seats in this Houſe; and as for the Officers of our Navy and Army, and all thoſe that belong to any of the Offices kept here at *London*, they are, by the very Nature of their Office, and by the Attendance they muſt give, prevented from having any Intimacy or Correſpondence with the Gentlemen or People of our ſeveral Counties, Cities, or Boroughs, and conſequently it muſt be extremely difficult for any great Number of them to get themſelves choſen; for the People in all Places of the Kingdom are fond of thoſe that live amongſt them, and converſe with them daily, and will always chuſe one of them, rather than any Stranger that comes to ſet up as a Candidate at an Election.

For theſe Reaſons, Sir, I think it impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that ever a Majority of this Houſe ſhould conſiſt of ſuch, as hold Offices or Employments at the arbitrary Will of the Crown; and as for Penſioners, they are already excluded from having Seats in this Houſe, as effectually as it is poſſible for you to exclude them by any Law you can make. But this is not the only impoſſible Suppoſition we muſt make, in order to frighten ourſelves with the Dangers we are expoſed to by a great Number of Officers having Seats in this Houſe: We muſt not only ſuppoſe, that they make a Majority of the Houſe, but that they are all ſuch as have no Regard to their Honour, or their Country, which, I hope, will appear to be a Suppoſition impoſſible to be made, with regard to ſuch a Number of Gentlemen of Family and Fortune in this or any other Kingdom upon Earth; for Gentlemen of Family and Fortune they muſt be, before they can get themſelves choſen, unleſs you ſuppoſe their Conſtituents to be as great Scoundrels as themſelves, which is a Suppoſition that, I hope, can never be made; at leaſt, I am ſure, if there ſhould ever be Ground for making ſuch a Suppoſition, it would be ridiculous to talk of preſerving the Liberties of ſuch a vicious and abandoned People.

But, Sir, before we can ſuppoſe our Conſtitution in Danger from a great Number of Officers having Seats in this Houſe, we muſt, in my Opinion, ſuppoſe, that all thoſe Officers are not only regardleſs of Honour and their Country, but downright Fools and Idiots, with regard to their own Intereſt. Every Gentleman that can have a Seat in this Houſe, muſt now by Law be poſſeſſed of an Eſtate of 600*l.* or at leaſt 300*l.* a Year, in his own Right. Whilſt our Conſtitution is preſerved, he may call this his Property, he may tranſmit it to his Poſterity. But if our happy Conſtitution ſhould be deſtroyed: If an abſolute and arbitrary Government

ſhould be ſet up, he could do neither with any Certainty. In ſuch Governments there is no Property, there is no Man can with Certainty depend upon being able to tranſmit any Thing to his Poſterity; and would any Man but a Fool and a Madman render a certain, real, tranſmiſſible Eſtate of 600*l.* or 300*l.* a Year precarious, for the Sake of a Place or a Penſion of double the Value, which he held at the mere Will of another, and which he knew he could not tranſmit to his Poſterity. This, Sir, is ſo contrary to common Senſe, that it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that any great Number of Men in any Age, or any Country, could be guilty of ſuch a Piece of Madneſs.

From hence, I think, it is evident, that our Conſtitution can never be in Danger from any Number of Officers that may have Seats in this Houſe; but if you ſhould by a new Law exclude all thoſe in any Office or Employment under the Crown, or all but a very few, from having Seats in this Houſe, it would not only endanger, but, in my Opinion, certainly deſtroy our Conſtitution. Sir, I believe it will be granted, that ſince the happy Acceſſion of our preſent illuſtrious Family, as great a Regard, as great a Reſpect has been ſhewn by the Crown to Parliaments, nay greater, I believe, than was ever ſhewn in any former Period of Time. To compare it with that Period in which our Conſtitution ſeems to have been moſt perfect, and our Government moſt wiſely adminiſtred, I mean the Reign of the glorious Queen *Elizabeth:* Every one knows, that ſhe often treated her Parliaments with more Haughtineſs than has lately been ſo much as thought of: Nay, ſhe ſometimes treated them in ſuch a Manner, as would now be exclaimed againſt, as the higheſt Inſult, the moſt dangerous Incroachment upon the Rights and Liberties of Parliament; and yet the Parliaments in her Time behaved in a more obedient, I may ſay, a more ſervile Manner towards the Crown, than they have ever done in any Reign ſince that Time; from whence I muſt conclude, that ſo far from being brought under any ſervile Influence by the Number of Officers we have now in the Houſe, it contributes towards enhancing that Regard, which the Crown finds neceſſary to ſhew to us; and, I think, very good Reaſon it ſhould; for ſurely a Gentleman who, beſides his Seat in this Houſe, and his perſonal Abilities, has a great Share in the Government and publick Counſels of his Country, or a great Command and Intereſt in the Navies and Armies of his Country, is more to be regarded than a mere Country 'Squire or City Merchant, who has nothing to recommend him, but his own perſonal Abilities, and his being a Member of this Houſe. Therefore, Sir, if you exclude all Officers of the Crown from having Seats in this Houſe, you will, of one Side, leſſen that Regard which the Crown now finds neceſſary to ſhew to you, and of the other, you will introduce, and in a Manner eſtabliſh Faction and Sedition, not only in this Houſe, but in every Part of the Kingdom. The chief Guard we have againſt Faction and Sedition has always conſiſted in thoſe Honours, Poſts, and Preferments, which the Crown has the ſole Power to beſtow: If you remove that Guard out of Parliament, the ſeditious great Men, who may be the Heads of Faction, may probably, in a ſhort Time, get the Direction not only of this Houſe, but of moſt of the Elections in the Kingdom; the Conſequence of which would certainly be a Civil War between this Houſe and its Followers of one Side, and the King

King and his Officers and their Followers, of the other; and by the Iſſue of this War, let which ever Side prevail, our Conſtitution would certainly be undone. This, Sir, was the Caſe in the Reign of *Henry* III. This was the Caſe in the Reign of *Charles* I. In *Henry* IIId's Time, the great Earl of *Leiceſter*, who was Head of the Party againſt the King and his Miniſters or Officers, not only got the Direction of the Parliament, but, by his own Authority nominated many of thoſe that were to be choſen as Members of this Houſe; and if that haughty Earl had not been deſerted by the Duke of *Glouceſter*, and defeated by the Courage and Conduct of the Prince of *Wales*, afterwards our great *Edward* I. that Conteſt would probably have ended in a total Overthrow of our Conſtitution, as the other I have mentioned did, in the Reign of *Charles* I.

From all which, Sir, I muſt conclude, that the Offices or Employments, which are or may be poſſeſſed by Members of this Houſe, may ſerve to keep up ſuch a Correſpondence and Connexion between the Crown and Parliament, as will ſecure the Tranquillity of the Nation againſt Faction and Sedition, but can never enable any Prince or Miniſter to deſtroy our Liberties; becauſe as ſoon as any ſuch Deſign becomes manifeſt, moſt of the Officers, who have the Honour to be Members of this Houſe, will declare, and thereby turn the Majority of this Houſe againſt the Court; and by that Means we ſhall always have it in our Power to give a Check to the wicked Deſigns of any ambitious Prince or guilty Miniſter. There can, therefore, be no Neceſſity for ſuch a Bill, as the Hon. Gentleman has been pleaſed to propoſe; but on the contrary, I muſt think, it would be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence to our Conſtitution, and for this Reaſon I muſt declare againſt his Motion.

The next that ſpoke was Mecænas, *the Purport of whoſe Speech was as follows*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

AN Hon. Gentleman at the lower End of the Houſe, threw out a Propoſal, to ſend us all to School again for the reforming our Manners. Sir, I think, our Care ſhould be to prevent Members of Parliament from being *at School*, when they are *here*, from being under the Laſh of an inſolent Miniſter, as, if we may credit Hiſtory, has happened in ſome former Parliaments. Sir, I do not mean the Parliament in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign, however ſervile they are repreſented to have been, by an Hon. Member over the Way. I am afraid the Practice of Miniſters naming Members to Boroughs at their own Will and Pleaſure, which he told us was uſed by the Earl of *Leiceſter*, has not been dropt ſince that Time, and I wiſh our Poſterity may never ſee Days leſs advantagious to Liberty. *Elizabeth* loved her People, deſired their Honour, regarded their Intereſt, ſhe heard their Complaints againſt the greateſt, the moſt favoured of her Miniſters; and yet I will own, Sir, there were many wrong Things done in her Reign, becauſe ſufficient Reſtraints were not then laid upon the Power of the Crown: And therefore the Example of her Reign holds out a uſeful Leſſon to us, that even to the beſt of Princes we ſhould not allow ſuch a dangerous Influence, as may tempt them, by the Advice of bad Miniſters, to encroach on our Freedom.

Sir, conſidering how this Bill comes recommended, I ſhould have imagined, Gentlemen would have

thought it owing to themſelves, if not to their Country, to ſeem to treat it with a little Reſpect. But not ſo much as to allow it to be brought into the Houſe, to oppoſe the Principle of it, is indeed very extraordinary. There have been Times, when only for the Sake of that Principle, Bills of a much leſs moderate Nature, and to which there lay many Objections that cannot be made againſt this, have paſt here without Oppoſition. Sir, for my own Part, I think, when I am promoting this Bill, that I am contending for all I ever thought myſelf bound to contend for, that I am oppoſing all I ever thought it my Duty to oppoſe: All Faults and Miſmanagements in the Adminiſtration of Government, the Miſ-underſtanding, the Neglect, the giving up of all national Intereſts, Diſcontent at home, Diſhonour abroad, whatever can be conceived moſt detrimental to the Good of the Publick, is all ſo cloſely inwoven with the Evil this Bill would prevent, that it can be guarded againſt, or remedied by no other poſſible Means. Sir, how far I am from ſuppoſing, that merely to have an Employment, without other Cauſe of Suſpicion, implies any Notion of Guilt or Corruption, I need no other Proof than the Senſe I muſt have of my own Situation. But though I have an Employment myſelf, I think it ſtill undeniably true, that the Nation has Reaſon to be jealous of the Number of Placemen in Parliament; becauſe Nations always regard Things, and not Perſons; becauſe they conſider the Temptation in general, not a particular Power of reſiſting it; and becauſe the publick Wiſdom ought to proportion the Degree of Reſtraint to the Degree of Danger, that is either felt or foreſeen.

While this Houſe is full of independent Gentlemen, or with ſuch Placemen only whoſe Places are not ſo much the beſt of their Property, that they cannot riſk the Loſs of them without a Spirit of Martyrdom, who have ſomething of their own ſufficient to outweigh their Employments, and while the Number even of theſe ſhall be confined within ſome moderate Bounds, a Miniſter muſt regard this Aſſembly as an awful Tribunal, before which, he is conſtantly to account for his Conduct: He muſt reſpect your Judgments, he muſt dread your Cenſures, he muſt feel your Super-intendency. But I can imagine, a future Houſe of Commons ſo crowded with Placemen, that a Spectator in the Gallery might be apt to miſtake, and think himſelf at the Levy of a Miniſter inſtead of a Parliament. The Benches here may be covered not only with Officers of Rank in the Government, not only with the Servants of the Crown, but with the Servants, perhaps, of thoſe Servants; and what Sentiments, Sir, have we Reaſon to think the Sight of a Houſe ſo filled would excite in a Miniſter? Would he think himſelf in the Preſence of his Country, or in the Midſt of a Guard that would enable him to defy its Juſtice, and deride its Reſentment? The Poſſibility of this happening hereafter, is the Ground of this Bill, which therefore the People of *England* do not only conſider as a ſingle Point to be gained for them upon any preſent Neceſſity, but as a general Security againſt all they apprehend for the future.

Sir, my worthy Friend who made you this Motion, in the Opening of it, explained to you ſufficiently, that there is no Intent of running into any Extreams. If I thought there was, I would oppoſe it as much as any Man here. I know but one Thing more prepoſterous than ſuch a general Place-Bill, as would exclude all Perſons in Office from a Seat in this Houſe, and that is to leave the Number of them under no Limitation at all. But, for fear of ſtarving, muſt we die of a Surfeit? Between theſe two Abſurdities, can no Medium be found? Can't we continue thoſe among us who are of any uſe to the Houſe, who can give any Aſſiſtance, any Weight, any Facility, any Grace to our Proceedings, and ſhut the Door againſt others whom it is neither decent, nor ſafe to admit? Sir, the doing this is eaſy; it will be done by this Bill; it is what the Wiſdom of former Parliaments would have done long before now. But the Reaſon they did it not was, it never entered into their Thoughts to conceive that ſome, who have ſince ſat in Parliament, could attempt to come there; I do not mean from any perſonal Incapacity, but from the Nature itſelf of their Offices, incompatible almoſt with the very Idea of a Member of Parliament. It is a ſurpr'zing Thing, but it is verified by what we ſee every Day, that the common Practice of ſome Ages goes beyond even the Fears of the paſt. We muſt therefore ſupply from Experience what our Predeceſſors fail'd to foreſee; and we are called upon to do ſo by the unanimous Cry of the Nation. Sir, the greateſt Affairs before us are of leſs Importance than this: It is better *Spain* ſhould invade the Freedom of the *American* Seas, than the Crown of *England* violate the Independence of Parliament. It is not *Spaniſh* or *French* Arms, but *Spaniſh* and *French* Maxims of Government, that we ſhould have moſt to fear from, if the vigilant Caution, the jealous Spirit of Liberty in this Houſe did not concur with the Goodneſs, the natural Goodneſs of his Majeſty, to ſecure our free Conſtitution. Let the *Cortez* of *Spain*, let the Parliament of *Paris* be a Warning to this; let them ſhew us what we may come to, if we don't prevent the Growth of Corruption, before it produces here the inſenſible, gradual, fatal Change it did there.

Sir, I am trying to recollect what Objections have been made to this Bill, and I pro-

teſt

teſt I can find none that ſeem to me to want a Reply. One chiefly inſiſted upon is, That it carries an Air of Suſpicion. Sir, in all the States that I have read of, ancient and modern, the moſt ſuſpicious People have been always the lateſt enſlaved. To ſuſpect human Frailty in tempting Circumſtances is a very natural Jealouſy, and too ſecure a Confidence will hardly be thought a Parliamentary Virtue. It is painful, indeed, to be ſuſpected, but the greater the Pain, the greater the Deſire ſhould be to remove that Suſpicion. But, Sir, againſt the preſent Houſe of Commons, no ſuch Suſpicion can be conceived. —Upon what Grounds ſhould it be founded, upon what Probability? Has the private Diſcourſe of Gentlemen here, ever been different from their publick Behaviour? Have they ever talk'd one Way, and voted another? Have there been any Indications of a private Intereſt, *that* of any *one Man* ever prevailing over *that* of the Nation, againſt Fact, Reaſon, or Juſtice? Have not the Majority here conſtantly ſhewn the ſtrongeſt Conviction, that their Conduct was ſtrictly conformable to the moſt diſintereſted Love of their Country? Such a Houſe of Commons ought not to be, is not ſuſpected: But granting ſuch a Doubt to have been formed, is this the Way to remove it? Will the rejecting this Bill clear our Character, or can all the Art and Power of Calumny give half the Weight to an Imputation of that Kind as ſuch a Proceeding?

Sir, to thoſe who treat this Bill as a chimerical Thing, an idle ſpeculative Project, I will ſay but one Word, that the moſt chimerical Thing in Nature, is the Notion of a free Conſtitution, where the reſtraining Powers are not entirely exempt from Dependency. Such Liberty is, indeed, a Speculation fit for School-boys alone; for what wou'd Terms and Appearances avail, if Independence were loſt? You might retain, indeed, the vain Enſigns of your former Authority, but would they give you any Dignity, wou'd they be of any Uſe to the Publick? The Mace there upon your Table, what would it ſignify? It might be borne before you with ridiculous Pomp, but it would be what *Cromwell* call'd it once, a mere Bauble; or if it had any Weight, it would be only to oppreſs, not to protect.

Sir, the preſent Form of our Government, keep it but free from Corruption, is ſo wiſely conſtituted, the Powers in it are ſo happily mix'd, that it has all the Advantages of a Republick, without the Defects and Evils attending one. But, on the other Side, I muſt ſay, that if it ſhould be corrupted, if the Controul of Parliament ſhould be bought off by the Crown, the very Reverſe would be true; and it would have all the Defects, all the Evils of an abſolute Monarchy, without the Advantages; it would be a more expenſive, and worſe adminiſtered abſolute Power. Sir, I hope it is underſtood, that in what I have ſaid, I am only contending for a proviſional Security againſt a Miſchief not yet felt in all its Malignity, but yet, of ſo increaſing a Nature, and ſuch ruinous Conſequences, that we muſt be blind not to foreſee them, and worſe than careleſs not to prevent. I will only add, that every Year we delay this Security, may probably add both to the Neceſſity and Difficulty of obtaining it; and that People out a-doors may be apt to judge from the Succeſs of this Queſtion To-day, if even now, it does not come a little too late.

[*This* DEBATE *and* JOURNAL *to be continued in our next.*]

C. Oppius, in the Character of the late Lord *Onſlow*.

A. Sempronius Atratinus, in the Character of *John Selwyn*, junior, Eſq; (ſee p. 436.)

Craftſman, Sept. 27, *and* Oct. 4.

The Gazetteer's DEFENCE *of the Miniſter examined*, &c.

THE Writer of the *Gazetteer* of *Sept.* 11. being at laſt made ſenſible, that his *Patron* labours under the moſt general Unpopularity, both in Town and Country, enters very gravely into his Defence, upon this Head, and imputes it all to his *tranſcendent Merit*, the Malice of *his Enemies*, and the Deluſion of *their Followers*; who are computed to be at leaſt 99 in 100 throughout the whole united Kingdom.

He defies us to produce one Inſtance of a Man, who will or can ſay, that he hath apply'd to his *Patron*, and been ill treated by him. If he means *perſonal Applications*, as I ſuppoſe he does, it would be very extraordinary for any *Miniſter* to treat thoſe, who attend his *Levee*, with *Billingsgate* Language, or to kick them out of Doors.—But the *Gazetteer* being ſenſible that his *Patron* had ſpoken of the *Merchants of London* in a very rude and contumelious Manner, by calling them *Sturdy Beggars*, in one of the moſt auguſt Aſſemblies in the World, he makes an aukward Attempt to vindicate him.

That *the Words were not ſpoken*, is ſo mean and prevaricating a Suppoſition, and ſo contrary to publick Notoriety, that it would be mere throwing away of Time to expoſe it; and it is as well known, that they were explicitly apply'd to a great Body of the *moſt eminent Merchants of London*, who were then attending in the *Court of Requeſts*, and ſoliciting their Cauſe againſt a *flagitious Scheme*, which

was calculated for their Deſtruction, *(viz. the Exciſe-Scheme.)*

Another Inſtance of his great Regard for the *trading Part of the Kingdom*, was his employing a Crew of *Miſcreants* for ſeveral Years, to juſtify the *Spaniſh* Depredations, and lay the whole Blame of our late Miſunderſtandings with *that Court* upon the moſt *uſeful Members of the Commonwealth*, who were then very candidly ſtyled *Pyrates, Buccaneers*, and *Sea Robbers*; till at length the repeated Inſults of the *Spaniards*, and the univerſal Cries of the People for Juſtice, induced his Majeſty, out of his paternal Goodneſs, to liſten to their Complaints, and reſolve upon more vigorous Meaſures.——But did the *Hon. Gentleman* readily and chearfully concur in this juſt Meaſure, till he was forced into it by an *Authority*, which he durſt not withſtand? Did he not afterwards ridicule it, and call it, with a Sneer, the *Cl——r*'s War? Did not his *Mercenaries* accordingly endeavour to throw cold Water upon it, by foreboding terrible Conſequences, and imputing them beforehand to the revengeful Spirit of the *Faction*, as they are pleaſed to call the much greateſt and beſt Part of the Kingdom.

Did he not pay a very fine Compliment to the *whole Common Council of the City of London*, by ordering a Liſt of their *Names*, and a burleſque Account of their *reſpective Trades*, in oppoſite Columns, to be printed, and diſperſed thro' all Parts of the Kingdom, in order to repreſent them, as a Body of *mean and inſignificant Mechanicks?* (See our *Magazine* for 1739, p. 136.)

Theſe Inſtances, to which I cou'd eaſily add many more, are ſufficient to ſhew *his Honour*'s good Nature, good Manners, and tender Regard for the *worthy, induſtrious, and uſeful Members of the City of London*, as they are now ironically call'd; for I cannot conceive that any Man, who hath heap'd ſo many Indignities upon them, ſhould all on a ſudden take *Shame to himſelf*, and draw ſo juſt a Picture of them in Earneſt.—But let us proceed from *Compliments to Facts*.

The *Gazetteer* aſſures us, that he could produce ſeveral Inſtances of his *Patron*'s peculiar Regard to the *Trade* and *Navigation* of his Country; but, for Brevity's Sake, he ſhall confine his Obſervations, for the preſent, to two only of a late Date. Now it happens very unluckily for him, that *both theſe Inſtances*, which he has pick'd out as the ſtrongeſt, are falſe in Fact.—— The *firſt* is thus ſtated by him:

'During the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, a 'Scheme was propoſed and warmly ſupported 'for *regiſtring Seafaring Men*; by Means of 'which, if it had been executed, an *ambi-* 'tious Miniſter might have laid *ſuch a Foun-* 'dation of Power, as would have ſet him 'above the Reach of the *Envious* and *Sedi-* 'tious. But, far from laying hold of the 'impetuous Warmth for War, which then ap- 'pear'd in the whole People, by Means of 'which they might have been wrought upon 'as dangerouſly, with Regard to *Liberty*, as 'at the Reſtoration of K. *Charles* II. when 'the Nation was zealouſly and loyally mad; 'I ſay, far from improving the Opportunity 'thrown in his Way, by *that Scheme*, and 'the then Humour of the People, he uſed 'all his Intereſt and Eloquence to turn the 'whole Scheme into another Shape, that could 'not poſſibly produce any Power deſtructive 'of *Liberty*.'

Would not any Body conclude from this Paſſage, that the *Gentlemen in the Country Intereſt* contrived *this Scheme*, and propoſed it to the Houſe? So far from it, that the *Seafaring Part of the People* are obliged to *thoſe Gentlemen* only for ſecuring them from ſuch a deſtructive Plan of *Slavery* and *Oppreſſion*. The Caſe ſtands thus. The *Miniſtry* form'd *this Scheme* amongſt themſelves, and brought it into the Houſe. When it was read there, the *Country Members* found it big with ſo many pernicious Conſequences, that they oppoſed it with the utmoſt Vigour, as a *Scheme of Power*, which would inevitably debaſe our *brave Seamen* into a Sort of *Gally-ſlaves*, who were to be chain'd down for Life, like our poor *Land Forces*, and obliged to obey the firſt Summons, in whatever Circumſtances their own Induſtry, or good Fortune might happen to place them.—The *Country Gentlemen*, I ſay, oppoſed this *tyrannical Project*; and they did it with Effect. At the ſame Time, they declared their Readineſs to concur in a *voluntary Regiſter*, or any *other Meaſure*, for manning the *Royal Navy*, conſiſtent with common Equity, the Liberties of the People, and the fundamental Laws of our Conſtitution. But they were determined not to give their Conſent to *any Law*, which was viſibly calculated to rivet Fetters on the *moſt uſeful Body of their fellow Subjects*, who complain'd of it in the ſtrongeſt Terms, and were preparing to ſend up Petitions againſt it from all Parts of the Kingdom. The *Projector* ſeeing this, attempted ſeveral Expedients and Modifications, to make *his Scheme* paſs down in ſome Shape or other; but the Clamours without Doors, and the Oppoſition within, increaſing every Day, he was obliged at laſt to give it intirely up, and left the Odium of it upon his Friends in the *Admiralty*. (See p. 221.)

This is a true State of the Caſe; and now let the Reader judge whether the *Publick*, or the *Miniſter*, are moſt obliged to *this Writer*, for endeavouring ſo groſly to impoſe upon *one*, and ſo wretchedly defending the *other*.

He is equally unhappy in the *other Inſtance*, which he produces of his *Patron*'s peculiar Regard for the *Trade* and *Navigation* of his Country, as will preſently appear.

'The

'The other Inſtance, ſays he, is a Clauſe 'in an Act of Parliament, chiefly, if not 'ſolely owing to his (the *Miniſter's*) Influ- 'ence, and Regard for his *Seafaring fellow* 'Subjects in general. The *Act* I mean, was 'that paſs'd the 8th of his preſent Majeſty, '*for Application of the Rents and Profits of the* 'Eſtates forfeited by the late Earl of Der- 'wentwater. As the great and juſt En- 'couragement intended, by *that Law*, for 'our *Seafaring Men*, may not be known to 'moſt of *thoſe uſeful and neceſſary Subjects*, 'I ſhall for their Benefit inſert an Abſtract 'of the Clauſe.

'*That in Caſe any Seaman on board any* 'Merchant-ſhip, *belonging to the Subjects of* 'his Majeſty, *ſhall be maim'd in Fight againſt* 'any Enemy, *every ſuch Seaman ſhall be ad-* 'mitted into, *and provided for in* Greenwich 'Hoſpital, *in like Manner as any Seaman* 'wounded or diſabled in the Service of his Ma- 'jeſty, *his Heirs or Succeſſors.*'

Here again, is it not very natural to ſuppoſe, that the *Hon. Patron of the Gazetteers* was the firſt Mover and chief Promoter of *that Act?* But this is as falſe a State of the Fact as the other, and what follows is the true one. It being under the Conſideration of Parliament how to ſupply the Deficiencies for defraying the Expences of *Greenwich-Hoſpital*, and many Difficulties ariſing upon it, an *Hon. Gentleman* (but not the Miniſter) roſe up, and ſaid, that he could not ſee any Reaſon for giving themſelves ſo much Trouble about the *Fund* required, ſince they had one already in their Hands. He then mention'd my Lord *Derwentwater's* Eſtate; which, as he apprehended, could not be more properly apply'd than to this Uſe. But leſt there might be ſome dormant Claims to *thoſe Eſtates*, either of *Right*, or founded on *Compaſſion*, he did not propoſe to make it then a perpetual *Fund*, but only *temporary*, till it ſhould appear whether any *ſuch Claims* would be made, or allow'd. As to *Seamen*, wounded or diſabled in the *Merchant Service*, they have long had an equitable Right to the Benefit of the *Hoſpital*, which is chiefly ſupported by the *Six penny Duty upon the Tonage of Shipping* employed in the *Merchant Service*; and that truly worthy Patriot, Sir *John Barnard*, hath often complain'd that they were not admitted into it.

I muſt therefore once more appeal to the Publick, what Credit ought to be given to a *Scribbler*, who falſifies Facts in ſuch a bare-faced Manner?

But let me aſk both the *Patron* and his *Advocate*, what would have become of my Lord *Derwentwater's* Eſtate, if a *villainous Fraud in the Sale of it* had not been ſeaſonably detected, which gave the *Parliament* juſt Cauſe to reſume it for the *Uſe of the Publick* *? And, as a *noble Duke* then obſerved, *one Houſe* had done but half their Duty, by *reſuming the Eſtate*, without inflicting ſome exemplary Puniſhment upon *thoſe*, who were concern'd in that deteſtable Fraud.

Theſe are the *two glorious Inſtances*, which the *Gazetteer* hath produced of his *Patron's* peculiar Regard for the *Trade* and *Navigation* of his Country. If he had not already ſpun out his Paper to a greater Length than he intended, as he aſſures us, we ſhould have been obliged with ſeveral more of the ſame Kind; amongſt which, no doubt, he would not have forgot the famous Act for *regulating the Government of the City of* London, the *Pot-Act*, the ſeveral Acts for *exciſing Brandy*, *Rum*, *Arrack*, *Coffee*, *Tea*, and *Chocolate*, with the late ever-memorable Scheme for introducing a *general Exciſe*, in order to prevent *Frauds in the Cuſtoms*.

To theſe might be added a long Catalogue of the many wholſome and neceſſary *Bills* and *Motions*, which have been brought in, or propoſed, on the *Country Side*, and rejected by the *Court Faction*, during his moſt auſpicious Adminiſtration. I ſhall inſtance only a few.

1. Several Motions to reduce the great Number of our *ſtanding Army*, in Times of the moſt profound Peace, in Purſuance of repeated Aſſurances from the Throne, that the Burden of it ſhould be leſſened, as ſoon and as faſt as the Circumſtances of Affairs would admit of it.

2. Their unwearied Endeavours, to reduce the *national Debt*, and redeem the moſt burdenſome of our *Taxes*, by a ſtrict Application of the *Sinking Fund* to the Uſes, for which it was originally conſtituted; particularly a well-timed and well-concerted Scheme for reducing our *national Debt* to 3 *per Cent.* for which that *worthy Patriot*, who was the Author of it, deſerves immortal Honour.

3. A Motion for appointing a ſelect Committee to enquire into the *Frauds of the Cuſtoms*; which was the only pretended Reaſon for exciſing *Wine* and *Tobacco*; and when *thoſe Gentlemen*, who were charged with encouraging *Frauds*, by oppoſing that deſtructive Scheme, moved for a ſtrict Enquiry into them, the Motion was rejected by a very extraordinary Method of conducting Parliamentary Affairs.—Let the Records of the *Cock-pit*, to which I refer, explain the reſt.

4. An Enquiry into the Management of the *S. S. Company*, by which ſeveral important Diſcoveries would have been made, had not the *proper Examinations* been eluded.

5. Another Enquiry into the Management of the *Charitable Corporation*, by which a *complicated Scene of Villainy* was diſcover'd, and the *unhappy Sufferers* had all the Relief, which

* *See the Speaker's Reprimand to Sir* John Eyles *in our* MAGAZINE *for* 1732, *p.* 98. *And his Thanks to the Lord Viſc.* Gage, *ibid. p.* 115.

which it was in the Power of *their Advocates* to procure for them.

6. A Bill for the better *Qualifications of Members, who ſit in the* Houſe of Commons; which was thrown out, after a very unuſual Manner, upon the *third Reading*, though no Oppoſition was before made to any Part of it.

7. A Bill for ſecuring the *Freedom and Independency of Parliament, by reducing and limiting the exorbitant Number of* Placemen *in the* Houſe of Commons.—But notwithſtanding the ill Succeſs of their laudable Endeavours, laſt Year, to obtain this equitable Security; the general Voice of the *People*, and the *vigorous Inſtructions*, which have been already given by ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable Counties, and Corporations, to their Repreſentatives, leave us no Room to doubt, that the *Gentlemen in the Country Intereſt* will attempt it again, with a Zeal worthy of the Occaſion; and I doubt not with Effect, if not without Oppoſition, in *one Houſe*, conſidering the near Approach of *Elections*; and we hope it will not be thrown out by the *other*, who are not in the leaſt affected by it.

Theſe are ſome of the ſalutary Laws, which the *Gentlemen in the Country Intereſt* had the Honour to propoſe, but were defeated in their good Intentions, by the prevailing Influence of the *Miniſter* and his *Creatures*. Yet the *Country Gentlemen* have not been altogether unſucceſsful in their Endeavours to preſerve our excellent Conſtitution; particularly by oppoſing and throwing out thoſe two execrable Plans of arbitrary Power, the *Exciſe-Bill*, and the *Regiſter-Bill* before-mentioned. They have likewiſe had the good Fortune to ſucceed in paſſing ſeveral Laws of very great Emolument and Utility to the Publick, if they are regularly put in Execution, which is the Buſineſs and Duty of the *civil Magiſtrate*. I mean, amongſt others, the Act for the more effectual preventing of Bribery *and* Corruption *in the Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament*; the Act for preventing the infamous Practice of *Stock-jobbing*, which hath executed itſelf; and the Act before-mentioned, for appropriating the late Earl of *Derwentwater*'s Eſtate to the Maintenance of *Greenwich-Hoſpital*, and extending the Charity of it to Seamen maim'd in the *Merchants Service*. The Merit of theſe beneficial Laws properly belongs to *thoſe Gentlemen*, who have oppoſed moſt of our *late Treaties, Conventions*, and other *temporary Expedients* for ſettling Affairs abroad; as well as *Votes of Credit*, the *Revival of the* Salt-Duty, the *Smuggling Act*, which includes all Gentlemen, who travel near the Sea Coaſts with *two Servants arm'd*; the Act for licenſing the *Stage*; and the Act againſt retailing *Spirituous Liquors*, in leſs than *two Gallons*; for which the Nation is engaged to pay 70,000*l.* a Year to the *Civil Liſt*.—I am very ſenſible, that many well-meaning Gentlemen were induced to vote for *this Act*, as a ſovereign Preſervative of the Health and Lives of the common People. But Time and Experience ſufficiently ſhew us, that *this Law* hath had no more Effect than the famous *Pot-Act*; that is, laying an additional Burden upon the *People*, by increaſing the *Civil Liſt*.—The whole Credit of *theſe Acts*, and ſeveral others of the ſame Nature, is juſtly due to the *Gazetteer*'s *Patron*.

He then proceeds to enquire into the *preſent State of Affairs*, both abroad and at home, and concludes thus:

Upon the Whole, our preſent Misfortunes are manifeſt to every Man, who is not really blind, or does not wilfully ſhut his Eyes againſt the Light. We have already been put to an Expence of 4 or 5 *Millions*, which hath been ſo far from doing us any Service, (Admiral *Vernon*'s glorious Atchievements only excepted) that it hath brought us to the Brink of a War with *France*, as well as *Spain*; the Conſequences of which God only can foreſee. However it is certain, that there muſt have been a Fault ſomewhere or other. Whether it is owing to Want of *timely Proviſions*, or proper Orders and Inſtructions to *our Admirals*, or laſtly to their inſiſting upon *more Ships* and *Pageantry* than was neceſſary for the Service; it is not my Buſineſs, and perhaps may not be altogether ſafe for me to determine. But Time will ſoon diſcover the Truth, and I can only wiſh, that the *Saddle may be laid upon the* right Horſe.

By whatever Means it came to paſs, we are evidently in ſuch a Situation as would puzzle the *wiſeſt*, the *moſt upright*, and the *moſt popular Miniſters* to rectify. But we may very modeſtly venture to foretel that *thoſe*, who have bewilder'd us in ſuch a Labyrinth of Difficulties, will never be able to extricate us out of it. They have been *unſucceſsful*, at leaſt in all their Endeavours for many Years paſt; and *good Fortune* was held in ſuch Eſtimation amongſt the *Romans*, that ſeveral of their moſt renown'd *Generals* and *Emperors* aſſumed the Title of *Felix* and *Fortunatus*. Nor was this a ſuperſtitious Notion only, but founded on Reaſon and Experience; for when a *General* hath gain'd two or three ſignal Victories, it is natural for an *Army* to conceive ſuch a high Opinion of his Courage and Conduct, that they will follow him chearfully wherever he leads them, under a full Perſuaſion of Conqueſt and *Glory*. We have a remarkable Inſtance of this, in the Life of Mareſchal *Turenne*. It is to be obſerved, that the *Mareſchal*, in the Day of Battle, commonly rode upon a *Dapy'd Horſe*; and the *Enemy* having gain'd ſome Advantage over that Part of his Army where he was not preſent himſelf, the Soldiers having an implicit Confidence in his good *Fortune*, cryd out *Lachez le Pie*, let looſe the

by'd Horſe, and he'll lead us to Victory. The ſame may be ſaid of the late immortal Duke of *Marlborough*, of whom the *Army* had ſo high an Opinion, that they undertook the moſt difficult and hazardous Enterprizes, without being under the leaſt Apprehenſions of a Defeat, whilſt *old Corporal John* was at the Head of them. We have another recent Example of the Truth of this Obſervation, in the Conduct and Succeſs of Admiral *Vernon*. —The Reader will of courſe apply theſe Remarks upon *military Commanders* to *Pilots of State*.

There are *two Things* abſolutely neceſſary to make a *fortunate Miniſter*. One of them is, to gain the Confidence and good Wiſhes of the *People at home*; and the other, to procure the beſt Intelligence of *Affairs abroad*. Without *theſe two Requiſites*, it will be in vain for a *Miniſter* to make uſe of *little temporary Expedients*, or for the *People* to expect that any Thing will proſper under *ſuch an ill-fated Adminiſtration*.

Common Senſe, Oct. 4. N° 191.

The African *Slave Trade defended: And* CORRUPTION *the worſt of Slaveries.*

SIR,

THE *Guinea* Trade, by the Miſtake of ſome, or Miſrepreſentation of others, hath been charged with *Inhumanity*, and a Contradiction to *good Morals*.—Such a Charge at a Time when *private* and *publick Morals* are laugh'd at, as the *higheſt Folly*, by a powerful Faction; and Self-intereſt ſet up as the only Criterion of true Wiſdom, is certainly very *uncourtly*: But yet as I have a profound Regard for thoſe ſuperannuated Virtues; you will give me Leave to juſtify the *African* Trade, upon thoſe *ſtale Principles*, from the Imputations of *Mercator Honeſtus*; and ſhew him that there are People in ſome *boaſted Regions of Liberty*, under a more wretched *Slavery*, than the *Africans* tranſplanted to our *American* Colonies.

The Inhabitants of *Guinea* are indeed in a moſt deplorable State of Slavery, under the arbitrary Power of their Princes both as to Life and Property. In the ſeveral Subordinations to them, every great Man is abſolute Lord of his immediate Dependents. And lower ſtill; every Maſter of a Family is Proprietor of his Wives, Children, and Servants; and may at his Pleaſure conſign them to Death, or a better Market. No doubt, ſuch a State is contrary to Nature and Reaſon; ſince every human Creature hath an abſolute Right to Liberty. But are not all arbitrary Governments, as well in *Europe*, as *Africa*, equally repugnant to that *great Law of Nature*? And yet it is not in our Power to cure the univerſal Evil, and ſet all the Kingdoms of the Earth free from the Domination of Tyrants, whoſe long Poſſeſſion, ſupported by *ſtanding Armies*, and *flagitious Miniſters*, renders the Thraldom without Remedy, while the People under it are by Cuſtom ſatisfied with, or at leaſt quiet under Bondage.

All that can be done in ſuch a Caſe is, to communicate as much Liberty, and Happineſs, as ſuch Circumſtances will admit, and the People will conſent to: And this is certainly done by the *Guinea* Trade. For, by purchaſing, or rather *ranſoming* the Negroes from their *national Tyrants*, and tranſplanting them under the benign Influences of the *Law*, and *Goſpel*, they are advanced to much greater Degrees of Felicity, tho' not to abſolute Liberty.

That this is truly the Caſe cannot be doubted by any one acquainted with the *Conſtitution* of our Colonies, where the Negroes are governed by Laws, and ſuffer much leſs Puniſhment in Proportion to their Crimes, than the People in other Countries more refined in the Arts of Wickedneſs; and where *Capital Puniſhment* is inflicted only by the *Civil Magiſtrate*.

If *Mercator Honeſtus* be the Man deſcribed by his Name, it is hard to gueſs on what Grounds he could imagine the *Africans* more innocent in their own Country, than in our *American* Colonies. Can Innocence reſult more naturally from Ignorance, than true Knowledge? That ſeems an extravagant Compliment to Ignorance, at the Expence of the glorious Light of the Goſpel, and the Morals of our *American* fellow Subjects. Invincible Ignorance is indeed ſo far innocent, that it cannot incur the divine Diſpleaſure; but neither can it merit the divine Approbation, and Favour. But, Sir, is it poſſible for any Man in his Senſes to believe, that human Nature ſunk into the loweſt Abyſs of Ignorance, and proſtrated in the vileſt Idolatry of Snakes, and Images of Rags, and Clay (as the *Africans* are) is a State of more Innocence, than what muſt neceſſarily reſult in general, from the Example of the Worſhipers of the true God, according to the Dictates of natural Reaſon, uncorrupted by Courts, and enlightened both by Education, and Revelation? He that can believe ſuch a Propoſition, may well doubt the moſt authentick Hiſtory of the Blacks in *Africa*; or that among the moſt *free People of the World*, there are a Multitude of *Slaves to Corruption*.

Perhaps my Antagoniſt calls the Negroes Allowance of a Pint of Corn and an Herring, penurious, in Compariſon of the full Meals of Gluttony: But if not, let him compare that *Allowance*, to what the poor Labourer can purchaſe *for Ten-pence per Day*, to ſubſiſt himſelf and Family, and he will eaſily determine the *Americans Advantage*.

Why need we deſcend to the loweſt Order of Men? Let us compare the ſuppoſed Allowance, ſcanty as it is, to the *Feathers, Ribbons, &c.* for which the *Slaves of M——l Power* drudge thro' the *Dirt of Corruption*, and then determine whoſe Wages is beſt. But this is not all: Let the Compariſon be continued, and the *American* Negro conſidered as poſſeſſing, beſides the Allowance before-mentioned (which is generally the Caſe) his little Plantation, fertile of the moſt nutritious Roots, Plants, Herbs and Pulſe, ſecure in the Fruits of his Labour; and enjoying enough for Uſe, and to ſpare, without being under any Influence *to violate the Dictates of Conſcience:* How much happier is he than the M——l Vaſſal, quartered upon by Vermin like himſelf, and (like Inſects in a Microſcope) overwhelm'd with Animals of a leſs Size indeed, but not leſs voracious; and all of them ſubject to the *Cruſh of a domineering Maſter!*

Nevertheleſs, *Mercator* will ſay, the Negroes are Slaves to their Proprietors: How Slaves? *Nominally:* Not *really* ſo much Slaves as the Peaſantry of all Nations is to *Neceſſity*; not ſo much as thoſe of *Corruption*, or *Party Zeal*; not in any Senſe, ſuch abject Slaves, as every vicious Man is to his own Appetites. Indeed there is this Difference between *Britons*, and the *Slaves* of all other Nations; that the latter are ſo by Birth, or tyrannical Neceſſity; the former can never be ſo, but by a *wicked Choice*, or *execrable Venality*.

However commendable therefore my Brother Merchant's Zeal may be in diffuſing the Bleſſings of Liberty to the utmoſt Corners of the Earth, even to our remoteſt Kindred the *Africans*, yet in the preſent State of Things it ſeems more in the Power, and certainly is more the Duty of every honeſt *Briton*, to ſecure the Bleſſing at home, by exerting all his Might againſt the *ſecret*, and *more effectual Attacks of Corruption*, ſpreading like a Peſtilence over the whole Nation; and to inſpire, if poſſible, the *Blacks of his own Country* with more candid Sentiments of publick Good,—the Benefits of Commerce, and the Bleſſings of Liberty: Or otherwiſe, perhaps, our *aſpiring Neighbours* may purchaſe *Slaves in* Great Britain *at a cheaper Rate than* they now do in *Africa*.

Craftſman, Oct. 11. N° 745.

Of GOVERNMENT, *the* POWER *of the* People, *&c.*

HISTORIES, which are but Tracts of different Governments, are fill'd with the Schemes and Actions of *ſome Men*, how to extend their Power; and with the Defence, which others have made againſt them.—How ineffectual the Struggles of the *laſt* have proved, is viſible from the ſmall Number of *Monarchies*, in which the *People* have had Wiſdom enough to keep up even the Form of ſharing in the *Government*.

Theſe Turns of State would ſtill appear more wonderful, were we to compute how few there are, that ſhare the Plunder, and how many are plunder'd. Let us look round, and behold what Numbers of People in *Europe* are govern'd by the abſolute Wills of about a Score of Creatures, the very ſame Species with themſelves.—It is enough to bewilder the Imagination, and make the Head giddy, to think how theſe Things ſhould come to paſs.

Were we ſpeculatively to reaſon upon *State Affairs*, we might juſtly conclude, that the Deſtruction of *one State* would be ſufficient to warn the reſt of the World: But the very Reverſe is the Caſe; and tho' *abſolute Government* is ſeen ravaging from State to State, ſo debaſed is the Nature of Man, that, inſtead of having theſe wicked Practices of *Stateſmen* in the utmoſt Abhorrence, the Number of Offences ſanctify the Guilt, as if *Miniſters* might juſtify their Arts, by Precedents, and plead Preſcription for Treachery.

How often do we ſee this verify'd in our daily Converſation? When ſome Deed, too groſs to take a Varniſh, is in hand, how common is it to hear a *miniſterial Patriot*, with Shrugs and ſententious Nods, confeſs that he wiſhes it had been otherwiſe? But *Miniſters* always did, and he fears always will, do ſuch Things; and for his Part, he never expects to ſee it better; ſo haſtens away, to ſupport the Wickedneſs of the Day, becauſe *Miniſters* have been always wicked.

Another Principle of Politicks, which theſe *Friends to Liberty* have imbib'd, is, that *Power* ought not to be given to the *People*; nay, ſo dangerous may be the Effects of *popular Power*, that even the *Repreſentatives of the People* ought to be attracted, by *Places* and *Gratuities*, into a State of Dependence upon the Crown.

The firſt Obſervation I ſhall make upon *this ſalutary Maxim of State* is, that it was never utter'd by any Man, who was not more than ſuſpected of being himſelf *corrupt*. But as it is the chief Argument, that has been ſet up againſt Freedom and Independency in the *elected Senate*, I think it cannot be too often expoſed; nor do I think an *Engliſhman* can ſpend his Time better, at this Juncture, than to enquire into the Nature of *Power*, and impartially conſider in whoſe Hands it may prove *moſt dangerous*, and where, in all human Probability, it may be moſt effectually placed for the Security of *Liberty*.

As to the *firſt Point*, I can name many States, (for I can ſcarce go amiſs if I name any) where the *governing* and *miniſterial Part* have by Force, or Fraud, at ſome Time or other, overturn'd the *Liberties of the People*, and ſet up abſolute Dominion.

But

But as to the *second Point*, I think it will be very difficult to shew where *Liberty*, and *Plenitude of Power in the People*, have encouraged them to disturb the Peace of their Country.

This Charge cannot be good against the *United Provinces*; for it was *Oppression*, which made them revolt. If we look at home, I hope, without being thought to justify the *grand Rebellion*, I may say, that the Exaction of *Ship-money*, the Proceedings of the *Star-chamber*, and the Imprisonment of *Members*, are very evident Proofs that it was not an Overflow of *Liberty*, or too great a Power in the *People*, that excited them to rebel.

Rome was the greatest State we read of; and I believe we shall find, upon the most exact Scrutiny, that every popular Commotion was preceded by some Act of Oppression from the *Senate*, and that the *Power of the People* was always obstructed in its *legal Operation*, before they appeal'd to *Arms*. It was therefore the *Spirit of Liberty* to regain their Power, not a *Wantonness of Power in the People*, that occasion'd those Insurrections.

This was likewise the Case of the late Revolution in *England*. K. *James* usurp'd the *Power of the People*, and invaded their *Liberties*, which made it necessary for them to apply to *foreign Assistance*; and this Necessity proves, that it was not the *Power of the People*, which brought about that happy Event; for had it been the *Power of the People*, it would have operated sooner, and prevented K. *James* from carrying on his injurious Proceedings, which not having Power enough to do, rather than acquiesce under them, they chose to submit their Lives and Fortunes to the uncertain Chance of *War*.

It was therefore a *Want of Power in the People*, which made the *Revolution* necessary, not a *Fulness of their Power*, which accomplish'd it. It was the Act of a *distress'd People*, not a *free People*; for surely a State cannot be *free*, if the *People* have not the Means of making themselves so, without committing Hostilities. *Liberty*, therefore, cannot be established by the Grace, and Promises of a *Prince*; nor upon any Power lodged in the *Crown*. On the contrary, Experience, as well as Reason, shews, that *Liberty* can never be secured without lodging a Power in the *People* sufficient, in Time of Need, to restrain, and limit the *Acts of the Crown*.

This Power must be *free*, *independent*, and *uncorrupt*; not subject, by any *Force* or *Fraud*, to be withdrawn from the Service and Protection of *those*, for whom it was form'd.

Perhaps it may be said, that such a State of Perfection is not to be arrived at by human Creatures; which I am afraid is too true. However, our abundant Wickedness may be a very good Argument for having stronger Checks put upon one another; but can be no Reason for feeding us with Temptations; and consequently the nearer Perfection such a Power arrives at, the greater is the Security it gives; and the farther it is removed from such a State of Purity, the more in Danger are those Rights, which it is intended to protect.

For *this Power* did our Ancestors fight; and for the Establishment of it, was the *Revolution* effected; not a Right only to assert our *Liberty*, (for that the *Law of Nature* gives to all Mankind) but a Means to secure it, which the People of *England* are in Possession of; and this Power, by the Constitution, is lodged with their *Delegates*, by whom alone they can act. *These Delegates* have no Restraint upon their Debates, by any other Power, or upon their Determinations, form'd from those Debates. Till it is, therefore, shewn, that *Treachery* may not prejudice as much as *Violence*, it must be concluded, that the People of *England* have as much Right to the Integrity of the Minds of *their Representatives*, as to the *Freedom of their Persons*.

To preserve this Right from Dangers, which seem to threaten it, the most considerable Part of the Nation have thought it expedient to instruct *their Representatives*, how to behave upon this Occasion.——The additional Security to their *Liberties*, (viz. a well regulated *Place-Bill*) which they so ardently desire, is a Subject, on which much might be said: But, after all, the highest Encomium, that can be given, is to say, that it is founded on Reason, Justice, and the most apparent Necessity.

I cannot give the Reader a stronger, or more shameless Instance of this; than a printed Paper, which hath been lately dispersed amongst the Electors of *Chippenham* in *Wilts*, to the following Effect.

"*Gentlemen*, Is it not very mean and base to threaten you with the terrible Consequences of the *self-denying Oath*

Against Bribery *and* Corruption,

By Persons, who are making use of the same Arts to delude you, tho' not with *Substance*, but with *Shadow*?

My Lads,

One Bird in Hand is worth two in the Bush."

Common Sense, Oct. 11. N° 192.

Of the REPEAL *of the Act for* Triennial PARLIAMENTS.

I HAVE now before me a Pamphlet written and publish'd a little before the Bill for repealing the Triennial Act was brought into Parliament. It is in Favour of the Repeal, and was published, as I have been informed, by the particular Order of the then Ministers: They judg'd, that it would be necessary to prepare and soften the Minds of the

People, in order to make them eaſy under a Meaſure which, I preſume, was very little expected.

The Writer begins by laying it down as a Maxim, "That the Parliament hath a Power of ſuſpending Laws, as well as of making and repealing Laws;" which, I ſuppoſe, No-body diſputed with him. He proceeds afterwards to aſſure us, "That this Power of ſuſpending any good Law will never be made uſe of by Parliament, but in Caſes of the utmoſt Neceſſity;" which (begging his Pardon) is a very bold Aſſertion, and, which neither he, nor thoſe that employ'd him, will ever be able to make the World believe, unleſs they can firſt demonſtrate, that it is impoſſible a Parliament ſhould ever be corrupted.

When he comes to ſpeak in particular of this Law for holding triennial Parliaments, he allows, indeed, that it was a Bill eſſential to the Liberties of the People; and he tells us, that the chief Objection made to it by thoſe who oppoſed it, when it was firſt brought into Parliament, was, "That by ſo quick a Return of Elections, Factions, Heats, and Animoſities would be kept alive in the Country; but (ſays he) this Objection had but little Weight, the Legiſlature fell in with the Deſires of the People, and judg'd it better to bear that ſmall Inconveniency, than to ſtrike at the Foundation of ſo eſſential a Pillar of the Peoples Liberties."

If a Parliament was to laſt ſo long, as to give the Miniſters Time and Opportunity of practiſing upon it, and corrupting it, that Pillar of the Peoples Liberties would certainly ſtand upon a very precarious Foundation.

To do the Writer Juſtice, he grants enough in Conſcience in Favour of the Bill: We ſhall now come to his Reaſons for ſuſpending it.

"There may be a Time, however, (ſays he) when the publick Affairs may be ſo circumſtanced, that it may be neceſſary, even for the Good of the People themſelves, to ſuſpend the Execution of ſuch a Law as this for a Seaſon." And again, a little lower, "We are now to enquire, whether there may not be ſome Neceſſity to break in upon ſome of our own Privileges for a Seaſon, to prevent the Enemies breaking in upon the Conſtitution."

The Nature of this Danger, which he here hints at, is explain'd a little after.

"That there had been a dangerous and open Rebellion lately in the Nation, which was not yet extinguiſh'd; and that probably it might not be quite extinguiſh'd before the Time of electing a new Repreſentative muſt come on, according to the Limitation of the Bill for holding triennial Parliaments; that it might prove fatal to have the People meet at ſo dangerous and critical a Juncture, when the Diſaffected might take Advantage of it to increaſe or renew the Rebellion."

All this appears very plauſible, and to ſhew how fair a Reaſoner he is, he undertakes to anſwer all the Objections, that may be made againſt ſuſpending the Law at this Time, the moſt material of which (he ſays) was,

"That it would be difficult to prevail upon a Miniſtry hereafter to adviſe the Prince to conſent to the reſtoring a Law which tied up their Hands, and diſabled them from practiſing upon the Repreſentatives of the People, and rendring Parliaments ſubſervient to their Deſigns."—*Which he anſwers thus:*

"Theſe Objections are effectually anſwer'd by ſtating the Difference betwixt ſuſpending the Force of a Law, for a certain limited Time only, and the abſolute repealing ſuch a Law. Nor is there any Occaſion to ſay a Word more in Relation to it, only to let the World know, that not one Word in this Tract is to be underſtood as an abſolute Repeal, but a temporary Suſpenſion only of this Law, the Limitation to expire at a certain Time, and the Law then to return to its full Force, unleſs thoſe Limitations ſhould be farther extended by the ſame Authority, and upon the ſame Neceſſity, of which Neceſſity the Parliament is to be always the Judge."

The Reader will perceive, that the People, by this Pamphlet, are made to believe, that this Law was only to be ſuſpended for a Time; that as ſoon as that dangerous Criſis ſhould be paſt, which made its Suſpenſion neceſſary, they were to be reſtored to their Privilege, of returning a new Repreſentative every three Years.

This Pamphlet therefore was only a Kind of a miniſterial Trick, calculated to impoſe upon the Electors, that being ignorant of the true State of the Caſe, their worthy Repreſentatives might avoid being call'd upon and teaz'd to oppoſe it. The Reaſonings in it, I ſuppoſe, were made uſe of only without Doors; I don't doubt but *Arguments of quite another Nature were made uſe of within.*

Be that as it will, it is now 25 Years ſince this Alteration was made in the Conſtitution of Parliaments; and tho' the like Neceſſity hath never happen'd at any Point of Time ſince, the Law ſtands repeal'd to this Day, and the People are very deſirous to know what will be done in it the enſuing Seſſions.

The preſent moſt obſequious Set of Placemen cannot but know how odious they are become to their Country. If they pretend that the Prejudice conceiv'd againſt them is ill-grounded and unjuſt, why will they not demonſtrate to us, by ſome ouvert Act, that it is ſo? The unhappy Circumſtances of their Country afford them ample Occaſions of recommending themſelves to its Favour. Let them do their Endeavours to reſtore us this

Law

Law for triennial Parliaments; let them take the Lead, and be the firſt Movers for it; and if the Patriots oppoſe it, may the Odium fall upon them.

I preſume no body will make uſe of that old thread-bare Objection again, that ſuch frequent Elections will occaſion Heats and Animoſities, an Argument that may be uſed againſt any Elections, and God help us when thoſe Heats and Animoſities ceaſe. They have ceas'd indeed in thoſe miſerable Boroughs that are ſubdued by Corruption; there all Elections are quiet: But they ſtill ſubſiſt in the Counties and populous Cities, and may they always ſubſiſt.

While *Rome* enjoy'd its Liberties, there were continual Heats and Animoſities in the Election of all their Magiſtrates; but when they fell into that ſhameful Servitude which they ſuffer'd under *Tiberius*, *Nero*, *Caligula*, *Domitian*, &c. it muſt be confeſs'd, thoſe Heats and Animoſities were at an End, all was quiet, all was Obedience, and a *Sejanus* could name in his Cloſet who ſhould be elected Conſul, Prætor, Edile, *&c.* If our Placemen are not in a Scheme to reduce this Nation to the ſame State of Tranquillity, let us ſee it by their Behaviour.

Univerſal Spectator, Oct. 18. N° 628.

On Ladies conſulting their Looking-Glaſſes, and admiring their own Charms.

Mr. Stonecaſtle,

IT has often been ſaid, that nothing is ſo natural to the Fair Sex as to take a Pleaſure in their own Beauty, and that they pleaſe themſelves as much in contemplating it, as others receive by beholding it. There is without doubt much Truth in this Obſervation, and every pretty Woman gives every Day undoubted Demonſtrations of it. I muſt obſerve farther, that they are the firſt who find out their own Charms, and fall in love with them: It is very early in Life that Girls begin to think they are pretty: Self-love takes Poſſeſſion of their Heart, and never quits it afterwards: The Motions of this Self-love are ſo ſweet and pleaſing, that they are ſcarce ſenſible of its Flattery.

This Self-love in the Female Sex may be ſaid to be rais'd only with a Deſire of creating another different Paſſion, call'd *Love*; but that Paſſion is of another Nature, and when they feel that, it gives them as much Torment as Pleaſure: The Cauſe comes not from themſelves, but another external Cauſe, and ariſes from ſecret Sympathy, or the Violence of an amorous Impreſſion.

I have frequently heard a nice Queſtion put, whether the Generality of the Sex would chuſe rather to loſe the Men they love, or their Beauty. Much, as Sir *Roger de Coverly* obſerv'd, may be ſaid on both Sides; but they who think a Woman would prefer her Beauty to her Lover, may urge many ſtrong Reaſons to vindicate her Conduct; and, to confeſs truly, I ſhould think her in the Right: Tho' ſhe loſt her Lover, her Beauty would gain her others; if ſhe loſt her Beauty, I am afraid ſhe would loſe alſo the Lover ſhe thought ſhe had gain'd.

Tho' the Contemplation of Women in their Glaſſes gives them at one Time of Life ſuch pleaſing Reflections, yet what painful Ideas do they entertain when they too ſenſibly perceive the Decay of their natural Charms, and are oblig'd to have Recourſe to Art to keep up the Credit of their Beauty! It is with them then as it is with breaking Tradeſmen, they make a Glitter and out-ſide Shew to deceive the World, but ſit with as much Pain at their Toilette as the Dealer in his Compting-Houſe. To end the Alluſion, the Arts of both are in vain; for the World muſt ſoon know the one is bankrupted, and the other old.

Tho' I would not compare the Females of *Great Britain* to a Courtezan of *Greece* in Point of Character; yet, as to the natural Opinion of the Sex, I believe they will excuſe me if I ſay, that when old they beheld themſelves in their Glaſſes, they would be almoſt induced to break them.

In ſuch Caſes, the beſt Remedy would be to employ all their Diſcretion to make themſelves eaſy: But, alas! what an uncomfortable Remedy is it for a Woman, who when young has been ador'd, to abandon ſo dear a Vanity and have Recourſe to Reaſon! It is a new Experiment, and a mortifying one, after a Perſon has been uſed to entertain herſelf with the moſt agreeable Thoughts. The laſt Tears that beautiful Eyes reſerve, are ſpent in bewailing their own Inefficacy.

Notwithſtanding I am of Opinion that Women take too much and too indiſcreet Pleaſure in their Beauty, yet I am not for baniſhing them from their Dreſſing-glaſſes, or any Room where Glaſſes are Part of its Furniture: All I would inculcate is, that they would not ſpend too much Time at their Glaſſes, or lay too much Dependence on their Beauty. They have other Charms as engaging, and more durable: Prudence and Virtue are Beauties which never can decay, which make Youth appear amiable, and Age honourable. In theſe only I hope your fair Readers will place their Confidence.

Common Senſe, Oct. 18. N° 193.

After taking Notice of the Importance of Trade to this Nation, and the Neglect that has been ſhewn to it for ſeveral Years, this Writer proceeds to hint at ſome Things that may be done its Favour, as follows.

IT is well known that we annually ſend into the *Baltick* near 300,000*l.* in Money for

for Iron, which we might be ſupplied with from our *American* Colonies; and ſure, we ought to take from our own Colonies whatever they can ſupply us with, becauſe they take our Commodities in Return; or even if they did not, whatever they get ultimately centers here in the Mother Kingdom.

The great Sums annually exported for *French* Wines, ſeem to be an Object of Attention. My Countrymen of nice and diſtinguiſhing Palates will therefore, I hope, forgive me, when I ſay that the Nation pays too dear for the Gratification of their delicate Taſtes, and that it would be highly reaſonable to reduce them to get drunk in Liquors leſs expenſive and detrimental to the Publick.

All *French* Stuffs are, indeed, prohibited by Law; but they are allowed, and almoſt authorized by Practice: Seizures are commonly returned by Commutation with the inferior Cuſtom Houſe Officers; or politely reſtored by their Superiors, to the Perſons of great Rank for whoſe Uſe they are imported. Some more effectual Law to prevent this Miſchief might eaſily be deviſed, or the publick Diſcouragement of the Court would be ſtill more effectual than a Law. I would deſire no more than an Order of the Chamberlain's, ſtrictly forbidding all his Majeſty's natural born Subjects to appear before him, in foreign Manufactures.

The Duty upon *Flanders* Lace is ſo very inconſiderable, that it is an Encouragement to the Importation; at leaſt thoſe who are ſilly enough to lay out their Money in thoſe expenſive Cobwebs, will not be reſtrained by ſuch a Trifle. But why any Duty at all, why not a total Prohibition? Since it is well known, that in the *Weſt* of *England*, we make that fooliſh Commodity as well and as fine, as they can make it abroad. Cambricks too, will ſoon come within this Caſe; ſince, by the Application and publick Spirit of a noble Viſcount, who in this as in every Thing elſe deſerves the Thanks and Eſteem of his Country, a Manufacture of Cambrick is now eſtabliſhed in a neighbouring Kingdom, and is already, by his Care, in ſo flouriſhing a Condition, as to be ſoon able to ſupply us with that Commodity.

Let it not be objected, that if we prohibit the Importation of the Manufactures of other Nations, they will prohibit the Importation of ours, and we may happen to be Loſers by the Bargain. In the firſt Place, we import more Commodities than we now export; in the next Place, no wiſe Nation takes from another what they can be without; and what they cannot be without, they muſt take, prohibit what you pleaſe. As for the Fear of diſobliging foreign Powers by theſe Prohibitions, where no Treaties of Commerce interfere, I hope we are not yet reduced ſo low, as not to dare to aſſert that natural Right, which every little Power in *Europe* has aſſerted, of prohibiting Commodities, either unneceſſary, or that prejudice their home Manufactures.

There is hardly a Ship that runs between *England* and *France*, or *England* and *Holland*, that does not make a Profit of five in a hundred and five, by bringing in Gold, and carrying out our Silver; inſomuch, that the current Money of *Calais*, *Bologne*, and all *Holland*, is for the moſt Part *Engliſh* Silver Specie, which evidently ariſes from the diſproportion'd Value of our Gold to our Silver; as the Cauſe then is obvious, ſo is the Remedy; by the frequent Repetition of the Practice, it becomes a very conſiderable Object; but in the preſent unhappy Decline of our Trade, I will venture to ſay, that no Object is inconſiderable.

Our growing Manufactures of Linen, in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, ſurely deſerve the tendereſt Care, ſince the Advantage will be immenſe to theſe Nations, when they can, as with due Encouragement they ſoon may, be able to ſupply, not only all our Demands at home, but alſo furniſh a ſufficient Quantity for foreign Exportation. All Manufactures in their Infancy, require not only Care, but conſiderable Expence, to nurſe them up to a State of Strength and Vigour. The original Undertakers and Proprietors are ſeldom able to lay down at once the neceſſary Sums, but are obliged to take Time, ſtruggle with Difficulties, and enlarge their Bottoms by Degrees. This has checked the Growth of our *Iriſh* and *Scotch* Manufactures; whereas, if they had received in Time, proper Aſſiſtance from the G———t, they would, like *Hercules*, have given Proofs of their Strength even in their Cradle; and would already have ſupplied all our Demands at home and abroad.

Some publick School or Eſtabliſhment for Drawing, and Deſigning, would be of great Uſe. If our Neighbours the *French* excel us in any Thing, it is in their Deſign, and not in their Execution. And it is no Wonder they ſhould ſurpaſs us, ſince there is at *Paris* a Royal Foundation eſtabliſhed and maintained by the Care and Expence of the Crown, for Drawing and Deſigning, where Boys are generally ſent two or three Years before they are put Apprentices to thoſe Trades, where Invention and Drawing is uſeful. We have, indeed, a little Eſtabliſhment of that Kind here in St. *Martin's-Lane*; but which cannot be ſuppoſed to be in a very flouriſhing Condition, ſince it is only ſupported by the voluntary Contributions of ſome Tradeſmen, without the leaſt Help or Benefaction from any other Quarter; whereas a Royal Bounty of ſo ſmall a Sum as two thouſand Pounds a Year, would invite the beſt Deſigners from abroad.

I wiſh theſe few imperfect Hints may be of

any

ny Uſe to the Publick, by awakening thoſe who by their paſt Neglect, ſeem not to have known that there was ſuch a Thing in this Kingdom as Trade, and Manufactures, unleſs by the Taxes with which they are burden'd.

THE Gazetteer *of* Oct. 3. *concludes thus:* In publick Controverſies it was *Solon*'s Law, that every Man ſhould take ſome Side: And indeed, Lukewarmneſs may ſometimes anſwer the Ends of Moderation, but I am afraid the Days are at hand, when Moderation itſelf will be no longer eſteem'd a Virtue. Sure I am, that ſo long as it can be thought ſo by any, who have a juſt Concern for their Country's Welfare, it will be maintain'd by all the Friends of this Adminiſtration, who, in Imitation of their Betters, are diſpoſed to ſuffer all Things, rather than afford any juſt Ground for Cenſure, by acting with too much Heat in their own Defence.

The Concluſion of this Paper obliges me to tell you plainly, that Things are now at a Criſis. That what the Malecontents aim at is, ſuch a Change in the Conſtitution, as will ſcarce leave it a Monarchy, and will neceſſarily induce other Changes. That you would do well to conſider the Peace, the Freedom, the Security you have, as a Nation, enjoy'd under the preſent Reign, and under the preſent Adminiſtration. That you ought to be clear, as to the Advantages you are to reap from any Revolution, little or great, before you concur to bring it about. That the preſent is a ticklish Conjuncture, in which to try new Projects, new Miniſters, or new Meaſures. That any Diſturbances at home may prove fatal, while we are engaged in a War abroad: And, in fine, that tho' a ſudden Struggle may be ſufficient to create to a gentle publick-ſpirited Adminiſtration ſome Confuſion, yet thoſe who put on theſe Practices, if once they get into the Saddle, will provide againſt ſuch Accidents, and make you feel in Reality thoſe Ills, with the very Ideas of which they now diſturb your Imaginations. You are almoſt on the Brink of the *Rubicon*, it behoves you therefore to take Care.

Common Senſe, Oct. 25. N° 194.

WHILE ſome Writers are praiſing the Integrity of our preſent moſt excellent M—— in the uncorrupt Application of the publick Treaſure; while others are extolling that maſterly Addreſs by which two Gentlemen have outwitted all *Europe*, and brought about ſo many glorious Treaties and Conventions; be it my Province to celebrate their Conduct in the Management of the preſent War.

I muſt preſume we have been in a State of War with *Spain* from *May* 24, 1739, that being the laſt Day limited by the Convention for the *Spaniards* to pay the 95,000 *l.* to reimburſe our Merchants for about 500,000 *l.* Loſſes ſuſtain'd by Captures. We muſt ſuppoſe the War was reſolv'd upon ſooner, or we muſt ſuppoſe our M—— had no Intelligence, —— a Thing we cannot ſuſpect of ſuch great Politicians.

Be that as it will, ſuch Expedition was uſed in our Levies, that by *November* following, the Time our Parliament met, we were put into ſuch a Condition to proſecute this Sea War, that our Land Army was augmented to 29,000 Men, excluſive of the Troops in *Ireland*, *Gibraltar*, *Port Mahon*, and *America*. The firſt Thing therefore propoſed was a farther Augmentation of 7000 Men more to our Land Army, under the Name of Marines.

The augmenting the ſtanding Army at home before the Meeting of Parliament was a wiſe Meaſure, and was a very proper Uſe made of the Vote of Credit (I beg Pardon, I ſhould call it Vote of Confidence) this Meaſure, I ſay, muſt have diſtreſs'd *Spain* prodigiouſly.

If any Body aſks, why were not the Marines raiſed firſt, diverſe and ſundry Reaſons may be given on the other Side of the Queſtion. Had theſe Levies, made before the Meeting of Parliament, been call'd Marines, what Pretence could our excellent M—— have had for a farther Augmentation of our Army at home? None that I can think of: And ſo the Nation might have had 10,000 Men leſs than it at preſent enjoys.

The Army was augmented before the Meeting of Parliament, thoſe that did not like the Augmentation therefore, could not oppoſe it; but we had no Marines, and every Body allow'd that Marines were abſolutely neceſſary; and let us rejoice, that thoſe in the Oppoſition did not carry their Point in turning Part of our Land Forces into Marines.

I ſhould have taken Notice, that before the Declaration of War ten Regiments were brought from *Ireland* into this Kingdom; the World wondered to what Purpoſe, and perhaps many have not found it out to this Hour; ſo much the better, it proves that the Projects of our M—— are out of the Reach of human Wiſdom, they are beyond the Ken of the moſt diſcerning; but ſince ſome of their Friends have own'd it, I will venture to diſcover what I have heard, that they were ſent for hither in order to attack the *Spaniards* in *America*.

Let it therefore be an Inſtruction to Stateſmen yet unborn, that whenever this Nation is at Variance with *Spain*, the moſt effectual Method to bring that proud Nation to Reaſon will be, to draw our Troops from *Ireland* into this Kingdom; let them be quarter'd for ſome Time in the Country in order to ſeaſon them to the Climate, then let them encamp in the Iſle of *Wight*, after this, if they are ſhip'd off on an Expedition to *America*, they may in a few Weeks make *Ireland* again, in their

their Way to that Part of the World, unleſs they happen to be lock'd in the Channel by South-weſt Winds, which commonly blow in Autumn.

I will allow that nothing contributes towards Succeſs in War, ſo much as Expediton; and Expedition we have uſed, but we uſed it according to the Acceptation of the Wiſe, not according to the Underſtanding of the Vulgar: We have uſed it according to that Maxim of the ſage *Auguſtus*, *Feſtina lente*, which is as much as to ſay, *Make haſte as ſlowly as ever you can.*

It is a Pain to obſerve what a contemptible Opinion the World entertains of the Abilities of our preſent M——; the Bulk of Mankind are prepared to condemn every Meaſure without waiting for the Event; it is that has made them cenſure the wiſe Conduct of not ſending a Body of Land Forces with Admiral *Vernon*'s Squadron: But the People are too ſhort-ſighted to ſee what Confuſion that might have cauſed. Did they know the preſent State of the *Spaniſh* Dominions in *America*, or were they acquainted with Admiral *Vernon*'s Character, they would be convinced that this enterprizing raſh Man, had he been ſo ſupplied, would have finiſh'd the War almoſt as ſoon as it begun, which muſt have kept us in the Dark with reſpect to ſome Things very material to be known. How could we have found out, for Example, how the other Powers of *Europe* were inclin'd to us? And particularly, how could we have known the Diſpoſitions of *France*?

No Body can ſuppoſe that *France* would have declared while her whole Navy was out of Order, and ſhe had not a Ship in a Condition to put to Sea: But theſe wiſe Delays have given *France* above a Year to put her Navy in Order, as well as to remove ſome little Jealouſies betwixt her and the Court of *Spain*; ſo that now ſhe begins to ſhew her Inclinations, which is a very important Diſcovery.

Poetical ESSAYS, 1740.

BALLY-SPELLING. *By* D—n S—t.

ALL you that wou'd refine your blood
As pure as fam'd *Llewellyn*,
By waters clear, come ev'ry year
And drink at *Bally-Spelling*.
If ſpots or itch your ſkins enrich
With rubies paſt the telling,
'Twill clear your ſkin before you've been
A month at *Bally-Spelling*.
If ladies cheek be green as leek
When ſhe comes from her dwelling,
The kindling roſe within it glows
When ſhe's at *Bally-Spelling*.
The ſooty brown who comes to town
Grows here as fair as *Helen*,
Then back ſhe goes to kill the beaux
By dint of *Bally-Spelling*.
Our ladies are as freſh and fair,
As *Roſs* or bright *Dunkelling*:
And *Mars* might make a fair miſtake,
Were he at *Bally-Spelling*.
We men ſubmit as they think fit,
And here is no rebelling;
The reaſon's plain, the ladies reign,
They're queens at *Bally-Spelling*.
By matchleſs charms unconquer'd arms,
They have the power of quelling
Such deſperate foes as dare oppoſe
Their power at *Bally-Spelling*.
Cold water turns to fire and burns,
I know, becauſe I fell in
A ſtream which came from one bright dame
Who drank at *Bally-Spelling*.
Fine beaux advance equipt for dance,
And bring their *Anne* or *Nell* in
With ſo much grace, I'm ſure no place
Can vie with *Bally-Spelling*.
No politicks, no ſubtle tricks,
No man his country ſelling,
We eat, we drink, we never think
Of theſe at *Bally-Spelling*.
The troubled mind, the puſt with wind
Do all come here *Pell-mell* in;
And they are ſure to work their cure
By drinking *Bally-Spelling*.
If dropſy fills you to the gills,
From chin to toe tho' ſwelling,
Pour in pour out, you cannot doubt
A cure at *Bally-Spelling*.
Death throws no darts thro' all theſe parts,
No ſextons here are knelling;
Come judge and try, you'll never *die*,
And *live* at *Bally-Spelling*:
Except you feel darts tipt with ſteel
Which here are every belle in;
When from their eyes ſweet ruin flies,
We die at *Bally-Spelling*.
Good chear, ſweet air, much joy, no care,
Your ſight, your taſte, your ſmelling,
Your ears, your touch tranſporteth much
Each day at *Bally-Spelling*.
Within this ground we all ſleep ſound,
No noiſy dogs a yelling;
Except you wake for *Cælia*'s ſake
All night at *Bally-Spelling*.
Here all you ſee, both he and ſhe,
No lady keeps her cell in;
But all partake the mirth we make
Who drink at *Bally-Spelling*.
My rhimes are gone, I think I've none,
Unleſs I ſhould bring hell in;
But ſince I'm here to heav'n ſo near,
I can't at *Bally-Spelling*.

On an antiquated Edinburgh BEAUTY. HORACE, Ode 13. Book IV. *Imitated.*

JENNY, the gods have heard my pray'r,
(Thus joyful *Strephon* ſung)
Tho' robb'd of every youthful air,
You ſtill would fain be young.

Thy vain, affected airs no more
Are warm'd by youth's gay rays,
Since age has raviſh'd beauty's power,
Alas! they but diſpleaſe.

In vain you ſmile, you toy, you play,
Soft *Cupid* to engage;
He joys to ſport in gentle *May*,
And loaths *December*'s rage.

He ſeeks the verdant blooming ſhade,
But ſhuns the wither'd bough;
He flies the whiteneſs on thy head,
The wrinkles on thy brow.

In vain are all your arts, and care,
To blot out age's trace;
No waſh, no paint ſhall e'er repair
The ruins of thy face.

With tears behold thy charms retir'd,
Thy once-engaging mien,
Thy ſhape by gazing crouds admir'd,
The colour of thy ſkin.

Where are thoſe eyes that ſhed ſuch grace?
Thoſe breaſts that wont to play?
Thoſe loves that breath'd upon thy face,
And ſtole my heart away?

They're fled, alas! and age comes on,
With all his frightful train;
And all thy beauties now are flown,
While all thy *faults* remain.

No more thy breaſts ſhall wiſhful riſe,
Thy cheeks no more ſhall glow;
In place of love-darts from thy eyes
Diſtilling rheums muſt flow.

No more your love-ſick ſwain you'll hear,
In melting numbers die;
No ſong ſhall warble you are fair,
Or mourn your killing eye.

But ſharp lampoons, in biting lays,
Thy ſecret ſins ſhall tell
To *M—t—n*, how in former days
Thy virgin honours fell.

Thy loathing lovers ſhun thy arms,
Thy kindneſs treat with ſcorn;
They glory o'er thy faded charms,
And triumph in their turn.

The gods, who gave thee youth t'engage
Our hearts, and to diſdain,
Have curs'd thee now with loathſome age,
To recompence our pain. SCOTUS.

LOVE *and* ANGER, *their different Effects. Addreſs'd to Miſs* S—r—d.

WHEN raging anger burns *Camilla*'s breaſt,
And racking cares diſpel all thoughts of reſt,
Thoſe eyes look languid, which before flaſh'd fire,
No more her beauty ſtimulates deſire.
Her boſom with tempeſtuous ſtorms is toſs'd,
And all the goddeſs in the fury loſt.
But when the pitying gods the cauſe remove,
And ſet at eaſe that object of our love,
Admiring *Cupids* hail th' approaching day,
Baſk round her eyes, or in her dimples play.
Again her breaſt with tend'reſt thoughts is mov'd,
Again *Camilla* reigns, again is lov'd.
So when the *Pleiads*, ſtation'd in the ſky,
Proclaim the hurricane and tempeſt nigh,
The ſun in gloomy clouds obſcures his light,
And what before was day, reſembles night;
The laſhing winds the foaming ocean ſweep,
And hollow thunders bellow o'er the deep.
But when the god of day his face unveils,
And *Æolus* confines his furious gales,
The wanton fiſh o'er *Thetis*' boſom range,
Sport in the ſunſhine, and enjoy the change.
H. P.

To a FRIEND, *inviting him to Rural Pleaſures.*

THE bluſhing fields give new delight,
And rapture with ſoft ſcenes the ſight;
The ſoaring lark extends his wings,
And untaught numbers ſweetly ſings;
The tree renews its blooming flow'r,
The blackbirds whiſtle in each bow'r;
The purling ſtreams thro' meadows fall,
And murm'ring grateful ſlumbers call.
Who wou'd not ſeek a calm retreat,
A rural, yet unenvied ſeat;
And in the paths of ſhady groves,
Recite the ardour of his loves?
My friend! then ſhun the noiſy town,
The country is more pleaſant grown;
The violets their ſcents exhale,
And nightingales enchant the vale.
J. B.

To SYLVIA. *(See p. 453.)*

WHY heyday! *Sylvia!* What d'ye mean?
Pray ſtop thoſe wild careers.
What, madam, has the *Iriſh* dean
Taught you to rhyme on *P—rs?*

The ſong he writ on *Molly Mog*
The heart with pleaſure chears;
You make it heavier than a log
With ſtupid ſtuff on *P—rs.*

Remember *Phaeton*'s ſad fate!
For head-ſtrong charioteers,
Like awkard poets, imitate,
As you have done on *P—rs.*

She who, like you, with nonſenſe vile,
The paper white beſmears,

May by her folly force a ſmile,
But nothing elſe from *P—rs.*

'Tis ſaid, that getting up betimes
The underſtanding clears;
Go! riſe at ſix and write your rhymes,
Or elſe deſpair of *P—rs.*

You may, indeed, a conqueſt gain
O'er weekly *Gazetteers*;
But ah! believe me, 'tis in vain
To aim at captain *P—rs.*

To CHLOE, who quoted * Salus Populi ſuprema Lex eſto.

WHAT! *Latin*, politics, and reaſon!
And the poor *tory* then is pos'd?
Why, this is downright, horrid treaſon,
All in one ſingle line enclos'd.

You ſay then, *Chloe*, kings were made
To ſhow'r down bleſſings on their people;
And on its back you think you've laid
The *jus divinum* of the ſteeple.

Therefore if kings, however great,
Their ſubjects happineſs invade;
Reduce them to an humbler ſtate,
And make them know why they were made.

And here you fix without appealing;
This argument you ſay ſhall do—
Nay, *Chloe*, this is not fair dealing,
To conquer, and laugh at me too.

But come, my little charming queen,
Stand to your text, and ſo will I;
Now ſhine forth in your haughtieſt mien,
If I'm a rebel—I muſt die.

Remember, when I homage paid,
And promis'd ever to be true,
Confeſſions on your ſide were made,
Which I might challenge as my due.

Ever to love, and to obey,
Were the dear terms of my ſubmiſſion;
And wherein have I gone aſtray,
Or how infring'd on the condition?

To wing each moment with new joys
My queen her royal promiſe gave;
And yet each moment ſhe employs
To torture her afflicted ſlave.

Thy coronation oath thus broke,
Fair tyrant, by thy cruelty;
I my allegiance revoke,
Thy power's determin'd, and I'm free.

'And who, bold rebel, gave thee leave
'To doubt the juſtice of my reign?'
And why, dear *Chloe*, wilt thou ſtrive
To prove thyſelf no lawful queen?

Own then, thy reaſoning to be wrong;
That kings are kings by right divine:
Or elſe, to make thy pow'r more ſtrong,
Be ever gentle, ever mine.

To a young LADY, *inoculating.* By a Fellow-Commoner *of* Oxford.

AS in the bark's prolific wound
Mira incloſ'd the glowing bud;
The little *god* with eyes unbound,
Cloſe by her ſide obſervant ſtood.

He ſaw; and took his keeneſt dart,
And ſmiling on the buſied fair,
Laid ope, with equal ſkill, my heart,
And fix'd her lovely image there.

What ſtronger proof can *Damon* give,
That he is conſtant, fix'd, and true,
When he, while in this breaſt you live,
May as well fly himſelf, as you?

A FLY *painted on Spectacles.* By a Gentleman-Commoner *of* Oxford.

THERE's an engine in opticks enlarges each letter, [better.
And clapt to her noſe makes my grannum ſee
Pretty *Phill*, in the centre of each glaſſy eye,
To puzzle a doctor had painted a *fly:*
Well; *Sunday* is here, and the maggot paſs'd on; [done.
All hurry to church; and the pſalms are half
The doctor aſcends, pronounces the text,
Three heads were to come, and an inference next.
With rage and fell paſſion, the little fly fill'd him, [kill'd him:
And fierce as *Domitian*, he thought to have
Yet in vain you are cruel, and tho' but a fly,
What was made by her hand, was ne'er deſtin'd to die.

ARCHIMEDES's *GLOBE.*

WHEN firſt the globe by *Archimede* deſign'd [mind,
Shew'd the high flights of man's aſpiring
In a full houſe the gods to *Jove* apply'd,
To ſtop th' attempt, and check their haughty pride:
But he who rules the ſenate of the bleſt,
In words like theſe their ſudden rage ſuppreſt;
Blame not that *we* ſuch arts to men have ſhewn; [known.
The more they ſearch, the more our pow'r is

To Miſs T——n.

DELIA, one ſcorching ſummer's day,
T'avoid the ſun's too ſultry ray,
Would bathe her in the cryſtal flood;
There on that bank ſhe naked ſtood.
Her gown thrown off, her ſtays unty'd,
Each beauty-veiling robe aſide,
Her well-turn'd limbs expos'd to view,
Sweeter than what *Apelles* drew,
When *Venus'* picture he eſſay'd,
Sweeter than what fam'd *Scopas* made,

* *The People's Good is the ſupreme Law.*

When

When *Venus* in the marble glow'd,
And all her naked beauties ſhow'd;
Venus ſhow'd meaner charms than thoſe,
When from the ſea ſhe firſt aroſe,
Or when ſhe left the azure ſkies,
Contending for bright beauty's prize,
With *Pallas* and with heaven's queen,
By the *Idalian* ſhepherd ſeen.—
—And now ſhe ſprings. The azure flood
Of ſuch a charming load was proud,
And gently-flowing glides along;
The lovely ſea nymphs round her throng.
Neptune bids waves and winds be ſtill,
The waves and winds obey his will.
Smoothly ſhe ſwims the liquid way,
Her touch the parting floods obey.
But now the nymph to turn eſſay'd;
And now ſhe found herſelf betray'd.
In vain ſhe ſtrives, the flowing tide
Will ſtill perverſe, ſtill forward glide.
Ah! ſee the lovely fair-one mourn,
She ſwims, ſhe ſtrives, but can't return.
Her cloaths were loſt, herſelf was bare,
And flowing down the lord knows where.
At length ſhe gain'd a friendly ſand,
And thence at laſt arriv'd at land.
But where ſhe was, how far from home,
And where to turn, which way to roam,
She knew no more than was ſhe toſt,
Far off on ſome deſerted coaſt.
But yet, ſhe ſaw a pleaſant bow'r,
Where ev'ry ſweetly-ſcented flow'r
Their pleaſing odours join'd to yield,
Behind a ſpacious verdant field.
And yet no ſteps had mark'd the ground,
No way was made, no path was found;
But tired here ſhe's fix'd to ſtay,
E'er yet ſhe ſeeks her unknown way.—
—Sweet *Cupid*, god of pleaſing love,
Was looking all about above,
To ſee and find his mother out:
At length he flew, and took his rout
To this ſweet grot, to find the dame,
For here he knew ſhe often came,
Pleas'd with the coolneſs of the bow'r,
To paſs retir'd a ſultry hour.
And here 'tis ſaid, (or ſhall be ſaid,
To make my ſtory better laid,)
After a day of toil and pain,
When ſpent with *Vernon* on the main,
Mars us'd to come and take his reſt,
His cares forgetting on her breaſt.—
—But here he came. And creeping near
He peep'd to ſee if *Mars* was there.
When *Delia* there he ſaw alone,
He quickly march'd more boldly on.
(He took her for the *Cyprian* dame,
Venus and *Delia* are the ſame.)
And la! mamma, the urchin cry'd,
I've all around the heavens pry'd,
And thought at laſt I ne'er ſhould find ye,
What made you leave me, pray, behind ye?
I thought that *Mars* too here had been,
And you not caring to be ſeen,
Would ſhut me out, or ſend me home.—
—But now, mamma, for this I'm come;
To-day I chanc'd a nymph to view,
The faireſt that you ever knew;
Delia I think it is, they call her:
O could I find her, how I'd maul her!
But ſhe deſpiſing all my art,
Vows ſhe'll be miſtreſs of her heart,
Laughing at all man's ſighs and tears,
Deſpiſing all the vows ſhe hears.
Now, dear mamma, if you'll believe me,
Her cruel coldneſs does ſo grieve me,
That I'd give almoſt any thing,
Could I this haughty *Delia* bring
To own love's all-ſubduing pow'r,
And *Cupid*'s godhead to adore.
I've had ſuch ſhoals of pray'rs and tears,
Of vows, of wiſhes, ſighs, and fears,
That I would point ſome gilded dart,
And pierce this cruel fair-one's heart,
Prefer'd to me, this very morning;
Nay I have often gave her warning,
That if ſhe thus perſiſts to ſlight me,
I'd find ſome method ſoon to right me.
But as I am a little blind,
Do, dear mamma, now be ſo kind,
To take this arrow, pierce her breaſt,
'Twill thaw her coldneſs, grant no reſt.
('Tis *Venus* points all *Cupid*'s darts,
Beauty alone can wound our hearts.)
She'll then my ſov'reign pow'r invoke;
For he who deals the dangerous ſtroke,
(Such is the virtue of the dart)
Is ſure to gain the wounded heart;
And ſtill as long as life remains,
'Twill wear the noble victor's chains,
Muſt do whatever he would have,
His cloſe attendant,—faithful ſlave.—
—Here *Delia* ſmil'd, but nothing ſpoke,
She took the dart and dealt the ſtroke,
Cupid with his own arrow wounded;
The ſudden blow the god confounded.
He, ſlave to his own pow'r muſt prove,
And *Cupid*'s ſelf muſt fall in love.
He to whom all the fair obey,
Muſt ſtoop beneath a fair one's ſway.
Hard fate! yet fate who can controul?
The piercing dart had reach'd his ſoul.
He felt the pains he us'd t' inſpire,
The wiſh, the ſigh, the fond deſire.
And now he leaves the joyleſs ſkies,
Attendant on bright *Delia*'s eyes.
All hearts now bend to *Delia*'s pow'r,
All eyes now *Delia*'s charms adore.
He points his arrows from her will,
Spares when ſhe ſmiles; and when ſhe frowns,
he'll kill.

D. H.

TWEED SIDE.

WHAT's the ſpring, breathing violet, and roſe,
What's the ſummer, with all his gay train,

Or the plenty of autumn to thoſe,
Who have barter'd their freedom for gain?
Then let love of our king's legal right
To the love of our country ſucceed,
And let friendſhip, and honour unite,
And flouriſh, on both ſides the Tweed.

No ſweetneſs the ſenſes can chear,
That corruption and bribery bind,
No brightneſs the gloom ever clear;
For honour's the ſun of the mind.
Then let love, &c.

Let virtue diſtinguiſh the brave,
Place riches in lower degree,
Think him pooreſt, who dares be a ſlave,
And him richeſt, who dares to be free.
Let the love, &c.

Let us think how our anceſtors roſe,
Let us think how our anceſtors fell;
'Tis the rights they defended, 'tis thoſe
They bought with their bloed, that we ſell.
Then let love, &c.

To a FRIEND.

NE'ER judge, my friend, the man is rich,
Who dazled with his golden ſtore,
Admires himſelf, and proudly thinks
The only meanneſs, to be poor.

Nor yet conclude the other bleſt,
Who, fond of a tranſmitted name,
Boaſts of his anceſtors, but taints
Their glorious actions with his ſhame.

That man is deſpicably mean,
Who, little in himſelf, wou'd crown
His falſe pretenſions with the glare
Of merit, that is not his own.

Shall I, when glitt'ring knaves deride,
Fair virtue! ſhun thy heav'nly face,
And to deluſive grandeur run
From thy extatic, kind embrace?

'Tis virtue god-like and divine
That fills with real joy the breaſt,
Nor can the ſplendour of a crown
Without it make the monarch bleſt.

Live but from care, and vices free,
Bleſt with enough, and ſweet content,
You'll all the happineſs enjoy
That e'er for man on earth was meant.

J. DINSDALE.

On a certain LAWYER's *converſing with Miſs* Talbot *at* Bath.

FROM weight of ſordid venal cares,
The wealthy *pleader* flies;
From *inns of Court* to *Bath* repairs,
To fall by *radiant eyes.*

Where'er he goes a *Talbot*'s found
In brighteſt *luſtre* pl c'd;
For *wiſdom* on the *bench* renown'd,
And *here* with *beauty* grac'd.

Nor boaſts *ſhe* only *ſhape* and *air*,
All arts her *mind* adorn;
The *charms* of this *accompliſh'd fair*
A *ſingle triumph* ſcorn.

Pleader, behold the *laws* are vain
In *liberty*'s defence:
For who can fly the *double chain*
Of *beauty* and of *ſenſe?*

The Story of the Milk-maid *is in our* MAG. *for* 1732, *p.* 311.

An EPITHALAMIUM.

LO! *Hymen* paſſes thro' admiring crowds,
A ſaffron robe the hideous tyrant ſhrouds;
Behind ſtalks *Plutus* with a tempting ſtore,
A mimick *Cupid* bears the torch before;
Falſe hopes and phantom joys, a gaudy train,
Surround his carr and dance along the plain:
Still as he paſſes, witleſs maids and ſwains,
Lur'd by the ſhew, put on his gilded chains.
Be wiſe, ye fair! and ſhun the tempting bait,
Nor flounce and ſtruggle on the hook too late.
Too late the fatal cheat you will diſcover,
When you have caught the ſpouſe but loſt the lover!
The pleaſing ſcene ſhall vaniſh from your eye,
And gloomy diſcontents obſcure the ſky.
What tho' th' impatient lover's fervent kiſs,
May promiſe rapt'rous nights and endleſs bliſs?
The hour ſhall be, when you, become a bride,
Muſt hear him ſnoar inactive by your ſide.
Mark well, ye fair! a blooming ſwain and maid,
While new-born flames their tender hearts invade;
He warm and active as the ſun at noon,
She gay and genial as the wanton *June*;
They ſpeak in raptures, and with tranſports move,
They meet, they kiſs, they preſs, they pant, they love.
But lo! the long'd-for *Hymen* joins their hands,
And rivets on the everlaſting bands!
The holy charm ſoon damps their warm deſires,
(For *Hymen*'s torch ſtill puts out *Cupid*'s fires)
They grow *platonick* bodies, leave off ſporting,
While ſoul and ſoul go hand and hand in courting;
The vigorous lover and the miſtreſs gay
Turn'd to a lifeleſs maſs of mingled clay.
This ſudden change in a young healthy pair
May make, perhaps, the beaux and women ſtare,
May puzzle court and city to detect
The mighty power which works the ſad effect:
But ſages who explore each hidden cauſe,
Know that, by nature's neceſſary laws,
Two diſtant bodies, while they're free and looſe,
May action and re-action ſtill produce;
But by compulſive force together ty'd,
No action can begin on either ſide.
This ſingle problem may ſuffice to prove
The dire effect that wedlock has on love:
In order to convince the learned few,
We bring them reaſons phyſically true;

But

But ſince (to make an argument more ſtrong)
Examples muſt be haul'd in right or wrong,
An ancient tale ſerv'd up in modern ſort
May chance to pleaſe the fair—*tho' 'tis but ſhort.*
While *Hermes'* ſon ſports in the cryſtal flood,
Salmacis lurks within the bord'ring wood;
Behind the twining boughs ſhe ſtands to view
His well-turn'd limbs, and pants to touch 'em too;
Then grown impatient, caſts her robes aſide,
And plunging furious thro' the yielding tide,
She graſps the ſtruggling boy with eager love,
And thus directs her fatal pray'r to *Jove*;
Supreme of powers! oh grant me to remain
Thus join'd for ever to the lovely ſwain!
Too well ſhe's heard, the mingling ſexes blend,
And the loſt pair in a new monſter end.
Thus many a loſt girl thro' ſad miſtake,
Souſes into the matrimonial lake,
In hopes of raptures, bliſs and all the reſt,
Which lovers feel, poſſeſſing and poſſeſt;
Warm'd with the thought, ſhe's tir'd of being alone,
Sees a briſk youth and wiſhes him her own;
Her pray'r is granted, by the church's doom,
They're join'd for ever and one fleſh become;
In wife and huſband, girl and boy are loſt,
And make one poor hermaphrodite at moſt.

To a young Lady, *on a* PATCH *ſhe wore.*

THAT ſpeck of art upon your face
Wou'd ſeem a foil in one leſs fair;
In you it hides a killing grace,
And you in mercy place it there.

On SILENCE *in* Love, *written by a young* LADY.

SILENCE in love betrays more woe
Than words, tho' ne'er ſo witty;
A beggar that is dumb, you know,
Deſerves a double pity.

ODE.

O FER beatus! ſub nemorum comis
Jacere lento cui temerè licet,
Dulces & æternare amores
Æoliæ numeris puellæ.
Curis ſoluto candidus it dies,
Rivuſq; parvo murmure perſtrepit,
Molli reclinatum ſub umbrâ
Dum volucres recreant, & auræ.
Sed blanda ſylvas inter amabiles
Errare pulchro Laura velit pede,
Sanus tyrannorum recuſem
Delicias operoſiores.

To Mr. M. *on his Denial of the Soul's future Exiſtence.*

SIR,

WHILE you, with prejudice and pride miſled,
Move on where *Hobbs*, and where *Spinoſa* led;
Where impious atheiſts did a ſcheme intend,
Obſcurely laid to compromiſe their end;
Firſt caſt an eye on this planetic ball,
From pole to pole ſurvey the little *all:*
What various lands and ſeas the whole compoſe,
And how the ocean keeps its ebbs and flows.
Next mount on high the ſplendid ſphere to view,
Where each alone affords a wonder new;
In ev'ry wand'ring world, both great and ſmall,
One *univerſal law* prevails thro' all:
Which from their firſt creation, to this day,
Were never known to deviate or ſtray.
And as you view this harmony ſublime,
Note how their motions meaſure ſpace and time.
Then upwards yet your raviſh'd eyes convey,
And view the ſkies with ſparkling di'monds gay:
See num'rous ſolar ſyſtems ſcatter'd round,
To make your admiration more profound.
So great, ſo ample, ſo immenſe, ſo near
To infinite, the artiſt comes in fear,
With timid numbers, dreading to intrude,
Or circumſcribe unmeaſured magnitude.
So great, that had a bullet took its way
From hence, upon the firſt creation-day,
And ever ſince, with equal ſpeed, kept on,
To the moſt diſtant ſtar (as yet) it had not gone.
And yet the ſoul can in a moment fly,
In thought, to ſtars remoteſt in the ſky;
Nay far beyond all limitation go,
E'en where bleſt beams divine for ever flow;
Where the bleſt architect in bliſs reſides,
Who made the world, and o'er the ſame preſides.
And can you think a principle ſo bright,
Leſs than *ray of uncreated light?*
Leſs than a ſpark of that cœleſtial fire,
On whom both life and thought depend intire?

T. B.

The COUNTRY WALK, *attempted in Rhime, from* Milton.

AS one who long in pop'lous city pent,
Where houſes thick, and ſew'rs annoy the ſcent,
Forth iſſuing on a ſummer's morn to breathe,
Along the pleaſant farms or ſpacious heath,
From every thing he meets, conceives delight,
Dwells on each rural ſound, each rural ſight,
The lowing kine, ſweet grain, and verdant graſs:
If chance, with nymph-like ſtep, fair virgin paſs,
What pleaſing ſeem'd, for her now pleaſes more,
She moſt, the ſum of all that charm'd before.

Baptizatio Ruſtica, *and ſeveral other Pieces we have receiv'd, ſhall be inſerted in our next.*

In Orpheus and Eurydice, *in our laſt, line* 28, *for* flies *read* flits.

THE

THE
Monthly Chronologer.

MONDAY, *Sept.* 29, came on at a Court of Huſtings at *Guildhall* the Election of a Lord Mayor for the Year enſuing, when Sir *Robert Godſchall*, Knt. and Alderman, and *George Heathcote*, Eſq; Alderman, were return'd by the Common Hall to the Court of Aldermen, who *thought proper* to chuſe *George Heathcote*, Eſq; and he was accordingly declared duly elected *; upon which Sir *Robert Godſchall* addreſs'd himſelf to the Livery, and return'd them Thanks for the Honour they did him, expreſſing his Concern that his Brethren of the Court of Aldermen had, without any Reaſon aſſign'd, deny'd him the Favour intended by his Fellow Citizens; and as he was not conſcious of any Demerit in himſelf, he hoped they would juſtify their Conduct to the World. After which Alderman *Heathcote* declared his grateful Senſe of the Honour done him, but deſir'd his Fellow Citizens would excuſe his ſerving them in that Capacity for the enſuing Year, on account of his ill State of Health, and the fatiguing, tho' honourable Office, which he had ſo lately undergone, [*viz.* that of Sheriff] eſpecially as his Brethren had not made the leaſt Objection to the worthy Alderman his Senior, either in Point of Honour, Ability, or Integrity. After which a Motion was made by *William Benn*, Eſq; and ſeconded by Mr. *Charles Hitch*, *That the Thanks of this Hall be given to* George Heathcote, *Eſq; for ſupporting the Liberties of his Fellow Citizens, in declining the Office of Lord Mayor for the enſuing Year.* And the Queſtion being thereon put, the ſame was carry'd by the unanimous Voice of the Common Hall.

The following Gentlemen were preſent in the Court of Aldermen.

Sir John Salter, Knt. Lord Mayor,

Sir John Eyles, Bart.	John Barber, Eſq;
Sir Rob. Baylis, Kt.	Sir J. Barnard, Kt.
Sir Will. Billers, Kt.	Sir R. Godſchall, Kt.
Sir J. Williams, Kt.	Geo. Heathcote, Eſq;
Sir J. Thompſon, Kt.	Daniel Lambert, Eſq;
Sir Harc. Maſter, Kt.	Sir J. Lequeſne, Kt.
Sir G. Champion, Kt.	Henry Marſhall, Eſq;
Sir Will. Rous, Kt.	Richard Hoare, Eſq;
Sir Joſ. Hankey, Kt.	
William Baker, Eſq;	
George Arnold, Eſq;	

Of which the 11 were for *George Heathcote*, Eſq; and the 8 for Sir *Robert Godſchall*.

Abſent, *Humphry Parſons*, Eſq; Sir *Edw. Bellamy*, Knt. *Micajah Perry*, Eſq; *Richard Levett*, Eſq; *Robert Willimot*, Eſq; *Robert Weſtley*, Eſq;

WEDNESDAY, *Oct.* 1.

The Governors and Guardians of the Hoſpital for the Maintenance and Education of expos'd and deſerted young Children, held their quarterly General Meeting, at which they receiv'd the Report of their Committee for ſettling the Plan for the immediate Execution of this Charity, by taking in as far as 60 Children, as ſoon as the Corporation can be ready to receive them; and after ſome Amendments to the ſaid Plan, approv'd thereof, and gave Leave for the printing it. And it being mov'd for a Book to be open'd for receiving Subſcriptions to purchaſe Land, and build an Hoſpital for transferring the ſaid 60 Children to, and taking in a larger Number, as the Corporation ſhall be enabled, the ſame was order'd, and ſeveral of the Governors and Guardians ſubſcribed thereto.

TUESDAY, 7.

Was held a Court of Aldermen at *Guildhall*, where were very great Debates relating to the Affair of Lord Mayor, but nothing determined.

Lieut. *Crookſhanks*, of the *Greenwich* Man of War, arriv'd Expreſs at the Admiralty-Office, with an Account that Commodore *Brown* was arriv'd at *Falmouth* from the *Weſt-Indies*; the Occaſion of his Return home being, as 'tis ſaid, on account of his ill State of Health. The ſaid Meſſenger brought ſeveral Packets from Admiral *Vernon* to the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, &c. The *S. S.* Company's Factors, releas'd from *Panama* on Admiral *Vernon*'s taking *Porto-Bello*, came home in the *Greenwich*.

FRIDAY, 10.

Was held a Court of Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council at *Guildhall*, when the Affair of Lord Mayor for the enſuing Year was debated, and after ſeveral Arguments, the Queſtion was put, That Mr. Alderman *Heathcote be Compell'd* to ſerve the Office of Lord Mayor for the Year enſuing, which was ſtrongly oppos'd; and another Queſtion propos'd, That he ſhould be *Excus'd* from ſerving the Office for the Year enſuing, which

* *In a few of our laſt, in the Article of chuſing Lord Mayor,* Sir Robert Godſchall *is mention'd by Miſtake, inſtead of* George Heathcote, *Eſq;*

which latter Queſtion, upon Debate, was rejected, and the former almoſt unanimouſly put, and carried almoſt unanimouſly in the *Negative*. Then another Queſtion was put, That he be excus'd, without any Fine, *&c.* which was carried likewiſe almoſt unanimouſly.—This *Negative* Queſtion was put to prevent a *Negative* in the Court of Aldermen.

MONDAY, 13.

An Expreſs was brought to his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*, with an Account that her Serene Highneſs *Magdalen Auguſta*, of *Anhalt-Zerbſt*, Dutcheſs of *Saxe-Gotha*, Mother to her Royal Highneſs the Princeſs of *Wales*, died a few Days ſince. The next Day, Orders were iſſued out at *Norfolk* Houſe, by his Royal Highneſs's Command, that his Royal Highneſs's Family ſhould go into Mourning on *Sunday* next, on that Occaſion.

His Majeſty left *Hanover* on *Tueſday* the 7th Inſtant, and arrived at *Helvoetſluys* on *Friday*; the next Day at Noon his Majeſty embark'd on board the *Carolina* Yacht, and ſail'd immediately, attended by the other Royal Yachts, and the Convoy commanded by Vice-Admiral *Balchen*. On *Sunday* about 5 in the Evening they came to an Anchor about 2 Leagues from the *North Foreland*; and this Morning about 10 a Clock his Majeſty landed at *Deal*, and arriv'd at St. *James*'s in perfect Health between 8 and 9 at Night.

TUESDAY, 14.

Came on at *Guildhall*, the Election of a Lord Mayor of this City, for the enſuing Year, in the Room of *George Heathcote*, Eſq; who honourably refuſed to take Place of Sir *Robert Godſchall* his Senior, and had been diſcharged by the Common-Council from ſerving the ſaid Office. The Perſons put in Nomination were, all the Aldermen below the Chair, who had ſerved the Office of Sheriff, and upon the Motion of Mr. *Benn*, Mr. *Calvert*, and others, *Humpry Parſons*, Eſq; when Sir *Robert Godſchall*, Knt. and *Humphry Parſons*, Eſq; were (almoſt unanimouſly) returned by the Common Hall to the Court of Aldermen, there being but three Hands held up for Sir *George Champion*. The Aldermen, after a Debate which laſted near three Hours, were *pleaſed* to put by Sir *Robert Godſchall* again, and returned *Humphry Parſons*, Eſq; The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor being *indiſpoſed*, Sir *John Eyles*, Bart. the Senior Alderman, took the Chair.

The following Aldermen were preſent, *viz.*

Sir *John Eyles*, Bart.	* H. Parſons, Eſq;
Sir *Robert Baylis*	John Barber, Eſq;
Sir *William Billers*	Sir John Barnard
Sir *John Williams*	Sir R. Godſchall
Sir *John Thompſon*	Geo. Heathcote, Eſq;
* Sir *Edw. Bellamy*	Sir John Lequeſne
Sir *Harcourt Maſter*	* R. Willimot, Eſq;
Sir *George Champion*	Daniel Lambert, Eſq;
Sir *William Rous*	* Rob. Weſtley, Eſq;
Sir *Joſeph Hankey*	Henry Marſhall, Eſq;
William Baker, Eſq;	Richard Hoare, Eſq;
George Arnold, Eſq;	

Of whom the *Twelve* were for *Humphry Parſons*, Eſq; and the Eleven for Sir *Robert Godſchall*.

Thoſe mark'd * were not preſent on *Michaelmas-day*.

It is abſolutely neceſſary to return two Perſons to the Court of Aldermen for their Choice of one, which was the Occaſion of nominating *Humphry Parſons*, Eſq; he being the Senior Alderman above the Chair, except Sir *John Eyles*, Bart. Poſt-maſter General, and Sir *Robert Baylis*, Knt. Commiſſioner of the Cuſtoms.

Sir *William Irby*, Bart. Vice-Chamberlain to the Princeſs of *Wales*, waited on the King with a Letter from his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*, to notify to his Majeſty, that the Princeſs his Conſort was far advanced in her Pregnancy.

THURSDAY, 16.

The Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen of this City waited on his Majeſty, to congratulate him on his ſafe Return; when Sir *John Strange*, the Recorder, made their Compliments in a Speech: To which his Majeſty return'd the following moſt gracious Anſwer.

I take very kindly this Mark of your Affection to me and my Government: The Zeal which you expreſs for the Support of this juſt and neceſſary War, is very acceptable to me. My Endeavours ſhall never be wanting to carry it on with Vigour; and I doubt not, but, by the Bleſſing of God, and the Support of my People, they will be attended with Succeſs.

SATURDAY, 18.

The Seſſions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when the 7 following receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz.* *Anne Howard*, for ſtealing a Silver Tankard; *Eleanor Mumpman*, *Edward Madder*, *Thomas Clack*, and *William Meers*, for Houſe-breaking; *Margery Stanton*, alias *Ruggety Madge*, for robbing Mr. *Pariſh* of 23 Guineas, ſtripping him, and turning him naked into the Street; and *William Dewell* for a Rape on *Sarah Griffin*, in a Barn at *Acton*: One of his Accomplices, who was to have been try'd with him, dy'd in *Newgate* that Morning.

'Tis remarkable that in the laſt Year there were condemn'd 44, order'd for Tranſportation 252.

In the preſent Year there have been condemn'd 44, order'd for Tranſportation 251.

WEDNESDAY, 22.

Was held, at the Requeſt of the Rt. Hon. *Humphry Parſons*, Eſq; Lord Mayor Elect, a Court of Common-Council at *Guildhall*, when he acquainted the Court, that if it was their Deſire, he was willing to accept that Office for

for the enſuing Year, let the Expence be what it wou'd; which Declaration was receiv'd by the Court with unanimous Applauſe, and thereupon the following Motion was made, 'That the Thanks of this Court 'be given to the Right Hon. *Humphry Parſons*, Eſq; Lord Mayor Elect, for accepting 'a ſecond Time the laborious and expenſive 'Office of the Mayoralty, and thereby in 'ſome Meaſure reſtoring the Peace and 'Tranquillity of this City, which has been 'greatly diſturbed by a late extraordinary and 'unuſual Proceeding;' which Queſtion, after long Debates, was agreed to by a very great Majority: But an Amendment being propos'd by *ſome* of the Aldermen preſent, and Sir *John Eyles* and Sir *Robert Baylis* inſiſting that the Opinion of the Aldermen ſhould be *ſeparately* taken thereon, and ſeveral of the Court of Aldermen inſiſting upon a Negative, a long Debate enſued, in which their Power of putting a Negative on the Queſtion was diſputed with great Warmth; but they ſtill inſiſting upon that Power, Sir *John Barnard*, the Lord Mayor Elect, and the reſt of the worthy Aldermen who voted for Sir *Robert Godſchall*, as alſo a very great Majority of the Common-Council, withdrew from Court, proteſting, That the Aldermen had no Right to vote *ſeparately*, or put a *Negative* in the forming of a Queſtion. After which the *Aldermen* and about *twenty* of the Common-Council-Men that remain'd in Court return'd Thanks to the Right Hon. Sir *John Salter*, Knt. Lord Mayor, for his *wiſe* and *impartial* Conduct in his Mayoralty; and alſo to the Lord Mayor Elect, for his accepting that Office a ſecond Time.

To the Worthy LIVERYMEN *of the City of* London.

Gentlemen,

I BEG Leave to return you my moſt humble and hearty Thanks, for the remarkable Affection with which you did me the Honour to ſupport your Nomination of me to be your chief Magiſtrate for the Year enſuing.

As this diſtinguiſhing Mark of your Regard to me moſt juſtly commands, ſo I aſſure you it ſhall moſt certainly meet the ſincereſt Returns of Gratitude on my Part, whenſoever I can be ſo happy as to have any Opportunity of teſtifying the high Senſe I have of your Goodneſs to me.

I have been, 'tis true, depriv'd of the great Office, for which you deſign'd me, by a Majority of *one* Vote, amongſt my Brethren the Aldermen; but the repeated Honour of ſo unanimous a Choice of my fellow Citizens, confer'd on me in two very numerous Common-halls, ſufficiently recompences me for that Slight; and as the Honour you have done me cannot be taken from me by any Perſons whatever, I ſhall always prize it infinitely beyond the Splendour of any Poſt, how eminent ſoever it may be.

It muſt be, I think, no ſmall Satisfaction to your worthy Body, to perceive that this (I hope unmerited) Severity, with which I have been ſo remarkably diſtinguiſh'd, has induced ſeveral of thoſe worthy Gentlemen who have already fill'd the Chair of this City with the greateſt Dignity and Applauſe, generouſly to reſolve to go through that high but expenſive and laborious Office again, when they ſhall be call'd upon by you, rather than not ſhew their Diſapprobation of this unuſual Oppoſition to your repeated Choice.

I hope that nothing which has happen'd in this Affair will in any Manner diſunite the City, and thereby leſſen the Weight it receives from Unanimity; and I ſincerely wiſh that no Citizen of *London* may hence forwards be diſtinguiſh'd by any Thing, but his unalterable Zeal and ſteady Attachment to the Welfare of his Country, and the Preſervation of the Rights and Liberties of this great Capital. I am,

Gentlemen,

College-Hill, Oct. 22, 1740. *Your moſt obliged, and Devoted humble Servant*, ROBERT GODSCHALL.

The *Weſt-India* Merchants waited on his Grace the Duke of *Newcaſtle*, and delivered a Petition for a Number of Men of War to be ſtation'd for the Security of the *Weſt-India* Trade; his Grace receiv'd them in a very handſome Manner, and aſſured them, he would lay the ſame before his Majeſty.

A general Embargo was laid on all Shipping in the Ports of *Ireland*, as the only Expedient at preſent to prevent the Exportation of the Beef of that Country to foreign Parts.

THURSDAY, 23.

Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, with the Squadron he commands and the Tranſports, got under Sail with the Wind at N. by E. At 2 a Clock *Dunnoze* bore N. W. diſtant about 3 Leagues, when the Wind ſhifted to N. W. which oblig'd them to tack and ſtand in, and about 5 a Clock they all came to an Anchor at St. *Helens*.

George Bubb Doddington, Eſq; Member of Parliament for *Bridgewater* in *Somerſetſhire*, who for many Years was one of the Lords Commiſſioners of the Treaſury, has lately reſign'd that Office.

FRIDAY, 24.

The great Cauſe ſo long depending in Chancery between the *York-buildings* Company and their Creditors came on for the Right Hon. the Lord Chancellor's Judgment, when his Lordſhip was pleas'd to make a Decree in favour of the Creditors.

SUNDAY, 26.

This Morning about 9 a Clock the Fleet under the Command of Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, and

and the Tranſports, ſailed again from St. *Helens*, with a briſk Gale at N. E.

WEDNESDAY, 29.

The Right Hon. *Humphry Parſons*, Eſq; the new Lord Mayor of *London*, was with the uſual Solemnity ſworn into that high and honourable Office at *Weſtminſter*, for the Year enſuing. This is the ſecond Time of his Lordſhip's ſerving in this important Poſt, he having executed the Office of Lord Mayor, in the Year 1731. What was remarkable in the Proceſſion was, that his Lordſhip's Coach was drawn by 6 Horſes.

THURSDAY, 30.

Was celebrated the Anniverſary of his Majeſty's Birth-Day, who then enter'd into the 58th Year of his Age.

Wigtown, Oct. 15. Yeſterday, after holding the head Court of the Shire of *Wigtown*, the Sheriff aſk'd the Earl of *Stair*, Whether his Lordſhip had any Thing to propoſe for the Good of the Country? Upon which the Earl made a Speech, in which he recommended to the Freeholders, above all Things, to be attentive to the Preſervation of our happy Conſtitution, which he ſaid, could be preſerv'd only by a *free* Parliament, and that that Parliament could not be *free* which was compos'd of Members *unfree*, and ſuch as depended on the Will and Pleaſure of a M———r; that ſuch an Aſſembly could only retain the Name of a Parliament, like thoſe in the End of K. *Charles* IId's Reign and of K. *James*'s, when arbitrary Power prevail'd over *Scotland*, and particularly in this weſtern Corner; and his Lordſhip gave many Examples of cruel and lawleſs Things that had happened in that very County. His Lordſhip ſet forth the Danger that might attend electing Placemen to be our Repreſentatives in Parliament, from the Liſt of the 45 Members, by which it appear'd that the Cuſtom of electing Placemen and Penſioners, had moſt exceedingly prevail'd, eſpecially of young Men that had little or no Eſtates. He had a Liſt of the 45 Parliament Men from *Scotland* in his Hand, from which he obſerved, that of the 15 Perſons repreſenting the Boroughs, (the trading Part of the Kingdom) 10 of them were Officers in the Army, the other 5 were Placemen, or believ'd to be P———; that 14 out of the 15, had made the Will of the M———r the Rule of their voting in Parliament, *&c.*

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

ROGER *Hall*, of *Mount-hall*, in the County of *Downe*, Eſq; to Miſs *Savage*.

——— *Lamond* of *That-Ilk*, Eſq; to Lady *Emilia M'Kenzie*, Siſter to the Earl of *Cromarty*.

Samuel Bell, of *North-Luffingham* in *Rutlandſhire*. Eſq; to Mrs. *Villiers*.

Counſellor *Baynes* of the *Temple*, to Miſs *Morriſon*.

——— *Johnſon*, of *Berkhamſtead*, Eſq; to Miſs *Bloomfield*.

Mr. *Skinner*, one of the Common-Council Men of *Farringdon Within*, to Miſs *Briſtow*.

Mr. *Daniel Lambert*, Nephew to Mr. Alderman *Lambert*, to the only Daughter of Mr. *Edward Lambert*, an eminent Woolſtapler in *Bermondſey-ſtreet*, *Southwark*.

Mr. *Walters*, an Attorney at Law, to Mrs. *Howe*, Grandaughter of the late Biſhop *Kennet*, a 10,000*l.* Fortune.

Richard Cheek, jun. of *Chelſea*, Eſq; to Miſs *Ellers*, a 10,000*l.* Fortune.

Mr. *Henry Warcopp*, of *Charing-Croſs*, Linen-draper to his Majeſty, to Mrs. *Dorothy Wynne*.

——— *Adderley*, of the County of *Cork*, Eſq; to the Rt. Hon. the Lady *Charlemount*, Mother of the Lord Viſcount *Charlemount*.

Counteſs of *Dyſart*, ſafely deliver'd of a Son.

The Lady of the Hon. Col. *Byng*, alſo of a Son.

DEATHS.

REV. Mr. *William Vawdrey*, a Diſſenting Miniſter at *Briſtol*: He was taken with a Palſey whilſt preaching the Lecture in his Meeting-houſe on *Tueſday* Evening, and died a Day or two after.

Sir *Roger Jennings*, Knt. at his Seat near *Cambridge*.

George Newton, Eſq; at *Twickenham*, formerly a Commander of a Ship in the *E. India* Company's Service.

Mr. *James Brooker*, a Fan-painter in St. *Paul's* Church-yard, remarkable for his great Exactneſs in taking down Trials, *&c.* in Short-hand.

Rev. *William Maſon*, M. A. Fellow of *Clare-hall*, *Cambridge*, and Chaplain to the Earl of *Shaftſbury*.

William Lee, Eſq; formerly Governor of *Guernſey*.

Sir *Robert Corbett*, Bart. one of the Commiſſioners of the Cuſtoms, ſucceeded in Dignity and Eſtate by his Son, now Sir *William Corbett*, Bart. Member for the Town of *Montgomery*.

Right Hon. *Pryce* Lord Viſc. *Hereford*, firſt Viſcount of this Kingdom. He is ſucceeded in Dignity and Eſtate by his only Son, the Hon. *Pryce Devereux*, Eſq; Member for the County of *Montgomery*, now Lord Viſc. *Hereford*. (See p. 399.)

Mrs. *Atkins*, Relict of the Rev. Mr. *Atkins*, formerly Miniſter of *Sunning* in *Berkſhire*, of a Mortification in her Face.

Lady *Stanhope*, Wife of Sir *William Stanhope*, Knt. of the *Bath*, and Member for the County of *Bucks*.

Chriſtopher Barnard, Eſq; the Day he was to have been ſworn in Mayor of *Yarmouth*.

John Floyd, Eſq; of *Aſton* near *Shrewſbury*.

Rev. Mr. *Matthias Earbery*, famous for ſeveral political and other Writings.

Thomas Aynſcombe, in *Charter-Houſe* Square:

He was Governor of *Chriſt's-Hoſpital*, St. *Bartholomew's*, *Bridewell*, and *Bethlem*, to which he has left handſome Legacies.

Rev. Mr. *John Sturges*, Prebendary of *Winchester*, and Rector of *Woneſtone* in *Hampſhire*.

George Liddell, Eſq; Member for *Berwick upon Tweed*, and one of the Commiſſioners of *Greenwich-Hoſpital*.

Sir *Redmond Morres*, Bart. at *Carlow* in *Ireland*.

Rev. Mr. *Richard Edwards*, at *Ruthin* in *Denbighſhire*, Rector of *Lanvoorog* and Vicar of *Lanvair*, both in that County.

Rev. Mr. *Huſſey*, Rector of *Peouver* in *Cheſhire*.

Charles Du Bois, Eſq; who was many Years Treaſurer to the *E. India* Company.

Thomas Batſon, of the *Middle-Temple*, Eſq; Barriſter at Law, and one of the Commiſſioners of Bankruptcy.

The yougeſt Son of Admiral *Vernon*, aged about 11, of the Small Pox.

Richard Lord Viſcount *Coote*, eldeſt Son of the Earl of *Bellomont*, and Capt. in the firſt Reg. of Foot Guards.

Mr. *Eſſington*, many Years Clerk of the Mercers Company. His Fortune, which is very conſiderable, falls to his only Daughter, Lady of the Right Hon. the Earl of *Kinſale* of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, which Peer (by Right of Inheritance) has the Honour of wearing his Hat before his Majeſty.

Sir *William Williams*, Bart. who is ſucceeded in Dignity and Eſtate by his eldeſt Son, now Sir *Watkyn-Williams Wynn*, Bart.

Mr. *William Seward*, a Diſciple and cloſe Follower of Mr. *Whitefield*. He formerly belong'd to the Treaſury-Office in the *S. S.* Houſe.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Lloyd*, one of the Uſhers of *Weſtminſter* School, appointed Lecturer and Curate of St. *Margaret's Weſtminſter*.—*Henry Reynell*, M. A. Brother to the Lord Biſhop of *Downe* and *Connor* in *Ireland*, made Præcentor in the Cathedral Church of *Connor*, a Preferment worth 700*l. per Annum*.—*Ralph Bridcoake*, L. L. B. and Fellow of *New-College* in *Oxford*, preſented to the Vicarage of *Long Wittenham* in the County of *Berks*.—*John Barker*, B. A. to the Rectory of *Churchover* in the County of *Warwick*.—Mr. *Ramſey*, Chaplain to the Lord *Raymond*, to the Living of *Swanbourn* in the County of *Bucks*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil and Military*.

THOMAS *William Gardener*, Eſq; made a Captain in the Royal Reg. of Horſe Guards, Blue.—*John Naylor*, Eſq; nominated by *Nicholas Hardinge*, Eſq; Clerk Aſſiſtant to the Hon. Houſe of Commons.—Capt. *Thomas Phillpot*, made Capt. of the *Furnace* Bomb-ketch; and Mr. *Alexander A'Court*, of the *Lightning* Bomb-ketch.—Mr. *Lucas*, of the *Temple*, appointed one of the Commiſſioners of Bankrupts, in the Room of *Thomas Batſon*, Eſq; deceas'd.—His Majeſty has been pleaſed to appoint the Right Hon. Sir *Robert Walpole*, *William* Lord *Sundon*, *Thomas Winnington*, *Giles Earle*, and *George Treby*, Eſqrs. to be Commiſſioners for executing the Office of Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Exchequer.

PERSONS *declar'd Bankrupts*.

ROBERT *Brett*, of the Pariſh of St. *Mary le Bon*, Brewer.—*Thomas Truman*, late of *Burr-ſtreet*, *Middleſex*, Merchant and Mariner.—*Robert Bunduck*, of *King-ſtreet* near *Tower-hill*, Hair-ſeller.—*John Machin*, of *Newcaſtle under Line*, Mercer and Draper.—*Edward Tildſley*, of *Leeds*, Confectioner.—*Joſeph Moſes*, of St. *Mary-Ax*, Jeweller.—*Edward Greenaway*, of St. *Olave*, *Southwark*, Grocer.—*John Johnſton*, late of *Exeter*, Chapman.—*Elizabeth Yeames*, of *New Bond-ſtreet*, Milliner.—*Henry Fanner*, late of *Lemon-ſtreet*, *Goodman's-fields*, Brewer.—*Samuel Reynolds*, of *Gravel lane*, *Southwark*, Refiner.—*James Weſt*, of *Froome*, Clothier.—*John Hewlett*, of *Grace-church-ſtreet*, Ironmonger and Brazier.—*Thomas Cormell*, late of *Church Hunibon*, in *Worceſterſhire*, Dealer.—*Robert Taylor*, of *Exeter*, Glover.—*Samuel Saunders*, of *Exeter*, Dyer.—*Thomas Barnes*, of *Romford*, in *Eſſex*, Carpenter.—*Joſeph Griffith*, of *Clare-Market*, Grocer.—*John Waters*, of the Stable-Yard near *Lamb's* Conduit in *Red-Lion-ſtreet*, Coach-Maſter.—*John Weſt*, of *New-ſtreet*, near *Fetter-lane*, Fanſtick-maker.—*John Wilſon* and *George Fothergill*, of St. *Andrew*, *Holborn*, Brewers.

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Sept.* 23. to *Oct.* 21.

Chriſtned	Males 567	Females 541	1108
Buried	Males 878	Females 955	1833
Died under 2 Years old			676
Between 2 and 5			166
5	10		74
10	20		68
20	30		115
30	40		150
40	50		172
50	60		151
60	70		129
70	80		105
80	90		23
90 and upwards			4
			1833

The

The following Memorial and Answer are so remarkable, that we think it necessary to communicate them at full Length, as follows, viz.

THE under-written Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of his *Britannick* Majesty, has the Honour of representing to your Majesty, by Order of the King his Master, that as by the ninth Article of the Treaty of *Utrecht* it is expresly stipulated, that all the Fortifications of the Town of *Dunkirk* should be demolished, the Port filled up, the Moles and Sluices which served to cleanse the Port ruined, likewise with this express Condition, that the said Fortifications, Moles, or Sluices, should never again be established; and that by the fourth Article of the Treaty of Defensive Alliance between the Crowns of *Great Britain* and *France*, and the States of the *United Provinces*, it was also stipulated, that the grand Passage from the new Sluice of *Mardyke* should be destroyed, and that no Port, Harbour, Fortification, Sluice, or Bason, should be made or built at *Dunkirk*, at the Sluice of *Mardyke*, or in any Place whatsoever within the Distance of two Leagues from the Coast; it is with extreme Surprize, that his Majesty has received certain Advices, that in manifest Violation of the above Treaties, People are actually at Work in repairing the Fortifications of *Dunkirk*, and particularly that there are Men employed in erecting five Batteries, in order to mount thereupon a considerable Number of Guns; that one of these Batteries is already begun upon the *Risban*, and that the others are designed to be raised on the East of the Entrance of the Port.

The King my Master has ordered me to lay these Facts before your Majesty, not doubting but that without Delay you will give Orders to remedy the above-mentioned Infractions of the said Treaties, and to cause the Works carrying on at *Dunkirk* to cease, that those which have already been erected, be entirely destroyed, and that all Things be put in the Condition prescribed by those Treaties.

This is what the King my Master promises himself, as well from the Justice of your Majesty, as from the Regard that Powers so respectable ought always to have for the Observation of the most solemn Treaties.

At Paris, 3*d* Oct. *O. S.* 1740. *Signed,* WALDEGRAVE.

On the 5th M. *Amelot* wrote the following Letter to the Earl *Waldegrave*.

SIR,

I HAVE acquainted the King with the Letter that your Excellence did me the Honour to write to me on the 3d Instant, and with the Memorial enclosed therein. His Majesty was much surprized to see the Complaints that his *Britannick* Majesty makes of the Orders that are supposed to have been actually given for re-establishing the Fortifications of *Dunkirk*. Nothing can be at a greater Distance from Truth, than the Reports which some People affect to spread upon this Subject. I assure your Excellence, that whatever is inserted in the *English* News Papers, in order to give Uneasiness about the Projects of *France*, is without any Foundation. The Port and Sluices of *Dunkirk*, the Town-Wall, and the Forts, which have been demolished pursuant to the Peace of *Utrecht*, and of the Treaty of Triple Alliance, are now in the same Condition they were in immediately after the Demolition. It is true, the King has caused four Batteries of Guns to be raised, in order to oblige the Corsairs and Privateers which infest these Seas, to keep at a due Distance from the Coast, and to secure the Inhabitants from the Insults which they were liable to from the smallest Ships: But I leave to your Excellence to judge, whether this indispensable and temporary Precaution, which will cease the Moment the publick Tranquillity shall be re-established, deserves to be called a Contravention of Treaties; and whether his Majesty has not rather Reason to complain of being, *from such slender Grounds*, taxed with failing in his Engagements. If after so formal an Assurance as this, which I have the Honour of making you, any Doubt should still remain with his *Britannick* Majesty, concerning the Works which have been reported to be carrying on at *Dunkirk*, *it will be very easy to come at a Certainty therein by only sending, if he thinks fit, some Body upon the Spot.* This is the Answer that the King has ordered me to make to the Letter with which your Excellence honoured me. I am,

SIR,

Your Excellence's most humble, &c.

Signed,

AMELOT.

Charles Francis of the House of *Austria*, Emperor of *Germany*, died at the *Favorita*, on *Oct.* 20. N. S. He was born, *Sept.* 21. O. S. 1685, and elected Emperor, *Oct.* 2. 1711. He has left only two Daughters, the eldest of which, in 1736, was married to the Duke of *Lorain*, now Duke of *Tuscany*.

As the Election of an Emperor of *Germany* will come on soon, we think it proper to give a List of the Electors, *viz.*

Mentz,	*Saxony*,
Cologne,	*Brandenbourgh*,
Triers,	*Hanover*,
Bavaria,	and
Palatine,	*Austria*.

HISTORICAL.

1. THE Annals of *Europe*. Vol. I. for the Year 1740. To be continued. Printed for *G. Hawkins*, 8vo, price 6*s*.

2. The Hiſtory of the Princes of *Saxony*. Sold by *W. Meadows* and *J. Brindley*, 8vo, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

3. The Military Hiſtory of *Charles* XII. King of *Sweden*. In 3 Vols. 8vo. Printed for Meſſ. *Knapton*, *J. Hodges*, *A. Millar* and *J. Nourſe*, price 18*s*.

4. The Hiſtory of the Belles Lettres. Printed for *J. Duncan*, 8vo, price 4*s*.

MISCELLANEOUS.

5. The Family Magazine. In 2 Parts. Printed for *J. Oſborne*, 8vo, price 5*s*.

6. Annual Matrimonial Expences. Printed for *W. Lewis*, price 6*d*.

7. The Conformity of ancient and modern Ceremonies. Printed for *F. Noble*, pr. 3*s*.

8. Latina Lingua in Honorem Coll. Ox. Orationes. Ab hon. Ric. Verney, pr. 1*s*.

9. The Caſe of *Henry Haines*, late Printer of the *Craftſman*, price 6*d*.

10. Lyſiæ Orationes Græcæ & Latinæ. Cantab. Impenſis G. Thurlbourn, 8vo, price 6*s*.

11. Sir *Iſaac Newton*'s Table of Aſſays, *&c.* Printed for *R. Willock*, price 1*s*.

12. Five Tables of Officers Pay. Printed for *J. Millan*, price 3*s*.

* 13. The compleat Family-Piece. In 3 Parts. The 3d Edition, with Mrs. *Stevens*'s Receipt prefix'd. Printed for *C. Rivington*, *S. Birt*, *C. Hitch*, and *J. Clarke* in *Duck-Lane*, 12mo, price 3*s*. 6*d*.

14. Memorials and Characters of eminent and worthy Perſons. Number XX. Printed for *J. Wilford*, pr. 1*s*.

POLITICAL.

15. An hiſtorical View of the Principles, *&c.* of the Political Writers. Printed for *W. Webb*, price 1*s*.

16. Conſiderations on the Management of the late ſecret Expeditions, *&c.* Printed for *W. Webb*, price 6*d*.

17. A general Remonſtrance to the whole People of *England*. Sold by *J. Applebee*, pr. 1*s*.

18. An impartial Relation of the Proceedings of the Common Hall and Court of Aldermen on *Sept.* 29. Printed for *T. Robins*, price 6*d*.

19. Reaſons for an immediate War againſt *France*. Printed for *A. Dodd*, price 6*d*.

POETICAL.

20. Horace, Book IV. Ode V. imitated. Printed for *T. Cooper*, pr. 6*d*.

21. In Laudem Edvardi Vernon, Poema. Printed for *S. Birt*, pr. 6*d*.

22. The City Struggle. Printed for *T. Robins*, pr. 6*d*.

23. The Modern Art of breeding Bees. By *J. Dinſdale*, A. M. Printed for *J. Davidſon*, pr. 6*d*.

24. Luſus Weſtmonaſterienſes. Sold by *J. Nourſe*, 12mo, pr. 2*s*. 6*d*.

25. The Bench. An Eclogue. Printed by *J. Graham*, pr. 1*s*.

26. Præ-exiſtence. A Poem. Printed for *T. Oſborne*, pr. 6*d*.

27. Vernon's Glory; containing 14 Songs on the taking of *Porto Bello*. Printed for *W. Webb*, pr. 6*d*.

28. The Progreſs of the War from the firſt Expedition at *Spithead*, to the laſt at *Torbay*. Printed for *T. Robins*, pr. 6*d*.

29. The *Torbay* Expedition. Printed for *T. Robins*, pr. 6*d*.

30. On his Majeſty's happy Return. An Ode. Printed for *C. Corbet*, pr. 6*d*.

31. Horace's Odes. Number V. Printed for *J. Davidſon*, pr. 1*s*.

32. The Poetical Works of Mr. *James Barber*. Printed for *J. Hodges*, pr. 1*s*. 6*d*.

SERMONS.

33. A Sermon preach'd at the Aſſizes held at *Lancaſter*, before the Hon. *Thomas Parker*, Eſq; and the Hon. *James Reynolds*, Eſq; on *Friday*, *Auguſt* 22, 1740. By *Edward Shakſpear*, A. M. Publiſhed at the Requeſt of the High Sheriff, and the Gentlemen of the Grand Jury. Printed for *J. Clarke*, in *Duck-lane*; and ſold by *J. Roberts*, in *Warwick-lane*; and *J. Hopkins*, Bookſeller, in *Preſton*, pr. 6*d*.

34. A Defence of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and Incarnation of the Son of God, from the Teſtimony of the moſt *ancient Jews*. In Eight Sermons preach'd at the Lady *Moyer*'s Lecture, in 1739, 1740, and ſince greatly enlarged, with uſeful Notes and Appendixes. By *Arthur Bedford*, M. A. Printed for *C. Rivington* and *T. Longman*, pr. 5*s*. 6*d*.

35. A Sermon preach'd before the Univerſity of *Oxford*. By *R. Newton*, D. D. Printed for *G. Straban*, *C. Rivington*, and *J. Oſborn*, pr. 6*d*.

36. A Sermon preach'd at the Meeting of the Charity Children. By the Lord Biſhop of St. *David's*. Printed for *J. Pemberton*, pr. 6*d*.

37. A Sermon preach'd at *Eton*. By Dr. *Cradock*. Sold by *O. Payne*, pr. 6*d*.

THEOLOGICAL.

38. The Family Expoſitor, Vol. II. By *P. Doddridge*, D. D. Deliver'd to Subſcribers by *R. Hett*, pr. 10*s*. 6*d*. in Sheets.

39. Private Reflections and occaſional Meditations. By Mr. *H. Scougal*, S. T. P. Printed for *J. Oſwald*, pr. 6*d*.

ADVERTISEMENT.

ALL Sorts of ALMANACKS for the Year 1741, will be Publiſhed together at *Stationers Hall*, on *Tueſday* the 25th Day of *November* 1740.

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

NOVEMBER, 1740.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 489.

In the Debate upon the Place-Bill, a Part of which I gave you in my laſt, L. Valerius Flaccus *ſtood up, and ſpoke in Subſtance as follows,* viz.

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

I AM very ready to allow, that it is laudable in a free People to be jealous of their Liberties; and to be ready to repel the leaſt Attack that can be made upon them. But I cannot think it very prudent to ſhew any outward Signs of this Jealouſy, without ſome real and immediate Cauſe; and when Diviſions and Animoſities are ſtirred up amongſt a free People, about guarding againſt an Attack that was never made nor thought of, I ſhall always be inclined to impute it to any Thing, rather than to a true and diſintereſted Regard for the publick Good. All Conteſts about altering or amending our Conſtitution, eſpecially when they are nurſed up, and carried on without Doors, as well as within, I muſt look on as a political Sort of Warfare; and, I think, no Sort of War ought ever to be begun, without ſome real Offence of one Side or other. If the Nation is to be ſet in a Ferment, about providing againſt every imaginary Danger that may be ſuggeſted by a melancholy and gloomy Diſpoſition, we ſhall always be ſo much taken up with providing againſt imaginary and diſtant domeſtick Dangers, that we may probably, ſome Time or other, overlook, and neglect to provide againſt a real and imminent foreign Danger; and thus, whilſt we are engaged in needleſs Conteſts about guarding our Liberties and Properties againſt the Invaſions of one another, we may at laſt find both left entirely at the Mercy of ſome foreign Invader.

For this Reaſon, I am not for endeavouring to be ſo quick-ſighted as ſome Gentlemen pretend to be, nor ſhall I ever be for making an Alteration in our Conſtitution, in order to provide againſt any Danger it may be expoſed to, till that Danger begins to be in ſome Degree felt, as well as foreſeen; and therefore, I think,

think, no Gentleman can expect, that I ſhould agree to the Motion now under our Conſideration. Whatever may be our Fate in future Times, I am ſure, it cannot be ſaid, that in his preſent Majeſty's Reign, or under the preſent Adminiſtration, the leaſt Attempt has been made upon the Freedom of Parliament, or to gain a corrupt Influence over any Member of this Houſe. If our Parliaments had ever once of late Years, at the Inſtigation of the Crown, agreed to, or approved of any Thing that look'd like an Incroachment, either upon the Rights and Liberties of the People, or upon the Property of any private Man in the Kingdom, that Agreement or Approbation might have been ſuſpected of proceeding from ſome corrupt Influence. But as no ſuch Agreement or Approbation has ever been obtained, as no Attempt has been lately made by the Crown to obtain any ſuch, I can ſee no Reaſon for the preſent Motion, or for that Outcry againſt Corruption, that has been of late ſo induſtriouſly propagated all over the Nation.

Corruption, I know, Sir, like arbitrary Power and wooden Shoes, is a moſt hideous Word, and I ſhall grant, that it may be of dangerous Conſequence to the Liberties of a free People; but there are two Things that muſt concur, before it can ever become dangerous, and that is, a general Depravity of Manners among the People, and a wicked Deſign in thoſe that govern them. If Virtue prevails among the Generality of the People, if they are not generally guided by ſelfiſh and corrupt Motives, an ambitious Court can never propoſe to ſucceed in their Deſigns, by Means of Corruption, let their Fund for that Purpoſe be never ſo extenſive; and if the Governors of a free People have no ambitious or wicked Deſigns, no Fund for Corruption can ever be dangerous in their Hands; but, on the contrary, it may be neceſſary for preſerving the Happineſs and Tranquillity of the People; for if the People be generally corrupt, if they be generally guided by ſelfiſh and corrupt Motives, their Governors muſt have wherewithal to ſatisfy thoſe Views, which with moſt Men, are their only Motives for Action, otherwiſe it will be impoſſible to get a Majority of the People to concur, even in thoſe Meaſures that are abſolutely neceſſary for their own Preſervation.

It is therefore evident, Sir, that thoſe who think we are in any preſent Danger from Corruption, muſt be of Opinion, that a general Depravity of Manners has of late crept in among the People of this Kingdom, and that his Majeſty, by the Advice of evil Counſellors, has formed Deſigns againſt the Liberties of his People; which is an Opinion, that, I hope, is far from being entertained by any Gentleman in this Houſe. Whatever Opinion we may have of the Generality of our Countrymen, I hope no Gentleman thinks, that his Majeſty has any Deſigns againſt the Liberties of his People, or that he would harbour any ſuch, were it in his Power to carry them into Execution. What are we then to do by the Bill propoſed? If a general Depravity of Manners does not prevail, we are, without the leaſt Shadow of Reaſon, to deprive the People of the Service of thoſe, who, if they are honeſt, are certainly beſt able to ſerve their Country in Parliament; and if a general Depravity of Manners does prevail, we are to deprive his Majeſty, who, we are certain, can have no bad Deſigns, of the only Means he can have for carrying his good Deſigns into Execution, or, indeed, for anſwering any one End of Government.

But now, Sir, let me ſuppoſe, which,

which, I am ſure, there is no Ground for, that a Majority of this Houſe not only think, that the People of this Nation are generally governed by ſelfiſh and corrupt Motives, but alſo, that his Majeſty has, by the Advice of evil Counſellors, formed Deſigns againſt the Liberties of the People: Even in this Caſe, can we ſuppoſe that this Bill would be a proper Remedy? From Experience we muſt conclude, that it would have a quite contrary Effect: Like the ſelf-denying Ordinance in *Cromwell*'s Time, it would not only facilitate, but haſten that very Conſequence it is intended to prevent. The Paſſing of ſuch a Bill, would be an immediate and infallible Cauſe of a Diviſion and Contention between the King and his Parliament, which would of Courſe drive both to Extremes; and as we have ſuppoſed both Sides governed by ambitious and ſelfiſh Views only, whichever Side prevailed, the Contention would end, as it did in *Cromwell*'s Time, in the Eſtabliſhment of arbitrary Power. Therefore, if there were any preſent Danger from Corruption, the only Method for providing effectually againſt it would be, to take proper Meaſures for reſtoring the Virtue of the People, and for removing evil Counſellors from the King, both which may be done by Parliament, but can never be done by ſuch a Bill as is now propoſed; and therefore, I muſt be againſt giving Leave to bring in a Bill, which, I think, can in no Caſe be of any Service, and which may, probably, be attended with moſt pernicious Conſequences.

The next that ſpoke in this Debate was C. Sulpicius, *the Purport of whoſe Speech was as follows*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

THE Bill now moved for, is of ſo great Conſequence, ſo ardently deſired by the Nation in general, that I cannot ſatisfy myſelf with giving a bare Aſſent to the Motion for bringing it in, and therefore, I muſt venture upon the hard Taſk of betraying my own Inability, rather than ſit ſilent in a Debate, whereon, I think, the Freedom and Independency of Parliament, and the very Being of our Conſtitution depend. A Debate, Sir, which, by its Event, muſt, in Effect, determine, whether the Commons of *Great Britain* are ever hereafter to be properly repreſented in this Houſe, whether we are really to be any longer a free People or no.

It would ill become me, Sir, to dare to inſinuate the leaſt Reflexion upon any of thoſe Gentlemen who have the Honour to be employed in his Majeſty's Service, or to be diſtinguiſhed by his Royal Favour. Their Rank and their Station claim a due Reſpect, and I have ever paid them ſuch as becomes a Freeman. As Gentlemen, and as Individuals, I have a great Regard for them; but as Legiſlators, and as an aggregate Body, I muſt own, their Numbers, their Power, and their Influence here, may give juſt Grounds of Jealouſy and Apprehenſion, to every Man that underſtands the Nature, and admires the Wiſdom of our happy Conſtitution; eſpecially if we ſhould ever happen to ſee an Union, or Coalition of their ſeveral Intereſts, for their mutual Support, and, as it were, in one common Cauſe, whenever the State of our Army, or Navy, of our Treaſury, or Revenue, or of the Nation in general, ſhall come under the Conſideration of this Houſe.

We juſtly value ourſelves on the Wiſdom and Equity of our Laws, for trying the Life, Liberty, and Property of the meaneſt Subject, by impartial Judges, and diſintereſted Juries. Shall we be thus careful of the Liberties and Properties of pri-

vate Men, and take no Care of the Liberties and Properties of the People in general? Shall we remove a Juror, in a Caſe of private Property, if it appears that he has an Intereſt in either Side of the Queſtion; and in a Caſe of publick Property, ſhall we admit a Majority, or near a Majority of thoſe that are to be Judges, to conſiſt of ſuch as have the whole, or the greateſt Part of their Subſiſtence, depending upon one Side, perhaps the wrong Side, of the Queſtion? Surely, Sir, this great Council, which is entruſted with the Happineſs, the Property, and Purſe of the Nation, demands, at leaſt, equal Care and Attention: The Guardians of the Laws, Liberties, and publick Intereſt, ought, above all Men, to be diſintereſted and independent; free not only from the Imputation, but even from the leaſt Suſpicion of any pecuniary Bias whatever. In private Life, it would be abſurd to allow any Man to ſit as Judge and Jury in his own Cauſe; and in this Houſe, where our All is at Stake, is it not equally abſurd, may it not be deſtructive?

Sir, there is no Deſign to turn out of this Houſe, every Gentleman that has a Place or Office under the Crown. By the Bill now moved for, all thoſe who have Places or Offices under the Crown, are to be excluded from having Seats in this Houſe, except ſuch Placemen and Officers as ſhall be named in the Bill; and when this Exception comes to be filled up, it will appear, that there may ſtill be at leaſt 150 Placemen and Officers in this Houſe, which ſurely is a Number ſufficient for anſwering all the good Purpoſes of the Crown; and, I hope, no Gentleman will ſay, we ought to have ſuch a Number of Placemen and Officers in this Houſe, as may anſwer thoſe bad Purpoſes which ſome future ambitious King, or bad Miniſter, may happen to have in View, or may be prompted to have in View, when he conſiders, that he has ſuch a great Number of Placemen and Officers in this Houſe.

The long and expenſive Wars this Nation has been obliged to carry on, for the juſt Defence of our Religion, our Laws, and our Liberties, have engaged us in immenſe Debts: Theſe Debts ſtill ſubſiſt, and have had this fatal Conſequence, that while they have ſettled the Balance of Power abroad, I fear they have overturned the Balance of Power at home. They have raiſed a numerous Swarm of Revenue and Exciſe Officers, and other Tax-Gatherers, who have overſpread the Nation like Locuſts. It is well known what Influence theſe Officers and Tax-Gatherers have upon Elections, and I may alſo ſay, it is well known, what Uſe they make of it. They influence our Elections, not only while they live, but alſo when they die; for many Electors are influenced by the Hopes of ſucceeding them.

We are again engaged in a juſt and neceſſary War, whereby our Fleets are become more numerous, our Land Forces greatly increaſed, and more and more Levies of Marines every Day made. Theſe Augmentations muſt throw a new Weight of Power into that Scale, which ſeems already to be charged beyond its due Proportion, and of Courſe the Freedom of Parliament, and the Security of our Conſtitution, will be thereby more endangered, which has raiſed great Jealouſies all over the Nation.

This Bill, Sir, ſeems to be the only ſure Method to allay theſe Jealouſies, and to prevent theſe Dangers. It is not meant to exclude all Placemen from Parliament: It is meant only to reſtrain and limit the Number of Placemen, which in future Parliaments may become ſo great, as to be inconſiſtent with the

Free-

Freedom of Parliament, or the Preſervation of our Conſtitution. This Effect the Bill will have, if, luckily for us and our Poſterity, it be paſſed into a Law; but this is not the only good Effect it will have. Beſides this, it will have many other good Effects: It will not only limit the Number of Placemen in Parliament; but it will alſo ſoon leſſen their Number, and their Expence in general. If this Bill ſhould be paſſed, new Places would not be created, many old ones would be aboliſhed, no more Officers would be employed than were abſolutely neceſſary; and, I verily believe, no more would be allowed them than they ſtrictly earned: A ſmall Salary would then ſatisfy a Clerk in an Office, who might now, perhaps, reject it, as a Member of this Houſe; and Men might well afford to ſerve for half Pay, who had no Intereſt to ſupport, and no other Merit neceſſary for the Poſt they enjoy, or the Poſt they aſpire to, than the bare Qualification for that, and that alone. They would then become Men of one Calling, and of one Buſineſs: They would be more diligent and faithful in the Diſcharge of their Duty, becauſe they would be more afraid of being called to Account.

The Nation, Sir, grows daily more jealous of its Liberties, and more zealous for the Security of them, by the Succeſs of this Bill; and, therefore, I hope that, at leaſt, ſo much Deference will be paid to the Voice of the People, as to admit their Repreſentatives fully to debate the Merits of this important Cauſe. The Voice of the People is well worthy the Attention, the ſerious Attention of a wiſe Legiſlature: It is a Voice that firſt or laſt will be heard, and will have its Effect: It is a Voice that is not to be ſilenced, that is not to be ſmothered, much leſs to be rejected with Contempt.

Therefore, Sir, in Duty to his Majeſty, that he may reign happy in the Hearts, in the Affections, and Confidence of his People, which alone can render him powerful at home, and formidable abroad; in Juſtice to my Country, that theſe valuable Rights and Privileges, derived to us from our Anceſtors, may be tranſmitted down to Poſterity; in Diſcharge of my own Conſcience, and of the great Truſt repoſed in me by my Conſtituents, I thought myſelf obliged, notwithſtanding the juſt Senſe I have of my Inability, to give this publick Teſtimony of my Approbation of what is propoſed, and I do moſt heartily join in the Motion, for bringing in this important and moſt neceſſary Bill.

The next Speech I ſhall give you, was that made by Servilius Priſcus, *which was to this Effect*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

THE Hon. Gentlemen, who in this Debate have ſpoke in favour of the Motion, ſeem all, by their Arguments, to preſume, that every Gentleman, who has a Place or Office under the Crown, is to receive Directions from the Crown, with regard to his Behaviour in this Houſe, and that he will always vote and act here according to theſe Directions. Sir, if there were any Ground for ſuch a Preſumption, if I thought that there could ever be any Ground for ſuch a Preſumption, I ſhould moſt readily agree to this Motion: I ſhould not only be for excluding all ſuch Gentlemen from having Seats in this Houſe, but I ſhould be for laying them under all the Incapacities, which Exciſe-Officers are already by Law ſubjected to. I ſhould be for preventing their endeavouring to perſuade any Elector to give, or to diſſuade any from giving his Vote for any Candidate at an Election. But I am very far

from

from ſuppoſing, that the Crown, or any Miniſter of the Crown, will ever attempt to give Directions to any Member of this Houſe, with regard to his Behaviour here; and much leſs can I ſuppoſe, that any Gentleman, who has the Honour to be choſen a Member of this Houſe, would ſubmit to follow ſuch Directions, for the Sake of any Place or Office he can have or expect from the Crown. When a Gentleman is choſen a Member of this Houſe, he thereby becomes a Counſellor for his Sovereign, as well as a Truſtee for the People, and in both theſe Reſpects, he is in Honour bound to give his Opinion freely and ſincerely upon every Queſtion that occurs. A Place or Office under the Crown may prevent his aſſociating himſelf with thoſe that appear to be diſaffected or diſcontented, or it may engage his Aſſent in Things that appear to be indifferent, or of no great Moment; but it can never engage his Approbation of any Meaſure that appears to be inconſiſtent with the Liberties of the People, and conſequently, with the Security of the Crown; for theſe two have now ſuch a mutual Dependance, that no Attempt can be made upon either, without at the ſame Time weakening the other.

For this Reaſon, Sir, I ſhould think our Liberties and Conſtitution in no Danger, even tho' a Majority of this Houſe conſiſted of ſuch as held Places and Offices under the Crown, provided they were regularly and fairly choſen, which they could not be, unleſs they were Gentlemen of good Characters, of good Fortunes, and of a good Family-Intereſt in their Country: With ſuch a Parliament, if the Crown ſhould begin to form any arbitrary Deſigns, ſome few of this Majority might, perhaps, be brought over, by the Hopes of great Preferment, or by the Fears of loſing what they poſſeſſed; but the greateſt Part of them would certainly join the Party againſt the Court, for this very good Reaſon, becauſe it would be the moſt certain Way of preſerving not only their own Fortunes, but alſo the Places and Offices they enjoyed. If they ſhould join with the Court in giving a Parliamentary Sanction to ſuch Deſigns, and eſtabliſhing an arbitrary Power in the Crown, they would not only render their own private Fortunes precarious, but they would put it in the Power of the Crown to turn them out of the Places and Offices they poſſeſs without any Danger; and this would, probably, be the Conſequence; for the loweſt and moſt upſtart Fellows are generally the beſt Servants, and moſt humble Slaves to the haughty Prime Miniſter of an abſolute Sovereign. This, I ſay, would be the Caſe, with regard even to thoſe Placemen of Family and Fortune, who had concurred in the Eſtabliſhment of arbitrary Power: They would be all turned out, and more humble Slaves, or at leaſt, Slaves to whom the Crown and its Miniſters did not owe ſuch Obligations, would be put into their Room, as ſoon as it could be done without Danger of overturning that lofty Fabrick of Power, which by their Aſſiſtance had been erected.

This, Sir, would be the certain Fate of all Gentlemen of Character, Family, and Fortune in their Country, if they ſhould, for the Sake of preſerving their Poſts or Offices, join with the Slaves of a Court in giving a Parliamentary Sanction to, and thereby eſtabliſhing an arbitrary Power. On the other hand, if moſt of them ſhould declare againſt the Court, as, I believe, would be the Caſe, they would immediately put an end to ſuch a wicked Adminiſtration. The Parliament would immediately remove all ſuch evil Counſellors from about the Throne,

and probably ſend them where they deſerved; in which Caſe, it would be out of their Power to adviſe the King to remove thoſe Placemen that had voted againſt them; and the new Adminiſtration would be bound in Gratitude, to continue in Office thoſe that had contributed to their Advancement, and to the Relief of their Country. Nay, for their own Sakes they would be obliged to continue them, and to reſtore ſuch as had been removed, becauſe thoſe Placemen and Officers who had given ſuch a Teſtimony of their Honour, and of their generous Love for their Country, would thereby become ſo popular, and acquire ſuch an additional Intereſt in their reſpective Counties, that it would be very dangerous for the new Adminiſtration to do them any Injuſtice.

From hence, Sir, I think it is evident, our Conſtitution can never be in Danger from any Number of Places and Offices that can be held by the Members of this Houſe. On the contrary, I think, the chief Security of our Conſtitution conſiſts in this very Power or Capacity, which the Members of this Houſe have, of enjoying Places and Offices under the Crown; becauſe, the Crown is thereby obliged to employ Gentlemen of Character, Fortune, and Intereſt, in the executive Part of our Government. When two Gentlemen are Candidates for any Place or Office in the executive Part of our Government, both equally qualified as to perſonal Abilities, but one, a Gentleman of good Fortune and Family, the other of neither, I believe it will be granted, that the former ought to be preferred; and as long as Placemen or Officers are allowed Seats in this Houſe, or Votes at Elections, the Crown, or the Miniſters of the Crown, will certainly prefer the former, in order to prevent his appearing againſt them, in all Matters of an indifferent Nature, either in this Houſe, or at Elections; but if by preferring him, they ſhould render it impoſſible for him to do them any Service, either in this Houſe, or at Elections, they would certainly prefer the other, becauſe he would be a more obedient and ſubmiſſive Tool, and much more attached to their perſonal Intereſt and Safety.

The Conſequence, therefore, of excluding moſt Placemen and Officers from having Seats in this Houſe will be, that in a ſhort Time, none but Men of low Birth and no Fortune will be employed in our Army and Navy, and in every other Poſt or Office, that is neceſſary for the executive Part of our Government; and if this ſhould ever happen to be the Caſe, I ſhould think our Conſtitution in much greater Danger, than it could be, ſhould every Member of this Houſe have a Share in the executive, as well as he has in the legiſlative Part of the Government of his Country. For this Reaſon, I muſt be of Opinion, that as long as you leave the executive Part of your Government in the Crown, you ought to leave the Conſtitution upon the Footing it now ſtands, if you have a Mind to preſerve it from being overturned by an Army commanded by Officers, and aſſiſted by a great Number of Placemen, of no Birth or Fortune in their Country, and conſequently, ready to join with an ambitious Prince or Miniſter, in overturning the Liberties of their Country.

Whilſt we have Parliaments, Sir, and thoſe Parliaments regularly choſen, according to the Laws already in being, I can have no Notion, that the Majority of ſuch a Parliament can be prevailed on by Places or Preferments, to join in arbitrary Deſigns or oppreſſive Meaſures; the only Danger we are in is, leſt the Crown

ſhould

ſhould be tempted, or obliged to govern without a Parliament; and this even the juſteſt and wiſeſt Prince may find himſelf obliged to do, if you ſhould take away all thoſe legal Powers, which our Anceſtors have found neceſſary to be lodged in the Crown, in order to enable it to withſtand Faction and Sedition. We know how giddy the Populace are in every Country: We know how apt the People are to be led aſtray by the artful Heads of Faction, whoſe ſecret Deſigns are generally very different from their publick Profeſſions. All wiſe Governments foreſee Dangers and Inconveniences at a great Diſtance. and, in order to avoid theſe Dangers, are often obliged to take Meaſures, that may ſeem wrong or oppreſſive to the Ignorant: They may often have wiſe and good Reaſons for what they do, and yet thoſe Reaſons may be ſuch as muſt not be publickly explained. Theſe Circumſtances the Heads of Faction, the Diſaffected, and the Diſcontented, take Advantage of, in order to miſrepreſent the Government to the Multitude; and by theſe Means, even againſt a juſt and wiſe Prince, a general Diſcontent may be made to prevail for ſome ſhort Time, and until the Eyes of the People be opened. If ſuch a Prince had no Honours to beſtow, nor any Rewards to give to ſuch as do not allow themſelves to be led away by popular Clamours, his Government would be tore to Pieces by a factious Parliament, or he would be obliged to carry it on without any Parliament at all; and in either Caſe, our Conſtitution would be undone.

Againſt this Danger we are guarded, Sir, by the Honours and Favours which the Crown may beſtow upon thoſe Electors and Members who do not, out of an Affectation of Popularity, chime in with every popular Diſcontent; and this, I think, is the only Uſe the Crown can make of thoſe Honours, Places and Offices, which it has, by our Conſtitution, at its Diſpoſal. Theſe Honours, Places, and Offices, may be a Support to the Crown againſt a popular Frenzy or Deluſion, and may ſupport it in a legal Way, till the People have Leiſure to conſider, and return to their Senſes. By theſe, many Gentlemen may be prevented from joining with a popular Faction, either at Elections or in Parliament, and may at both be kept firm in their Duty to their King and Country; but by theſe, no Gentleman of any Family or Fortune can be prevailed on to join with the Crown in deſtroying the Liberties of his Country.

I hope, Sir, our Liberties and Privileges are as yet in no Danger. As long as the People are guided by a Spirit of Virtue and publick Good, their Liberties and Privileges never can be in Danger from any Honours or Rewards the Crown has, or may have in its Power to beſtow. But if the People ſhould ever become ſo abandoned, as that a Majority of them ſhould be ready to ſacrifice their Liberties and Privileges for a preſent Reward, it would, I think, be a very ridiculous Undertaking, to endeavour to guard againſt it by Laws, which the People would certainly repeal as ſoon as their Purchaſers deſired it. Nay, in ſuch a Caſe, I ſhould think it would be happy for the People to have their Liberties and Privileges taken from them; for when the Individuals of a Community make no other Uſe of the Liberties and Privileges they enjoy, but to prey upon the Publick, I am certain thoſe Liberties and Privileges muſt be taken away, or the Community itſelf will ſoon be deſtroyed. Therefore, if it be ſuppoſed, that the Crown may, by Means of Places and Offices, get a Majority in Parliament, that for the Sake of the Places and Offices they

enjoy,

enjoy, will ſacrifice the Liberties and Privileges of their Country, it may be an Argument for putting an End to all Parliaments, and eſtabliſhing an unlimited Power in the Crown, but it can be no Argument for the Bill now propoſed; for if we can ſuppoſe, that a Majority of any future Parliament will be ſuch, as are entirely governed by their own immediate Intereſt, I am ſure they will make uſe of the Privileges they are inveſted with as Members, in order to accompliſh that which is their only Aim, and if they find they cannot accompliſh it by ſerving the Crown, they will endeavour to accompliſh it by deſtroying the Crown, and, probably, by overturning our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment.

This, indeed, is the Conſequence I chiefly apprehend. We know, Sir, how numerous the Diſaffected ſtill are in this Kingdom; and they, we may ſuppoſe, are not unſenſible of the Prejudice that has been done to their Faction, by the Places and Offices which are at the Diſpoſal of the Crown. Theſe Places and Offices are, as I have ſaid, of great Uſe to the Crown, and, I think, to the Nation, in preventing Gentlemen from joining with a Faction, or in winning them away from it; and the Jacobites are ſenſible, they have loſt many by this Means, ſome, perhaps, after they had got them a Seat in this Houſe. For this Reaſon, we find, they are, in every Part of the Kingdom, great Patrons of this Bill. I hope, we have none of them now in this Houſe; I am ſure the Hon. Gentlemen who have propoſed and promoted this Bill, can lie under no ſuch Imputation, nor can they be ſuſpected of any ſuch Motives; but we know, that without Doors, the Clamours for this Bill are zealouſly promoted by the Diſaffected, which cannot proceed from any Principle of Liberty, becauſe from their Principles, they muſt be for enlarging, inſtead of diminiſhing, the Power of the Crown. It can proceed from nothing, but an Opinion, that it would promote their Cauſe: And, as I happen, in this Caſe, to be of the ſame Opinion with them; as I am afraid that, if this Bill ſhould paſs into a Law, we might have a Majority of Jacobites, inſtead of Placemen in this Houſe, therefore, I muſt be againſt giving it any Countenance, and, conſequently, againſt the Motion, for Leave to bring it in.

The next Speech I ſhall give you, was that made by M. Cato, *which was in Subſtance as follows*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,

SIR,

THE Oppoſition made to this Motion is, in my Opinion, one of the ſtrongeſt Arguments that can be made uſe of in its Favour, and muſt, I think, appear ſo to every Man, who conſiders the Perſons concerned in that Oppoſition, and the Arguments they make uſe of for ſupporting it. Who are the Perſons that oppoſe this Motion? Who were they that have always oppoſed ſuch Motions? Placemen, Miniſters, and the Favourites or Penſioners of Miniſters. What do they ſay for juſtifying their Oppoſition? They deny a Principle, a Maxim, which in all Ages, in all Countries, has hitherto been acknowledged, and, upon which, many of our Laws now in being are founded. That a Gentleman's Behaviour in this Houſe, may be influenced by a Place, or a Penſion, is a Maxim univerſally acknowledged, and in this Kingdom ſo much eſtabliſhed, that we have, already, by Law, excluded many of the former, and all the latter, from having Seats in this Houſe. We have, already, by Law, excluded all Penſioners from having Seats in this Houſe, and, I ſhould

be glad to know the Difference between a Penſion of 1000*l.* a Year, and a Place with a Salary of 1000*l.* a Year. I know of none, ſave only that the latter is generally more valuable than the former; and, therefore, a Gentleman will be more loth to loſe it, or to give a Vote in this Houſe, that may diſoblige a Miniſter who can take it from him.

I ſay, Sir, that a Place, with a Salary of 1000*l.* a Year, is more valuable than a Penſion of 1000*l.* a Year; becauſe a Place furniſhes a Gentleman with an Opportunity to ſerve his Friends, and, perhaps, to provide ſome of them with little Places or Offices under him. To which I muſt add, that a Place often furniſhes a Gentleman, who is not very ſcrupulous, with an Opportunity of plundering his Country yearly, of twice, perhaps ten Times, the Value of his Salary; and this, I muſt obſerve, makes another very material Difference between a Place and a Penſion: A Placeman may very probably be a Perſon, whoſe Conduct this Houſe ought to enquire into: He may be a publick Criminal, and therefore, he will certainly be againſt an impartial and ſtrict Enquiry into the Conduct of any Miniſter, Officer, or Placeman, leſt the Enquiry ſhould at laſt light upon himſelf. There is, therefore, greater Reaſon for excluding all Placemen, than for excluding all Penſioners, from having Seats in this Houſe. Our admitting ſome of the former, does not proceed from an Opinion, that a Gentleman's Behaviour may not be influenced by a Place, as much as by a Penſion, but from the Neceſſity we are under, of having ſome great Officers amongſt us, in order to give us proper Information and Direction, in many Affairs that muſt come under our Conſideration.

For this Reaſon, when I hear Gentlemen, who have very good Places, gravely telling us, that no Gentleman of Family or Fortune can, by any Place he may enjoy or expect, be induced to join in Meaſures, that may be of dangerous Conſequence to the Conſtitution or Liberties of his Country, I think it is a clear Proof, not only that the Behaviour of a Gentleman of Family and Fortune may be influenced by the Poſt he enjoys or expects, but alſo, that his Judgment may be biaſſed. He may be, thereby, induced to think thoſe Things indifferent, or of no Moment, that are far from being ſo: He may be, thereby, induced to think thoſe Meaſures right, that to every impartial Man appear to be pernicious: He may be, thereby, induced to think the Liberties of his Country in no Danger, when they are upon the very Brink of Deſtruction. I ſhall grant, Sir, that we ought not raſhly, and without juſt Cauſe, to make any Alteration in our Conſtitution, nor ought we to frighten ourſelves with fanciful Dangers; but if the Danger we now apprehend, from the great Number of Officers and Placemen in this Houſe, be ſuggeſted only by a melancholy and gloomy Diſpoſition, that Diſpoſition is, I am ſure, now become epidemical; for there is not, I believe, a Man in the Nation, not poſſeſſed, or in Expectation of ſome Poſt or Penſion under the Crown, who does not apprehend this Danger, or who is not convinced of its being not only real, but imminent. Placemen and Penſioners may, 'tis true, be of a more gay Diſpoſition than others, and therefore, not ſo apt to apprehend our Conſtitution's being in Danger; but for this very Reaſon, we ought not to have a Majority of them in this Houſe; for if ever we ſhould, I may prognoſticate, that their Gayety will give the reſt of the Nation good Cauſe to be melancholy.

An Hon. Gentleman who has had ſeveral, and has now a very good Place,

Place, has been pleaſed to tell us, that we ought never to think of providing againſt any Danger, till it be felt, as well as foreſeen. I do not know, Sir, what that Gentleman may feel, or foreſee; but I can aſſure him, the Nation thinks it has often felt the Influence of Places and Penſions in this Houſe. I ſhall not undertake the invidious Taſk of ſhewing how, or when, that Influence has been felt; but I may ſay in general, that even of late Years, there have been many Queſtions in this Houſe, which would not have gone as they did, had we had few or no Officers or Placemen amongſt us; and if all the Officers and Placemen would now retire, or refuſe to give their Votes in this Queſtion, in which they may properly be ſaid to be Parties concerned, I ſhould not doubt the Succeſs of my Hon. Friend's Motion. In this Houſe, we ought to ſee with the ſame Eyes our Conſtituents ſee with, and we ought to feel what the Nation feels, which is a good Reaſon for our admitting but few Placemen, and no Penſioners amongſt us; for both the Seeing and Feeling of him who receives 500 *l.* or 1000 *l.* a Year, will always be very different from the Seeing and Feeling of thoſe that pay it. The Difference between the Foreſight of Placemen, and that of the Nation, is notorious, and very remarkable, in this, that the former are mighty quick at foreſeeing thoſe Dangers, which occaſion the keeping up of a ſtanding Army, but with regard to thoſe Dangers that threaten our Conſtitution, they have hitherto appeared to be almoſt quite blind; whereas the Nation has always been, and, I hope, always will be, quick-ſighted with regard to thoſe Dangers that threaten our Conſtitution, and never very apprehenſive of any of thoſe Dangers that are uſually pretended for our keeping up a numerous ſtanding Army. This, I ſay, is a remarkable Difference, with regard to the Faculty of ſeeing or foreſeeing any Danger; and with regard to that of feeling, it is certain, a Gentleman of 1000 *l.* a Year Eſtate, who pays 700 *l.* a Year towards our national Taxes, and has a Penſion or Salary of 1000 *l.* a Year paid him out of thoſe Taxes, can never be ſo ſenſible of their Weight, as another Gentleman of 1000 *l.* a Year Eſtate, who pays but 500 *l.* a Year towards our national Taxes, and has no Penſion or Salary coming in. Therefore, I hope, the Hon. Gentleman will forgive me, if I ſay, that our Liberties may be in the moſt imminent and real Danger, tho' neither he, nor any other Placeman, either feels or foreſees it; and this, I think, is a very good Reaſon, why our Liberties ſhould not be committed to their keeping.

I ſhall admit, Sir, that a Gentleman of Family, Fortune, Character, and Intereſt in his Country, is not ſo liable to be influenced by a Place he may enjoy or expect, as one who has none of theſe Advantages; but will any Gentleman ſay, that none but Gentlemen of Family, Fortune, Character, and Intereſt in their Country, can get themſelves choſen Members of this Houſe? Do not we know, that a Miniſter may get a Man choſen, tho' he has neither Family, Fortune, Character, nor Intereſt to recommend him? Do not we know, that moſt of the little Boroughs upon our Coaſts, are already, by Means of our Cuſtom-Houſe, and Sea Officers, brought entirely under the Direction of our Adminiſtration? And if the late *Exciſe Scheme* had paſſed into a Law, I believe, the Caſe would, by this Time, have been the ſame, with regard to moſt of the little inland Boroughs in the Kingdom. Suppoſe this ſhould hereafter be brought about, by Means of ſome ſuch Scheme, paſt into a Law, at the End of a Seſſion, and before People had

had Time to conſider its Conſequences: Could we ſuppoſe, that a wicked or ambitious Miniſter, would ever allow a Gentleman of Family or Fortune to be choſen by any of the Boroughs under his Direction, unleſs he were ſuch a one as would be influenced by the Place the Miniſter had given, or could give him?

In this Caſe, Sir, let us conſider, that of the 513 Members that repreſent *England* and *Wales*, there are but 92 choſen by Counties, and of the remaining 421, there are at leaſt 350 choſen by Cities, Boroughs, and Cinque Ports, where the Adminiſtration would have the abſolute Command and Direction. If this ſhould ever happen to be our unlucky Fate, can we ſuppoſe, that any Gentleman would ſet up to be a Member of this Houſe, or a Repreſentative even for any of our Counties, but ſuch as reſolved to ſubmit, with regard to their Behaviour here, to the abſolute Direction of the prime Miniſter? For no Gentleman of Honour would put himſelf to Expence, or expoſe himſelf to the Reſentment of an all-powerful Miniſter, if by ſetting up as a Candidate at any Election, he were abſolutely certain that he could thereby do his Country no Service. Inſtead of Gentlemen of Family, Fortune, Character, or Intereſt in their Country, we ſhould then ſee this Houſe filled with the loweſt Tools, and vileſt Sycophants of abſolute Power. Inſtead of this Houſe's being a Check upon Miniſters, it would then, like the Parliaments of *France*, or the *Roman* Senates under their Emperors, be an Inſtrument for the Oppreſſions of Miniſters, and a Cloak for their Crimes. The moſt rapacious Plunderer, the moſt tyrannical Oppreſſor, would then inſolently boaſt, that he did nothing but according to Law, that the publick Treaſure was regularly accounted for in Parliament, and that he was at all Times ready to ſubmit his Conduct to a parliamentary Inquiry.

Surely, Sir, no Gentleman can think, that the Liberties of this Nation conſiſt in our having the Reſemblance of a Parliament. We may have a Parliament, that Parliament may be choſen once every *ſeven* Years, may ſit annually as it does now, may paſs Laws, grant Money, receive Accounts, and even make Enquiries, and yet we may have neither Conſtitution nor Liberty left; for if it ſhould once come to be in the Power of the Adminiſtration, to have always a Majority in Parliament, ready to obey the Directions given them by the Miniſters, there would be no Neceſſity for deſtroying the very Form of our Conſtitution, or for making a direct and abſolute Surrender of our Liberties: Without either of theſe, our Sovereign would be as abſolute, and might be more tyrannical, than the *Grand Signior* himſelf. Such a Parliament would grant him as many *Spahis* and *Janizaries*, as he thought neceſſary for keeping his Slaves in Subjection, would give him any Revenue he pleaſed to demand, and would paſs whatever Laws he might pleaſe to propoſe; and the Judges, being under no parliamentary Reſtraint, would, in every Part of his Dominions, give Judgment according to the Directions of the *Prime Vizir*, or governing *Baſhaw*. Thus Oppreſſion would be countenanced by the Forms of Law, and the People plundered, the Innocent murdered, by the Adminiſtration of Juſtice.

It is this Sort of Ruin, Sir, we have chiefly to apprehend, and this Sort of Ruin we may, Step by Step, be led into, without our being ſenſible of the ſeveral Steps. We ſhall certainly be led into it, if we truſt any longer, the Guardianſhip of our Liberties to thoſe, whoſe Foreſight is blunted by the Places they enjoy or expect.

expect. If a Miniſter were to propoſe a Law for giving the Crown a Power of ſending to every County, City, and Borough in the Kingdom, ſuch a *Congè d'Elire* for the Choice of Members of Parliament, as is now ſent to a Dean and Chapter for the Choice of a Biſhop, I believe, very few Gentlemen of Family or Fortune would, for the Sake of any Place, agree to it; but an equivalent Power may be got by multiplying penal Laws, and increaſing the Number and Power of Officers; and a Gentleman of Family, Fortune, Character, and Intereſt in his Country, may, by a good Place, be induced to believe, that ſuch a Law, or ſuch an Increaſe of the Number and Power of Officers, is neceſſary for preventing fraudulent Practices, or the like; and may, therefore, agree to it, without ſeeing the Danger our Conſtitution may be thereby expoſed to; Thus by Degrees he may be made to agree to ſuch Propoſitions, one after another, till he has thereby eſtabliſhed in the Crown, the abſolute Direction of moſt of the Elections in the Kingdom.

This, Sir, would have been the certain Conſequence of the late *Exciſe Scheme*; and yet there were many Gentlemen of Family and Fortune that approved of it. I am convinced they did not foreſee this Conſequence. Nay, I have ſo much Charity, as to believe, that the chief Patron of that Scheme did not foreſee this Conſequence; but every impartial Man in the Kingdom is now, I believe, ſenſible of it. That Scheme was, indeed, ſuch a large Step towards giving the Crown the Direction of moſt of our Elections, and by good Luck, was ſo thoroughly conſidered, before it was brought into this Houſe, that moſt Gentlemen became ſenſible of the Danger, before it was too late; and this was the Cauſe of its meeting with the Fate it deſerved; but its Fate will be a Warning to future Miniſters, not to attempt making ſuch a large Step at once: They will from thence ſee, that they muſt graſp at this Power by little and little, which they will certainly do, and as certainly, at laſt, accompliſh, unleſs we take care to exclude from this Houſe, moſt of thoſe who, by the Places they enjoy, are induced to have a better Opinion of Miniſters, than any Man ought to have, that is intruſted with the Guardianſhip of the Conſtitution and Liberties of his Country.

The Queſtion is not, Sir, whether a Gentleman may be induced, by the Office or Place he holds or expects, to make at once, and in an open and direct Manner, an abſolute Surrender of the Liberties of his Country: No Prince or Miniſter of common Senſe, will ever deſire ſuch a Surrender; becauſe, if he can get into his Hands, an uncontrolable Power over moſt of our Elections, and, conſequently, the Direction of the Parliaments choſen by this uncontrolable Power, his Power will, in every Reſpect, be as abſolute, and may be exerciſed in a more arbitrary Manner, and with greater Security to himſelf, than it could be, without the Appearance of a parliamentary Authority; for every unpopular and oppreſſive Meaſure would then be made the Act and Deed of the Parliament, and the Lenity of the Miniſter in the Execution of thoſe penal Laws enacted by Parliament, or in the Exerciſe of thoſe Powers granted him by Parliament, would be ſet forth and extolled by his Tools in a *Gazetteer*, or ſome ſuch Paper, publiſhed by his Authority, and diſperſed through the whole Kingdom at the publick Expence. The Queſtion, therefore, now before us is, whether a Gentleman's Eyes may not, by a lucrative and honourable Poſt or Imployment, be ſo overclouded, as to prevent his ſeeing through

through the plauſible Pretences, that may, from Time to Time, be made uſe of, by an artful Miniſter, for getting into his Hands, or into the Hands of the Crown, ſuch an uncontrolable Power, as I have mentioned; and this Queſtion, even with reſpect to Gentlemen of Family and Fortune, will, I am ſure, be anſwered in the Affirmative, by every Man in the Kingdom, who does not poſſeſs or expect ſome Poſt, or Imployment, or ſome of thoſe Titles of Honour, which, by our Conſtitution, as it is now modelled, the Crown has abſolutely at its Diſpoſal.

To tell us, Sir, that our Liberties can never be in Danger from a Majority of Placemen in this Houſe, unleſs the People be generally abandoned, as to all Principles of Virtue and publick Good, and unleſs the Crown has, at the ſame Time, formed Deſigns againſt our Liberties; and that the only Method for removing this Danger, in caſe we ſhould, at any Time, be threatened with it, would be to take proper Meaſures for reſtoring Virtue, and publick Spirit among the People, and for removing evil Counſellors from about the Throne: To tell us this, I ſay, Sir, in a ſerious Manner, is ſomething very extraordinary: It is miſtaking the Effect for the Cauſe, and deſiring us to begin at the wrong End. Corruption, Sir, is not the Effect, but the Cauſe of a general Depravity of Manners among the People of any Country, and has in all Countries, as well as this, been firſt practiſed and encouraged by Miniſters and Courtiers. It would, therefore, be ridiculous in us, to think of reſtoring Virtue among the People, till we have once made it impoſſible for Miniſters and Courtiers to corrupt them; and, I am ſure, it would be ſtill more ridiculous in us, to think of removing an evil Counſellor from about the Throne, till we have once removed his Creatures and Tools out of this Houſe.

I hope, Sir, there are at preſent no evil Counſellors about the Throne: If there were, I am ſure, no ſuch Counſellor has a Majority of his Creatures and Tools in this Houſe. If this were the Caſe, it would have been very ridiculous to have made ſuch a Motion as this now before us. It would be very ridiculous to think of reſtoring our Conſtitution by any legal Method: It is this Misfortune we intend to prevent by the Bill now moved for. It is a Misfortune now foreſeen by all unprejudiced Men in the Kingdom. I hope it is not yet too late to think of preventing it by a legal Method; for after we have once fallen into this Misfortune, it will be impoſſible to recover. If an ambitious Miniſter ſhould once get a Majority of his Creatures and Tools into this Houſe, can we ſuppoſe they would conſent to impeach, or remove him from the Throne? Can we ſuppoſe, they would ever conſent to any Bill that might tend to diſtreſs the Adminiſtration of their Maſter? Can we ſuppoſe, they would refuſe any Thing that might tend to prolong his Adminiſtration and increaſe his Power? Every Attempt to reſtore the Conſtitution, would be branded with the Name of Republicaniſm: The Diſcontents of the People would be called Diſaffection and Jacobitiſm: Every Oppoſition would be ſaid to proceed from Malice and Reſentment; and the Misfortune would be, that many honeſt well meaning Men, induced by their Places to have a better Opinion of Miniſters than they ought to have, would give Credit to theſe Pretences, and would believe, that by agreeing to the Miniſter's arbitrary Schemes, they were only ſtrengthening the Hands of the Government againſt Republicaniſm, Jacobitiſm, and Sedition.

If it were poſſible to be merry in a Debate of ſo great Importance, it would be diverting to obſerve the

Contra-

Contradiction in the Arguments made uſe of againſt this Motion. By ſome, our Gentlemen of Family and Fortune are repreſented to be Men of ſuch ſtrict Honour, and ſuch clear Heads, that no Place or Penſion can miſlead their Judgment, or direct their Will; no ſelfiſh Conſideration can make them overlook the Danger our Liberties may be expoſed to, or conſent to any Thing, they think may in the leaſt endanger our Conſtitution. By others again, our Gentlemen of Family and Fortune are repreſented as ſuch ſelfiſh mercenary Creatures, that unleſs the Government would give them ſome Poſt or Penſion, they would refuſe to conſent to thoſe Things that are abſolutely neceſſary for the Ends of Government, and the Preſervation of their Country. Now theſe two contradictory Poſitions, tho' they cannot be equally true, may be, and, I believe, they are equally falſe. We have, I believe, ſome Gentlemen amongſt us, whoſe Judgment cannot be biaſſed, nor their Will directed, by any ſelfiſh Conſideration. Such Men, I hope, we ſhall always have in ſome of our higheſt Offices, and theſe are not deſigned by this Bill to be excluded from having Seats in this Houſe; but their Number will always be ſmall, and, therefore, not ſufficient by themſelves alone, to ſupport the Conſtitution againſt a Combination of all the Fools and Knaves that may hereafter get into this Houſe; therefore, we muſt endeavour to prevent this Combination, and this can only be done by ſuch a Bill as is now propoſed.

On the other hand, Sir, I believe there may be ſome amongſt us, who propoſe nothing by their Service in this Houſe, but their own private Advantage; and whilſt we have Placemen and Penſioners amongſt us, ſuch Men will endeavour all they can to get into Parliament. Nay, it may become ſo cuſtomary for every Man that votes with the Court, to have a Place or a Penſion, that no Man will do ſo without ſome ſuch Reward. But if ever this ſelfiſh Spirit ſhould get into Parliament, our Conſtitution will be undone; and to prevent this, is the Deſign of the Bill now moved for: If no Man could, by being a Member of Parliament, propoſe to get any Place or Office, or any Advantage to himſelf, the Mercenary and Selfiſh would ſeldom endeavour to get themſelves choſen, at leaſt they would never be at any Expence for this Purpoſe; and as ſuch Men have ſeldom a great natural Intereſt in any Part of the Kingdom, there would always be ſuch a ſmall Number of them in Parliament, that their Oppoſition could never obſtruct or retard any Thing that ſeemed neceſſary for the juſt Ends of Government, or for the Preſervation and Happineſs of the Society. The publick Good would then be the only Aim of Miniſters, as well as Members, becauſe neither of them could hope for Succeſs in any other; and as Men of good Senſe and ſtrict Honour are the beſt Judges of, and the moſt ready to agree upon what is neceſſary for the publick Good, it would then be as much the Buſineſs of Miniſters to get ſuch Men choſen, as it is now their Buſineſs to get ſuch Members choſen, as are Men of mercenary Tempers, or ſhallow Underſtandings; for all Miniſters will have Jobbs to do in Parliament, as long as they have any Hopes of Succeſs, and the Weak or Mercenary will always be the moſt proper for this Purpoſe.

I am, indeed, ſurprized, Sir, to hear it ſaid by an Hon. Gentleman, whoſe Attachment to the preſent Eſtabliſhment is not to be doubted, that if moſt Placemen were excluded from this Houſe, there would ſoon be a Majority of Jacobites in

in.

it. Such a Suppoſition is not to be made, without firſt ſuppoſing, that a great Majority of the People are Jacobites; and to ſuppoſe this, is, I am ſure, no Compliment to our preſent Royal Family, and much leſs to the King now upon our Throne. As long as our Parliaments are independent, and our Elections free, there can never be any conſiderable Number of Jacobites, either in this Houſe, or in the Nation; but if there ſhould once come to be a Majority of Placemen and Officers in this Houſe, that Majority would ſoon create a Majority of Jacobites in the Nation; and in that Caſe, tho' the Majority within Doors, might be a good Security to Miniſters againſt parliamentary Proſecutions, yet it would be but a bad Security to the Royal Family, againſt an Inſurrection of the whole People without Doors. The Army, upon which we now ſeem ſo much to depend, or a great Part of them, would, probably, join with the People, and the certain Conſequence would be the Overthrow of our preſent Eſtabliſhment. This Danger, I know, a guilty Miniſter will always chuſe to expoſe his Maſter to, rather than expoſe himſelf to a legal Trial, before a free and independent Parliament: Becauſe in a general Conflagration, he may, poſſibly, eſcape Notice, or may, perhaps, be able to ſacrifice his Maſter, by Way of an Atonement for himſelf; but thoſe who ſupport him in thus expoſing his Maſter, can have no great Regard for their Sovereign, and in ſuch an Event, would certainly meet with the Contempt and Puniſhment they ſo highly deſerved.

For this Reaſon, Sir, as I have a greater Regard for the Security of the Royal Family, than I have for the Security of our preſent Miniſters, or of any Set of Miniſters that ſhall ever get into the Management of our publick Affairs, I ſhall be for putting it out of the Power of any future Miniſter, to overturn our Conſtitution, by getting a Majority of Placemen and Penſioners into this Houſe. This, I think, is now become abſolutely neceſſary, for preventing our being brought under one of the worſt Sorts of tyrannical Governments that was ever contrived or eſtabliſhed. For this Purpoſe, the Bill now moved for is one of the moſt certain, and one of the moſt obvious Methods that can be thought of. It can be attended with no Inconvenience. It is impoſſible to ſhew ſo much as a plauſible Reaſon againſt it; and, therefore, if this Motion be rejected, it muſt afford a moſt melancholy Reflexion to every one that underſtands our Conſtitution, and has a Regard for the Liberties of his Country.

Upon this Gentleman's ſitting down, M. Tullius Cicero *ſtood up, and ſpoke to this Effect,* viz.

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

I WAS a little ſurprized to hear it ſaid, by the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, that this Motion's being oppoſed by Miniſters and Placemen, is a ſtrong Argument in its Favour. In my Opinion, this is a Sort of begging the Queſtion. Before we can ſuppoſe this to be an Argument in Favour of the Motion, we muſt ſuppoſe, that Miniſters and Placemen oppoſe it, not becauſe they think it wrong, but becauſe they are Miniſters and Placemen, which is the very Queſtion now in Debate. I do not believe, that ever any Miniſter or Placeman oppoſed, or ſupported a Queſtion in this Houſe, contrary to his private Sentiments, and only, becauſe he was a Miniſter or Placeman. I am ſure, their Conduct of late Years has given us no Room to think ſo; nor can we ever have Room to think

think ſo, as long as none but Gentlemen of Credit and Honour are employed in the Adminiſtration, or in any Place of Honour and Profit under the Crown. If mere Upſtarts, or Perſons of no Fortune or Credit in their Country, were employed, and by illegal Methods brought into this Houſe, for by fair Means they could not, there might be ſome Room for making ſuch a Suppoſition, and then there would be ſome Cauſe for bringing in ſuch a Bill as is now propoſed; but when I look round me, and conſider the particular Circumſtances of thoſe Gentlemen now here, who have the Honour to be at the ſame Time in the Service of the Crown, I muſt look upon the Danger, now pretended to be ſo real and imminent, to be as chimerical a Danger, as the moſt luxuriant Fancy can invent.

I ſhall agree with the Hon. Gentlemen who ſeem ſo fond of this Bill, that if the Crown could gain an abſolute and uncontrolable Power over all, or a Majority of the Elections in the Kingdom, every Parliament thus choſen by the Power, would be under the Direction of the Crown, and in this Caſe our Conſtitution would be at an End; but this I think impoſſible. Whilſt the Crown purſues right Meaſures; whilſt none but Gentlemen of good Credit and Fortune are employed in the Adminiſtration, or in any ſuperior Poſt or Office under the Adminiſtration, the Crown will certainly have a great Influence both in Parliament, and at Elections; but this proceeds from the Wiſdom and Uprightneſs of its Meaſures, and from the natural Weight of thoſe that are employed; and it would certainly ceaſe, as ſoon as the Crown began to purſue contrary Meaſures; becauſe, we muſt ſuppoſe, the Adminiſtration would then certainly be deſerted, and oppoſed by all, or moſt Gentlemen of any Fortune or Credit in their Country. This, I ſay, we muſt ſuppoſe, unleſs we can ſuppoſe, that Gentlemen of Fortune and Credit in their Country, would unite in Meaſures for making a Sacrifice of themſelves, as well as their Country; which is a Suppoſition that cannot, I think, be made, nor pretended, by any Man whoſe Head is ſound, and Heart ſincere.

In all Queſtions, Sir, which do not admit of Demonſtration, there muſt be a Variety of Opinions; and as Queſtions of a political Nature are leſs capable of Demonſtration than any other, it is natural to ſee a Difference of Sentiments in every Country like this, where the People have not only a Power to judge, but a Liberty to talk and write againſt the Meaſures purſued by the Government: This is natural, and even neceſſary, in every Country where the People are free; and as every Man is fond of his own Opinion, and fully convinced of his having Reaſon on his Side, he is apt to imagine, that thoſe who differ from him, muſt be governed by ſome Prejudice, or by ſome ſelfiſh Conſideration. From hence it is, that all thoſe who diſapprove of the Meaſures of the Government conclude, that the Approbation of thoſe that differ from them, proceeds from the Influence of ſome lucrative Poſt they are in Poſſeſſion or Expectation of; and on the other hand, thoſe that approve of, and ſupport the Meaſures purſued by the Government, are apt to conclude, that the Oppoſition is entirely owing to Party Prejudice, or to Malice and Reſentment. For my Part, I ſhall always endeavour to keep in the middle Courſe, and to believe that both are in the Wrong; and, therefore, I ſhall always be againſt any Alteration in our Conſtitution, when I think, that the Alteration propoſed, is founded upon one or other of theſe Miſtakes.

takes. I ſhould be as much againſt reſtraining the Liberties of the People, in order to prevent that Influence which is ſuppoſed to proceed from Party Prejudice, Malice, and Reſentment, as I ſhall be againſt reſtraining the Power or free Choice of the Crown, in order to prevent that Influence which is ſuppoſed to proceed from the Diſpoſal of Places and Preferments. There may, perhaps, I believe there always will, be a little of each in the Nation; but neither can ever be of any dangerous Conſequence to our Conſtitution: On the contrary, they ſerve as a Balance to each other; ſo that by removing either, without removing the other at the ſame Time, the Conſtitution will run a great Riſk of being overturned.

There are many Cauſes, Sir, which naturally raiſe a Party againſt the beſt and wiſeſt Adminiſtration. In this Life, it is impoſſible for us to be compleatly happy. All Men feel ſome Wants, Preſſures, or Misfortunes; and very few are willing to impute them to their own Folly, or to any Miſtake in their own Conduct. To ſuch Men, the Adminiſtration is in Politicks, what the Devil is in Religion, it is the Author of all their Miſdeeds, and the Cauſe of all their Sufferings: This naturally breeds in them a bad Opinion of the Adminiſtration, and then, of Courſe, they not only condemn, but oppoſe all its Meaſures. This muſt raiſe a great many Enemies to the Adminiſtration in every Country, and their Number will be conſiderably increaſed by thoſe that are diſappointed of the Honours or Preferments they expected, and juſtly, as they thought, deſerved; as well as by thoſe that wiſh for a Change in the Adminiſtration, for no other Reaſon but becauſe they hope for a Share in the next. In all Countries it is honourable to have a Share in the Government of one's Country: In rich Countries it is profitable as well as honourable; and as there are but a very few in any Country that can have a Share of the Government, and ſtill fewer that can have ſuch a Share as, they think, they deſerve, there muſt be many Candidates for every Title of Honour, or Poſt of Profit that is to be diſpoſed of. Of theſe Candidates, one only can be choſen, and all the reſt will, of Courſe, think they have had Injuſtice done them; for few Men are ſo modeſt as to think ſuch a Diſappointment owing to their own Want of Merit, or to the ſuperior Merit of their Rival; and from thence they will begin to entertain a ſecret Animoſity, nay, perhaps, they will declare an open Enmity to thoſe at the Head of the Adminiſtration.

By theſe two Sorts of Men united together, there will always be a conſiderable Party in every Country, ready to condemn and vilify the wiſeſt Meaſures that can be purſued by the Adminiſtration; and, as in every free Country there are different Parties, as in this Country there are at preſent, and, I believe, always will be different Parties, the Parties that are by their Profeſſion and Principles oppoſite to the Party in Power, will be ready to find Fault with every Thing done by the Adminiſtration. In this Country, I ſay, Sir, there are, and, I believe, always will be different Parties: There are at preſent, and will be, as long as our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment endures, three different Parties in this Kingdom: The Jacobites of one Side, the Republicans of the other, which I may call the two Extremes; and the Party for ſupporting our preſent happy Eſtabliſhment, which may be juſtly called the proper Mean between theſe two Extremes.

Thus, Sir, we may ſee what a numerous Party, our Adminiſtration muſt always have to ſtruggle with. All theſe Sorts of Men, the Diſcontented,

tented, the Diſappointed, the Jacobites, and the Republicans, will always be ready to condemn and oppoſe the Meaſures of the Adminiſtration, let them be never ſo wiſe, let them be never ſo juſt; and by their Arguments they will often be able to prevail with ſome well-meaning and unthinking Men, or at leaſt to ſtagger them in their Opinions. With regard to Parliaments, and the Choice of Members of Parliament, our Adminiſtration has no Defence againſt this formidable Union of Parties, but by the Wiſdom of their Meaſures to engage moſt Gentlemen of Credit and Fortune in their Intereſt. Whilſt the Adminiſtration purſues right Meaſures, ſuch Gentlemen will be ready to join with them, and by this Means the Adminiſtration will always have a prevailing Influence, both in Parliament, and at Elections; for when a Majority of thoſe who have the beſt Fortunes, and greateſt Intereſt in their reſpective Countries, are Friends to the Adminiſtration, it is not at all ſurprizing, that an Adminiſtration, by Means of ſuch Friends, ſhould have a prevailing Influence at Elections, as well as in Parliament. But ſuch Friends, or at leaſt a great Number of ſuch, no Adminiſtration can have, that purſues Meaſures inconſiſtent with the Good of the Community in general.

I ſhall grant, Sir, that a Title of Honour, or a lucrative Poſt or Imployment, may be of ſome Service in prevailing with a Gentleman to judge favourably of the Government's Meaſures, in all Caſes where he is wavering in his Opinion; but a bad Government can never, by this Way, gain many Friends; even a good Government can never gain near ſo many Friends, as it will loſe by cauſeleſs Diſcontents and juſt Diſappointments; and if you ſhould take away from the Crown the chief Advantage it can reap by the Diſpoſal of Poſts and Imployments, not only a good Adminiſtration, but even the Crown itſelf, may ſink under the Weight of Party Prejudice, ſupported by cauſeleſs Diſcontent, and juſt Diſappointment; therefore, to ſupport the Crown againſt the Diſadvantages and Oppoſition which the wiſeſt and beſt Adminiſtration muſt always have to ſtruggle with, I think, you ought to leave it in the Power of the Crown to diſpoſe of all Poſts and Imployments, in the ſame Manner they have been hitherto, without any bad Effect, diſpoſed of.

If you ſhould, by the Bill now propoſed, exclude all Gentlemen in any Place or Office under the Crown, from having Seats in this Houſe, you would, in my Opinion, Sir, bring the Conſtitution into much greater Danger, than it can ever be brought into, by any Number of Placemen and Officers that can be in this Houſe; for the Crown would, in that Caſe, be laid under a Neceſſity to imploy none but Men of low Fortunes and no Intereſt; becauſe, if the Places and Offices under the Crown, ſhould be given to Gentlemen of Character and Diſtinction in their reſpective Countries, and they thereby excluded from having Seats in this Houſe, the chief Friends of the Government being thus rendered incapable of ſtanding Candidates at Elections, the diſaffected, or diſcontented Intereſt would prevail in every Part of the Kingdom; and in that Caſe, this Houſe would ſoon be filled with ſuch as were declared Enemies to the Adminiſtration. To prevent this Conſequence, the Adminiſtration would, therefore, be obliged to imploy none in any Poſt or Office under the Crown, but ſuch as had neither Fortune nor Intereſt in their Country, in order that their Friends might be in a Condition to get themſelves choſen Members of this Houſe; for, I believe, it will be granted, that no Adminiſtration

could ſupport itſelf, or anſwer any of the Ends of Government, if the Majority of this Houſe conſiſted of ſuch as were its declared Enemies.

From hence, Sir, I think it is evident, that if this Bill ſhould paſs into a Law, the neceſſary Conſequence would be, that in a very ſhort Time our Armies would be entirely commanded by Officers of no Fortune or Intereſt in their Country: Our Navy would be in the ſame Condition: All Poſts and Offices under the Crown would be filled with Men of the ſame Stamp; and in theſe Circumſtances, if an ambitious, or a hot, paſſionate Prince ſhould ſucceed to the Throne, I muſt deſire Gentlemen to conſider, whether our Conſtitution and Liberties would not be in more Danger, than they can ever be, as long as our Army and Fleet are commanded by Officers, and all other conſiderable Poſts under the Crown filled with Gentlemen, of ſuch Fortune and Intereſt in their reſpective Countries, as to be able to get themſelves choſen Members of this Houſe. It has been generally admitted in this Debate, that Gentlemen of no Fortunes will always be more ready to ſecond the ambitious Deſigns of a Court, than Gentlemen who have good Fortunes of their own, the Security of which muſt depend upon the Preſervation of our Conſtitution; and for this very Reaſon, an ambitious or headſtrong Prince can never have any great Affection for Parliaments or Senates, conſtituted as thoſe in this Kingdom are. If the Prince could bring whom he pleaſed, and as many as he pleaſed into Parliament, and expel or turn out whom he pleaſed, as the *Roman* Emperors did with regard to their Senates, the moſt ambitious and arbitrary Prince would have no great Occaſion to grow weary of Parliaments; but as the King can bring no Member into his Houſe, nor expel any one; as no Gentleman can come into this Houſe but by the free Choice of his Country, it muſt always conſiſt of Gentlemen of Character and Fortune, and conſequently, will always be a Reſtraint which an ambitious Prince will be glad to get rid of; therefore, we have more Reaſon to apprehend its being in the Power of a Prince to govern without a Parliament, than its being in his Power to govern or direct the Parliament; and, I am ſure, when our Armies and Fleets are commanded by Officers, and all other Poſts filled with Gentlemen of no Fortunes, it will be more eaſy for a Prince to govern without a Parliament, than it ever can be, as long as many of thoſe Officers and Gentlemen are Members of this Houſe.

Even the Gentlemen who have ſpoke in Favour of this Bill, are ſo ſenſible of the Difficulty there will always be in obtaining the Conſent of Gentlemen of Character and Fortune, to any Thing that may look like an Incroachment upon our Conſtitution, that they ſeem to think, we are in no Danger from the Number of Placemen and Officers in this Houſe, unleſs Gentlemen of no Character or Fortune be brought here by the Intereſt of the Government, merely on Account of their having Places or Offices under the Crown; and in order to magnify this Danger, we have been told, that moſt of the little Boroughs upon the Coaſt, are entirely under the Direction of the Government, with regard to their Elections, and that the little Inland Boroughs would have been in the ſame Condition, if the late *Exciſe Scheme* had paſſed into a Law. Sir, I find Gentlemen will not, upon this Occaſion, make that Diſtinction, which, I think, is a very obvious one, between the Circumſtances of our Government, when none but Gentlemen of good Families and Fortunes are employed in its Service, and

and the Circumſtances it would be in, if few or no ſuch Gentlemen would accept of being employed, which will always be the Caſe, when it is purſuing Meaſures that ſeem to be of dangerous Conſequence to the Conſtitution, or inconſiſtent with the publick Good. In the former Caſe, many of thoſe employed in the Government's Service will be returned for Inland as well as Coaſt Boroughs, not becauſe they are in the Government's Service, but becauſe they have a great natural Intereſt in their reſpective Countries. In the latter Caſe, as all thoſe Gentlemen that had any natural Intereſt would be againſt the Government, it would be impoſſible for the Government to get many of its low Tools choſen, either for our Boroughs upon the Coaſt, or for our Inland Boroughs. In this Caſe, if the *Exciſe Scheme* had paſſed into a Law, it would have made no Difference; for as long as our Elections are free, thoſe that have the beſt Intereſt will always be choſen; and as the Government's Intereſt muſt always depend upon the Intereſt of thoſe that are employed in its Service, no Exciſe Scheme, nor any ſuch Scheme can give an Intereſt to a Government that has no Gentlemen of Intereſt in its Service. Therefore, as long as our Elections are free, there is not the leaſt Danger, that any great Number of Gentlemen of no Character or Fortune can ever be brought into this Houſe; and the Freedom of our Elections is already as fully ſecured as Laws can ſecure it.

I hope, Sir, I have now fully ſhewn, that our Conſtitution and Liberties can be in no Danger from any Number of Placemen or Officers in this Houſe, unleſs we ſuppoſe, that a great Number of Gentlemen of Family, Fortune, Character, and Intereſt in their Country, would chuſe to make a Sacrifice of themſelves, their Poſterity, and their Country, rather than riſk loſing the Place or Office they poſſeſs under the Crown. This is a Suppoſition which, I think, there never can be any Ground for. If there were: If it were poſſible to ſuppoſe ſuch a general and abandoned Venality among the better Sort of People of this Kingdom, the Bill would either have no Effect, or a very bad one. Can we ſuppoſe that ſuch venal and abandoned Men would ſerve their Country in Parliament for nothing? They would either ſet up a Traffick with the Crown for private Penſions to themſelves, or Poſts and Preferments to their Truſtees or Relations, which no Laws nor Oaths could diſcover or prevent; or otherwiſe they would form themſelves into a Party for overturning the Adminiſtration; and thus one Adminiſtration would be overturned after another, till at laſt the Country would become a Prey to ſome foreign Power, or until ſome one Adminiſtration, more bold and artful than the former, ſhould fall upon a Method to eſtabliſh themſelves in arbitrary Power. There is, therefore, no Occaſion for this Bill; or if there is, it would either have no Effect, or a very bad one; and this, I think, is a ſufficient Reaſon for my being againſt bringing it in.

The next that roſe up upon this Occaſion, was M. Furius Camillus, *whoſe Speech was in Subſtance thus:*

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

THE Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt has told us, that Queſtions in Politicks admit of no Demonſtration. In this I am intirely of his Opinion, and, I think, this Opinion was never more ſtrongly confirmed, than by the Debate of this Day. There never was a Queſtion in this Houſe, that could be brought

brought nearer to a Demonſtration, than the Queſtion now before us; and yet, I find, it is not poſſible to convince thoſe that may be affected by its being agreed to. It has been hitherto reckoned a Maxim in Law, which I never before heard diſputed, that Parties ought not to be Judges; but now I find this Maxim denied, and, indeed, it muſt be ſo, by every Gentleman that ſays, our Conſtitution can never ſuffer by a Majority of Placemen in this Houſe; for that Placemen and Officers of all Kinds muſt be Parties concerned in many Caſes, which we, as Members of this Houſe, muſt judge of, is ſo clear, that I ſhould have been aſhamed to have given you the Trouble of proving it, if I had not heard the Motion now before you ſo warmly oppoſed.

Upon this Occaſion, Sir, I muſt obſerve, that all free Governments muſt conſiſt of two diſtinct Powers, the legiſlative, and the executive, the laſt of which is always ſubordinate, and ſubject to the Review of the firſt. The very Eſſence of a free Government conſiſts, among other Things, in this, that all thoſe who are entruſted with the executive Power, ſhall be accountable for their Conduct to the legiſlative Power, and may be puniſhed by the legiſlative Power, which always conſiſts in ſome Sort of an Aſſembly of the People, in caſe it be found that they have neglected or tranſgreſſed their Duty in the Execution of their Office; for what Benefit could the People reap from their having the Power of making their own Laws, if thoſe who are intruſted with the executive Power of the Society, might, without Fear or Controul, betray or neglect the publick Affairs of the Society, or injure and oppreſs Individuals, either by neglecting to execute the Laws, or by executing them in a different Manner from what was intended, or by pretending to act according to Law, without having any Law for their Authority?

This, I ſay, Sir, is eſſential to every free Government, and, accordingly, we have this Regulation eſtabliſhed by our Frame of Government in the moſt perfect Manner. Thoſe who are intruſted with the executive Power are all, or moſt of them, named by the King; but then every one of them, from the higheſt to the loweſt, is accountable to, and may be puniſhed by the two Houſes of Parliament; and it is particularly the Buſineſs of this Houſe, which is the grand Inqueſt of the Nation, to enquire into their Conduct, and to impeach thoſe we find guilty of any Neglect or Miſdemeanor, in the Exerciſe of that Part of the executive Power which is intruſted to them by the Crown. Therefore, it is our Duty to make frequent Inquiries into the Conduct of every Miniſter, Officer, and Placeman appointed by the Crown; and upon all ſuch Enquiries, we are to examine ſtrictly into their Behaviour, and judge impartially of their Conduct. From hence it appears, that in all ſuch Inquiries, and in all Queſtions relating to them, the Members of this Houſe, as ſuch, are Judges of the Conduct and Behaviour of every Placeman, Officer, or Miniſter imployed by the Crown in the executive Part of our Government; and conſequently, every Placeman, Officer, and Miniſter, that has a Seat in this Aſſembly, muſt be both Judge and Party in many Caſes that ought to be brought before us.

It ſignifies nothing to ſay, Sir, that no Officer can be a Party concerned in the Conduct of another Officer, and that an Officer who happens to be a Member of this Houſe, muſt retire, as ſoon as any Queſtion ariſes relating to his own Conduct; for as there are many and great

reat Connexions between different Offices, and between Officers of different Offices, which may at first View appear entirely distinct, it is impoſſible ſo much as to gueſs, when an Inquiry, or any leading Queſtion to an Inquiry, into the Conduct of one Office or Officer is moved for, I ſay it is impoſſible to gueſs what other Officers may, upon the Event of a ſtrict Enquiry, appear to have been Confederates with him in his Crimes. Nay, even thoſe Officers that never had any Dealings with him, cannot know but that a cloſe Enquiry into one Office, may bring to Light, as it often does, ſome Mal-practices of other Offices, in which they themſelves have a Concern; and therefore, every Officer in the Houſe will think himſelf a Party concerned, in every Enquiry that can be ſet on Foot, and will, conſequently, endeavour to prevent or defeat every ſuch Enquiry. To this I muſt add, that in all Degrees and Stations in Life, we find, that Men of the ſame Trade, Imployment, or Profeſſion, eſpecially where their Buſineſs does not interfere, conceive an Affection for one another, and are therefore apt to judge very partially in one another's Favour; from whence it muſt be concluded, that in every ſuch Enquiry, and every Queſtion that ariſes relating to any ſuch, all Miniſters, Placemen, and Officers, are Parties concerned, not only in Intereſt, but Affection; and conſequently, all thoſe who have Seats in this Houſe, muſt, in all ſuch Caſes, be both Judges and Parties, which is directly contrary to the eſtabliſhed Maxim I have mentioned.

Whether it be owing to the great Number of Placemen and Officers we have had for many Years in this Houſe, or whether it be owing to the Integrity of thoſe who have of late Years been concerned in the executive Part of our Government, I do not know; but I muſt obſerve, that parliamentary Inquiries into the Management of Offices, and Conduct of Officers appointed by the Crown, have of late Years been very rare; and yet, in order to keep all ſuch Officers to their good Behaviour, I muſt be of Opinion, that ſuch Inquiries ought to be frequently ſet on Foot, and ſtrictly carried on, tho' no direct Complaint has been made againſt any one particular Officer; for a publick Rumour is a ſufficient Ground for a parliamentary Inquiry, and no Man can ſay, that ſuch Grounds have been wanting. But whatever may be the Cauſe of our having lately had ſo few parliamentary Inquiries, I will be bold to propheſy, that if there ſhould ever be a Majority of Placemen and Officers in this Houſe, we ſhall never afterwards have any more ſuch Inquiries, unleſs they be ſuch as are ſet up at the Inſtigation, and by the Contrivance of Miniſters, in order to gain a little Popularity, by throwing a Scape-Goat among the People. And if this ſhould ever come to be our Caſe, I am ſure no Man could with Juſtice ſay, that we lived under a free Government, or that our Conſtitution remained entire.

Thus, I think, Sir, the Queſtion now before us is brought as near a Demonſtration as any ſuch Queſtion can poſſibly be. As Members of this Houſe, we are to enquire into, and judge of the Conduct of Miniſters, Officers, and Placemen, intruſted by the Crown with the executive Power of our Government: As Miniſters, Officers, and Placemen, named by the Crown, we are the Perſons whoſe Conduct is to be inquired into. Is it not evident then, that theſe two Characters are incompatible, unleſs we ſay, that Parties may be Judges? Sir, it is ſo evident, that I ſhould be for excluding every Miniſter, Officer, and Place-

Placeman, from having a Seat in this Houſe, were it not for the Neceſſity we are under of having ſome of the chief amongſt us, in order to give us proper Information with reſpect to the great Offices they are at the Head of. If this Queſtion admits of a Variety of Opinions, I am ſure every Queſtion in Politicks muſt, and therefore, great Care ſhould be taken, that thoſe who are to judge of ſuch Queſtions, ſhall not be under the leaſt Bias; for the Weight and Efficacy of the Bias will always increaſe, in Proportion to the Doubtfulneſs of the Queſtion; which is a new Argument againſt admitting Placemen and Officers into this Houſe.

We have been told, Sir, that it is impoſſible to ſuppoſe, that Gentlemen of great Fortune and Intereſt in the Country, will ſacrifice the Liberties of their Country for the Sake of a Place they enjoy or expect. Sir, it is ſo far from being impoſſible to ſuppoſe this, that it is a common Caſe. It has always been the Caſe in every Country where the Liberties of the People have been ſacrificed. The Liberties of no Country can be ſacrificed, without the Concurrence of many Gentlemen of Family, Fortune and Intereſt, and a criminal Indolence or Paſſivity in the reſt. Some are led, contrary to the Light of their own Underſtandings, by their Avarice, Vanity, Luxury, or Extravagance; others are deceived by ſpecious Pretences, and led into ſuch Meaſures, the certain, tho' not the plain and direct Conſequences of which, are Slavery and arbitrary Power. With the firſt Sort of Men, an honourable and profitable Place affords them an immediate Satisfaction for their Avarice, or Vanity, or an immediate Supply for their Luxury or Extravagance, which they prefer to all other Conſiderations. With the ſecond Sort of Men, an honourable and profitable Place gives them a Bias to that Side of the Queſtion upon which their Place depends, and prevents their ſeeing through the ſpecious Pretences that are made uſe of for ſupporting that Side of the Queſtion. And thus, between theſe two Sorts of Men, the Liberties of any Country may probably be given up, if they are committed to the Keeping of thoſe that have honourable and profitable Places, which depend upon their making the Surrender.

Let us conſider, Sir, that even Liberty itſelf is but a Queſtion in Politicks. Whether a limited or an abſolute Monarchy be the beſt Sort of Government, is but a Queſtion in Politicks; and therefore, as the Hon. Gentleman has ſaid, can admit of no Demonſtration. For this Reaſon, even thoſe that are Gentlemen of Fortune and Intereſt in their Country, if they be in the leaſt governed by Avarice, Vanity, Luxury, or Extravagance, may, by an honourable and profitable Imployment, be induced not only to ſay and vote, but even to think, that an abſolute Monarchy is the beſt Sort of Government, and that they do a ſignal Service to their Country, by ſacrificing its Liberties. Nay, this very Doctrine has of late been ſupported in private Converſation, even in this Country, and by Gentlemen of very great Diſtinction. How natural then is it to ſuppoſe, that in political Queſtions, where our Liberties are not directly and immediately, but indirectly and conſequentially concerned, a Gentleman of Diſtinction may be induced, by an honourable and profitable Imployment, to approve of, or give his Aſſent to the wrong Side of the Queſtion? How natural is it to ſuppoſe, that the Members of this Houſe may, by ſuch Means, be induced to grant ſuch Revenues, ſuch Numbers of Troops, and ſuch Powers and Prerogatives to the Crown, as may for ever

ever after put it out of the Power of Parliament to controul any of the King's Meaſures, or to puniſh any of his Officers, unleſs they be ſuch as he may be pleaſed to throw out of his Protection; and in this Caſe, whatever Forms of Liberty we might have, I am ſure it would be ridiculous to ſay we had any of the Subſtance remaining.

Thus, Sir, I think, it is evident almoſt to a Demonſtration, that our Conſtitution and Liberties not only may, but muſt be deſtroyed, unleſs we ſhut the Doors of this Houſe againſt moſt Placemen and Officers, as we have already done againſt all Penſioners; and as this is ſo evident, no Objection that can be invented, no Danger, no Terror, we can be frightened with, ſhall prevent me from exerting all the Power I have for its being done. Slavery to me is the higheſt of all Terrors, and therefore, I ſhall be for guarding againſt it at the Riſk of any other Terror that can be imagined. But I muſt ſay, that in this long Debate, I have not heard one plauſible Objection made againſt this Excluſion. To tell us that a juſt and wiſe Adminiſtration can have no Friends of good Fortune and Intereſt in their ſeveral Countries, but ſuch as have Places or Offices under the Crown, is ſomething very ſurprizing. If this were the Caſe, I am ſure it muſt be granted, that the Places and Offices under the Crown are now become infinitely too numerous. But this, Sir, is not, nor ever can be the Caſe, There are now in every County in *England*, one with another, 2 or 300 Gentlemen of Family, Fortune and Intereſt in their ſeveral Countries, who have no Places or Offices under the Crown, and who, under a juſt and wiſe Adminiſtration, would be firm Friends to it, and would be able to ſupport it, in a legal Way, againſt all the Jacobites, Republicans, and Diſcontented, that could in ſuch a Caſe be within the Kingdom; and among ſuch a Number, could not the Adminiſtration find one or two to ſtand as Candidates upon their Intereſt at every Election within the County. They certainly might, and their Candidates would have this Advantage, that they would have the Votes and Intereſt of all thoſe Gentlemen of Fortune within the County who had Places or Offices under the Crown, and could not therefore, themſelves, ſtand as Candidates at any Election. Therefore, ſhould this Bill paſs into a Law, no future Adminiſtration would be under the Neceſſity of imploying none but Men of low or deſperate Fortunes in any Place or Office under the Crown; and, I am ſure, no juſt or wiſe Adminiſtration will ever chuſe it.

It has been ſaid, Sir, that we ought not to make any Alteration in our Conſtitution without an apparent Neceſſity; and that the Alteration propoſed by this Bill cannot appear neceſſary, unleſs we ſuppoſe ſuch a venal and abandoned Spirit to prevail in the Nation, that moſt Gentlemen of Family and Fortune amongſt us, would be ready to ſacrifice the Liberties of their Country, rather than riſk loſing a good Poſt or Imployment under the Crown. Sir, it is to prevent the Growth of ſuch a venal and abandoned Spirit, that this Bill is intended. When the Crown had but few lucrative Poſts to beſtow, the moſt abandoned Adminiſtration could not contribute much to the Growth of this Spirit; but the Crown has now ſuch a Number of lucrative Poſts to beſtow, that if theſe Poſts ſhould be applied to the Purchaſe of a Gentleman's Vote in this Houſe, or his Intereſt at Elections, ſuch a Spirit would ſoon prevail, and at laſt become univerſal. It would begin in this Houſe: It would grow by Example; One Gentleman's being corrupted

rupted would not only be an Example, but it would give Countenance to a ſecond; he to a third, and ſo forth, till at laſt it would ſpread through the Majority of this Houſe. From this Houſe it would deſcend to Elections; for he that ſells will purchaſe; if he can otherwiſe have nothing to ſell. Begin, Sir, at the Fountain: Clear that from Corruption, and the Stream will ſoon run clear; for if Members cannot ſell Votes in Parliament, they will never, or very ſeldom buy that Commodity at Elections. Their Vanity may ſometimes prompt them to do ſo, but this can happen but ſeldom, and can never have any great Effect.

I ſhall not ſay, Sir, that Placemen have ever approved or oppoſed Queſtions in this Houſe, becauſe they were Placemen, and for no other Reaſon; but this I will ſay, that the Majority of the Nation thinks they have often done ſo; and I muſt obſerve, that ever ſince I ſat in Parliament, our Placemen have generally been of the ſame Side with our Miniſters: If any of them dropt by Chance in to the other Side of the Queſtion, they have of late Years ſoon ceaſed to be Placemen. Nay, even in this Houſe, we have heard it delivered as a miniſterial Maxim, that no Man ought to be allowed to keep his Place under the Crown, if he follows the Directions of his Conſcience, and votes againſt any of the Miniſter's Meaſures or Jobbs in Parliament. This makes me think the Bill the more neceſſary: The whole Nation thinks ſo; and if this Queſtion ſhould paſs in the Negative, the whole Nation will think the Bill more neceſſary than they ever thought it before. They will think it abſolutely neceſſary to have ſuch a Bill, but now not poſſible to obtain it; which will of Courſe raiſe ſuch a Diſcontent, or perhaps Diſaffection, in the Nation, as may be of dangerous Conſequence to the preſent Eſtabliſhment.

It is really, Sir, moſt aſtoniſhing to hear it ſaid, that the Adminiſtration's Intereſt in the ſeveral little Boroughs upon our Coaſt, depends upon the natural Intereſt of thoſe that have Places under the Crown. This, I ſay, is moſt aſtoniſhing, conſidering how notoriouſly it is known to be otherwiſe. I ſhall grant, that if the Intereſt made in the little Boroughs by Cuſtom-Houſe Officers, Exciſemen, Officers of Dock-Yards, and ſuch like Gentlemen, be a natural Intereſt, a Clerk of the Treaſury or Admiralty may be ſaid to have a great natural Intereſt in his Borough; but as this Intereſt depends upon his Poſt, and not upon his Family or Fortune, I cannot call it a natural Intereſt. Do not we know, Sir, that many of our little Boroughs are already become ſo venal, ſo publickly venal, that their Brokers, or rather their Pimps, deal as openly for the Sale of them, as Bawds do for the Sale of a Proſtitute. This infamous Traffick I am for putting an End to; and as the Bill now propoſed will be of great Service for this Purpoſe, I ſhall be not only for bringing it in, but for having it paſſed into a Law.

[*This Journal to be continued in our next.*]

C. Sulpicius, in the Character of *Edward Southwell*, Eſq;

Craftſman, Oct. 25. N° 747.

Machiavel's *ſecond Letter from the Dead.* (See *his firſt Letter in our* MAGAZINE *for* 1738. *p.* 528.)

Mr. D'Anvers,

ABOUT ſix Years ago, I gave you ſome Account how we *defunct Statiſmen* paſs away our Time in *theſe lower Regions*, by canvaſſing the Politicks of our Succeſſors, and watching the Revolution of Affairs in *your upper World.*

In that Letter, I confined myſelf chiefly to *Great Britain*, and the wonderful Addreſs of *your Miniſters* in Negotiation, from the Treaty of *Hanover* down to the laſt Treaty of *Vienna*, which eſtabliſh'd *Don Carlos* in the Poſſeſſion of *Tuſcany*, *Parma* and *Placentia*, and paved this Way to the Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*.

This Treaty of *Vienna* being dextrouſly obtain'd from the *Emperor*, by your undertaking to guaranty the *pragmatick Sanction*, without the Participation of *France*; it was eaſy to foreſee that the *old crafty Cardinal* would reſent this Proceeding. The Event anſwer'd; for the Court of *France* took this Opportunity of reuniting herſelf to *Spain*, which your *Miniſters* had before diſunited from the *Emperor*, by the Treaty of *Seville*; and having gain'd over the King of *Sardinia* to their Party, attack'd the *Emperor* with their joint Forces in *Italy*.

This was attended with a third grand Miſcarriage in your Politicks ſince the Year 1724, when *your late King* aſſured the Parliament, *that he was at Peace with all Powers abroad.* If therefore *your Court* had given his *Imperial Majeſty* the leaſt Aſſiſtance, upon that extraordinary Occaſion, they might have rectify'd their Miſtakes in the *Hanover* and *Seville Treaties*; for it then was, and ſtill is, the general Opinion of all impartial and ſenſible Men, that if his *Britiſh Majeſty* had taken the *Emperor*'s Part, as Guarantee of his *Italian Dominions*, the King of *Sardinia* at leaſt would have withdrawn himſelf from his ſecret Engagements with *France* and *Spain*. But your ſtanding neuter, and ſuffering the *Emperor* to be over-power'd in this unequal War, obliged him to patch up a diſadvantageous and diſhonourable Peace, by conſenting to the Ceſſion of *Lorain* to *France*, and the rich Kingdoms of *Naples* and *Sicily*, with the *Stato del Preſidii*, to another Branch of the *Houſe of Bourbon*, beſides ſome convenient Poſſeſſions to the King of *Sardinia*.

After the *Emperor* was thus weaken'd, both in *Italy* and upon the *Rhine*, without any Succour either from *you* or *Holland*, he was drawn into another unſucceſsful War with the *Ottoman Porte*, and reduced to the Neceſſity of making another diſadvantageous Peace, under the Mediation of *France*, by giving up the ſtrong Fortreſs of *Belgrade*, and ſubmitting to ſome other diſhonourable Conditions.

During all this Time, *your able Stateſmen* corn'd to take any Advantage of the *Spaniards*, by inſiſting on your pretended Right of a free Navigation in the *American Seas*, and revenging the barbarous Treatment of your *Seamen*, or even the Indignities offer'd to *your auguſt Monarch* himſelf.

But the Depredations, Inſults, and Cruelties of the *Spaniards* continuing to increaſe, in proportion to *your own Long-ſuffering*, and *extraordinary Services perform'd for them*; the loud Complaints and Cries of the People for Juſtice brought you at laſt to the very Brink of a *War*; and it was our general Opinion that *your Politicians*, with all their Wiſdom and Abilities, would not have been able to avoid it. However, we found ourſelves miſtaken; for *thoſe profound Gentlemen* ſtaved it off a little time longer by an *Expedient*, which puzzled *all other Stateſmen*, except *themſelves*, both *above* and *below Ground*.

This notable Expedient, call'd *the Convention*, by way of Eminence, was ſo far from having the deſired Effect, that the *Voice of the People* was taught almoſt unanimouſly to exclaim againſt it, as the *worſt Treaty* that ever was made, and even to threaten the *moſt illuſtrious Don Benjamin*, the Negotiator of it, with a Proſecution, notwithſtanding the Approbation and Thanks of *both Houſes*.—This was certainly owing, as your *miniſterial Adverſaries* have often aſſerted, to a numerous and powerful Junto of *factious Patriots* and *incendiary Writers*, whoſe Clamours have not only deprived *your unhappy Merchants* of no leſs a Sum than above 20,000 *l.* which *Spain* had agreed to pay them for *all their Loſſes and Sufferings*, but involved you in an *expenſive War*.

The War was accordingly proclaim'd againſt *Spain*, to the univerſal Joy of the Nation, and begun with great Vigour and Succeſs, by the Conduct and Bravery of Admiral *Vernon*, whom *Drake* and *Raleigh* call *Brother* here, with viſible Marks of Pleaſure and Exultation.—Poor *Raleigh*, indeed, appear'd a little uneaſy, at firſt, about the ſcandalous Inſinuations and Menaces againſt his *Brother Vernon*, for his rough and unmannerly Treatment of the *haughty Dons* in the *Weſt-Indies*; but his Countenance immediately clear'd up, as ſoon as we received Advice of the uncommon Honours, which the juſt Gratitude of his Countrymen had paid him; upon which he made Uſe of this remarkable Expreſſion.—*Well, I am glad to hear that there is at laſt a King of* Great Britain, *who ſcorns to ſacrifice a* brave Officer *to the Reſentment of* Spain, *and a* People *eagerly deſirous of ſupporting* their Prince *in ſo glorious a Reſolution!*—To this *Blake* calmly and modeſtly reply'd, *If my Maſter, tho' an Uſurper, had ever had ſuch a favourable Opportunity againſt* Spain, *and ſuch an Admiral as* Vernon *to execute his Deſigns, he would have blown up all the* Spaniſh *Settlements in the* Weſt-Indies, *and obliged his Enemies to ſue for Peace, upon any Terms, inſtead of endeavouring to arrogate* the Sovereignty of thoſe Seas *to themſelves, againſt the* ſtrongeſt maritime Power *in the whole Univerſe.*

The War being thus gloriouſly begun, for the Honour of your *King* and *Country*, we were every Day in Expectation of having freſh Advices of the Progreſs of it, both in *Europe* and *America*. Our Attention was a long Time fix'd upon thoſe great Commanders, *H—k*, *B—n*

B—n, and *N—s*; whose formidable Armaments and personal Bravery seem'd to threaten the very Foundations of the *Spanish* Monarchy, in both Parts of the World. I'll assure you, Mr. *D'Anvers*, that the most eminent *quondam* Ministers and Statesmen of *Spain*, who are now amongst us, look'd very blank upon this Occasion, and very seldom appear'd in Publick, till it was confirm'd that *one of those puissant Ad——ls* had done nothing, for above *two Years*, besides shifting from Port to Port; that *another* was sent for from his Station to command an *honourable Convoy*; and that the *third* return'd to the *English* Shore, without so much as attempting to get out of *your own Channel*.

But what gave our *Spanish Dons* the most agreeable Surprize of all, was the News that the *Ferrol* Squadron had made its Escape, without any Opposition; and the Report that the *Brest* and *Toulon* Fleets were sail'd to meet them at some proper Place of Rendezvous. We long to hear that they are actually join'd, and to what Part of the World they are bound. In the mean Time, it is observed that old *Gundomar* never hears *Vernon*'s Name mention'd, without casting his Eye upon *Raleigh*, and seeming to intimate, with a sullen Smile, that we shall soon have his Company here.

It must be allow'd, on all Sides, that you have lost a great deal of Time, at least, and many Advantages, which you might have taken against *Spain*, by a seasonable Reinforcement of Admiral *Vernon* with Ships, naval Stores, Provisions, and a small Body of Land-Forces, before the *Spanish* Fleet was suffer'd to depart from *Ferrol* and *Cadiz*. But we are all at a Loss to guess how it was possible for the old *Cardinal*, with all his Craft, to equip *two powerful Squadrons*, without the Knowledge of your *profound Statesmen*, who were always famous for penetrating into the deepest Secrets of the Cabinet.

These are some of our posthumous Reflexions upon the present State of Affairs in *your upper World*; but as the *Art of Politicks* is wonderfully improved, and almost inverted since my Time, I must submit to the wiser Judgments of *your modern* Machiavels, with whom I am not able to contend either in *speculative or practical Negotiation*.—The *present French Minister* is, no doubt, a *tolerable good Statesman*, according to the old Scantling; but whilst the three chosen Tribes of *R—n*, *H——ce*, and *Ber——n*, have the Ascendency in your Councils, they will certainly out-wit him in all his Schemes and Projects, as they have already done the most consummate Statesman in *Europe*.

We have strange Rumours, indeed, about the present State of *your interior Government*, and the Circumstances of your *domestick Affairs*; particularly with Relation to *your approaching Elections of Members to serve in Parliament*, as you call it.—But this may be the Subject of another Letter, when an authentick Account of these Transactions arrives to us *below*.

I am your ghostly Friend and Servant,

N. MACHIAVEL.

Common Sense, Nov. 1. Nº 195.

Arguments made use of against the Repeal of the TRIENNIAL ACT. (See p. 495.)

ACCORDING to the best Judgment that can be form'd, if the Bill for repealing the triennial Act should pass into a Law, the World will think we are guilty of a most notorious Breach of that Trust reposed in us by those who sent us here, and are going to make a dangerous Step towards undermining our Constitution; and therefore if we did believe it would be conducive to several good Ends, that ought not to be sufficient to gain our Consent thereto; for those Ends, however desirable, cannot be equivalent to such a Price as giving up, or making a dangerous Step towards intirely giving up the *British* Constitution.

Let us examine a little what has been the antient Constitution of Parliament, and how the same stands chang'd at this Time.

Before the Reign of *Harry* VIII. there was no single Instance of a Prorogation of Parliament. Parliaments had only one Session, and those very short, none of which ever lasted a Year. To prevent the Mischief of long Intervals, it was enacted, in the 4th Year of *Edward* III. that Parliaments should be holden annually; which was confirm'd by subsequent Acts; and therefore it may be affirm'd, that by the antient Constitution, Parliaments were to be of the Continuance only of one Session, and that the Crown had no Right to prorogue the same; we may affirm this (I say) with as strong Reason, as we can affirm that the eldest Son, after the Death of his Father, shall inherit as Heir at Law, to the Lands in Fee-simple.

But it has been said, That it is no Proof that the Crown has no Power of proroguing Parliaments, or of continuing the same Parliament for several Sessions, altho' there were no Instances thereof, until the Reign of *Harry* VIII.

If this Objection hath any Weight, it will hold against any Part of common Law, which hath hitherto remain'd uncontested; and by the same Way of reasoning the younger Sons may say, that altho' there hath been no Instance that any of them hath inherited to Lands in Fee-simple, equally with the eldest, yet this is no Proof against their Right of making such a Claim, or of having it determined in their Favour. If such a Case should be brought into *Westminster-Hall*, it is certain there is no Act of Parliament which settles the

the Point; yet ſure no Man will pretend to affirm, but that the Judges are ſtrictly tied down to adjudge according to conſtant and uninterrupted Uſage.

It is certain, that frequent new Parliaments were always looked upon as neceſſary towards preſerving our Liberties; and it ſtill appears ſo evident to me, that it is eaſy to prove that our Liberties would not be ſo precarious under an abſolute Monarchy, as with a Houſe of Commons which had a Right to ſit either many Years together, or without Limitation of Time; for a Prince who ſtood only on his own abſolute Authority, aſſiſted with his Miniſters and a few Troops, would think himſelf pretty much upon his good Behaviour towards the united Body of his People, and would be cautious of exerciſing his Power in ſuch a Manner as to give a juſt Provocation for a Revolt, and ſetting up another in his Stead; but a Prince with a Parliament at his Devotion would be infinitely more terrible, and might with Security give a Looſe to every Extravagance of Power; for when thoſe that are choſen to be Guardians of the Peoples Liberties, can be prevail'd upon, for private Advantages to themſelves, to betray that Truſt, and come into all the Meaſures of a deſigning Miniſtry, the Liberties of the People are in imminent Danger; and ſurely there is great Reaſon to apprehend, that a Houſe of Commons might ſoon become obedient to a Miniſtry, if there was no near Day in View of a new Election, when the Conduct of every Gentleman in the Houſe is to be enquired into by his Country.

It will not be denied but that it is poſſible for a Miniſtry, by Penſions and Preferments to ſome, by Expectations raiſed in others, and by bribing returning Officers, to obtain a Majority intirely, blindly at their Devotion, even at the firſt Meeting of a Parliament; and that by a Committee of Elections, choſen for that Purpoſe, their Party may be increas'd. Such a Parliament muſt be ſo far from protecting the publick Liberties, and becoming the Terror of evil Miniſters, as to become themſelves the Tools of Oppreſſion in the Hands of ſuch a Miniſtry, by their Authority to conſecrate the worſt Actions, and declare every Patriot who endeavours to ſtem the Tide of Corruption, an Enemy to the Conſtitution.

Tho' we may have a good Parliament at preſent, its Continuance (notwithſtanding the intended Law) muſt ſtill depend on the Pleaſure of the Prince; for it does not appear that any Member is inclined to move for a Clauſe, that the Parliament ſhall not be diſſolv'd without its own Conſent. If by ill Advice to his Majeſty, a Change ſhould happen, might not the Continuance of a Miniſtry and another Parliament prove of infinite Prejudice to the Nation? Surely it muſt be Wiſdom, in making this or any Law, not to conſider ſome little preſent Conveniency, but the general Tendency of the ſame.

I think a Man may be warranted to ſay, that there is no ſtronger Evidence for any Part of the common Law, than that frequent new Parliaments were Part of our Conſtitution: That the ſame was built, and ſtands upon as ſolid a Foundation, as any Law ever did or can do, being abſolutely neceſſary and eſſential to the Liberties of a free People.

It is true, *Harry* VIII. in the 23d Year of his Reign, prorogued the Parliament, which was the firſt Inſtance of this Kind; and ſucceeding Princes have more or leſs continued the Practice; but ſure no Man will from hence infer, that the Crown had always a Right to do ſo. The contrary evidently appears by what is here mention'd; but it is remarkable that this having been the firſt Inſtance of a Prorogation, it was thought convenient to ſtrengthen the farther Continuance of that Parliament by an Adjournment alſo.

If the Crown, before the Time here mention'd, had not a Power of continuing the ſame Parliament by Prorogation, it will not be eaſy to ſhew how they came legally by it ſince; ſure I am there is no Act of Parliament, which veſts ſuch a Power in the Crown, and Preſcription immemorial is on the other Side. The Short of the Matter ſeems to be no more than this, a very arbitrary Prince, the better to ſerve the Ends he then had in View, boldly invades the Liberties of his People, uſurps a new Prerogative unheard of before—that Parliament tamely ſubmits thereto, either out of Fear, or for baſer Reaſons; probably, they were pleas'd with a longer Continuance, and the agreeable Proſpect of ſharing in the Advantages of the Laws they were afterwards to make, I mean the Diſſolution of Abbeys—and tho' thereby the Foundation of our happy Reformation was laid, yet that is entirely owing to another Cauſe, and in no wiſe to the pious Intentions of that Prince, or of that Parliament.

This new Prerogative being at firſt uſed with Caution, the fatal Tendency thereof was not ſo ſoon diſcover'd. When it became ſtrengthen'd in the Crown by Time, and the Acquieſcence of the Nation, it was much more difficult to get rid of the Innovation, than it wou'd have been at firſt to have prevented it.

But ſure no Man will ſay, that, from a Power ſo aſſumed, and ſo continued, it will follow that it ought to be ſo at this Day; and I muſt ſay, that, whatever Arguments can be brought to ſupport that Doctrine, will equally juſtify any other Part of arbitrary Power; for, upon any new Act of Power, it is but ſaying the Crown had always a Right to it, tho' it was never claim'd before, and ſome Parliaments may be complaiſant enough

to acquieſce therein, which perhaps might be aſhamed, by a new expreſs Law, barefaced and unmaſk'd, to give up the Liberties of their Country; and ſuch an Argument wou'd be as good a Pretence for ſetting up any new Prerogative, as the Power of Proroguing at firſt had.

Let us examine the antient Laws of *England* in Matters of Impriſonment, and compare it with the Practice ſome Time before the *Habeas Corpus* Act; he muſt be quite abandon'd to the Notions of Slavery, that will maintain that it was ever in the Power of the Prince, by the Laws of *England*, to impriſon any of his Subjects during his Will and Pleaſure, and without juſt Reaſons aſſign'd. By our Laws they were not to be impriſon'd unleſs charg'd with Crimes; they were to be try'd for the ſame, or diſcharg'd from their Impriſonment in a reaſonable Time; without this, our Conſtitution muſt have differ'd little from the Slavery of *Turky*; the Bowſtring, an expeditious Death, is preferable to dying by a lingering Confinement; and yet, notwithſtanding this, it is certain that many Perſons had been impriſon'd illegally and arbitrarily, to gratify the Malice and Revenge of wicked Miniſters; and the Advocates for Slavery did as ſtrictly inſiſt on the Legality of this Power, as upon any other which was claim'd by the Crown; ſo that the *Habeas Corpus* was not introductive of a new Law, but declaratory of an old. It is hard to fix the exact Time when this Power of impriſoning was firſt exerciſed; but by the beſt Accounts we can trace, it ſeems to be of the ſame Age with the Power of proroguing Parliaments.

It was a fatal Omiſſion at the Revolution, that we did not, by the Claim of Rights, retrieve, and fix for ever the antient Conſtitution of annual new Parliaments.—It is true, it was obtain'd in ſome Part, by an Act made a few Years after, for holding triennial new Parliaments: It was then pretended, that this triennial Act was an Innovation, and that the repealing it would be reſtoring the antient Conſtitution. Sure nothing cou'd be a greater Miſrepreſentation, nothing cou'd be farther from the Truth of Fact, than to call that an Innovation, which only brought us a little nearer to our antient Conſtitution; the antient Conſtitution was broke into in the Manner here ſet forth, and we were in Part reſtored to it by this Act. But ſuppoſing it had been a new Grant, if it was found by Experience that no Miſchief could flow from it, either to the Crown or the People, was it reaſonable to part with it, only to enlarge the Power of Miniſters, and ſet them above the Fears of Puniſhment? By the ſame Way of Reaſoning we ought to give up the *Habeas Corpus* Act, and all the other Privileges we ever obtain'd from the Crown, from *Magna Charta* down to this Day.

Craftſman, Nov. 1. N° 748.

Mr. D'Anvers,

THE *miniſterial Hirelings* have lately been very buſy in proving the Virtue of *their Patron*, and recommending the wholeſome Uſe of *Corruption*.—One of them ſets out with this notorious Falſhood. "There is nothing more commonly aſſerted, by ſuch as oppoſe the *Adminiſtration*, than that *the Power of the Crown* is now greater than ever." If there ever had been any Truth, or Decency, in the Compoſitions of *theſe Writers*, they muſt have made a Difference, before this Aſſertion had been advanced, between the *Power of Prerogative* and *miniſterial Influence*. Nobody hath ever ſaid, to the beſt of my Remembrance, that the *former* runs in general ſo high now, as it hath done in ſome Reigns preceding the *Revolution*; tho' from a few Years after that Period, by the Number of *penal Laws* made every Seſſion, the *Power of Prerogative* hath been every Year increaſing; which I believe ſome of the moſt thinking, and the moſt ſincere Friends to *Liberty*, and to the *preſent Eſtabliſhment*, wiſh otherwiſe, and would be glad to ſee the *Laws leſs ſevere*, and *more punctually executed*.

But this is not the great Point now in Agitation; nor what the People of *England* have inſtructed their *Members* to get redreſs'd. It is not the legal Power of *Prerogative*, but illicit Practices upon *their own Repreſentatives*, from which they ſeem to dread the moſt immediate Danger.

Several Inſtances and Circumſtances are produced to ſhew that the *Power of the Crown* is now abated. But may not *Power* be taken from *one Hand* and given to *another*? Whenever *theſe Powers* were taken from the *Crown*, I ſuppoſe it was for the Service of the *People*. It is conſequently for the Service of the *People*, that the *Crown* ſhould remain under the ſame Limitations; for we have no Reaſon to think that the *Miniſters of this Age* will make a better Uſe of Power than the *Miniſters of former Ages*; and all the Struggles of our Anceſtors to limit the *Crown* muſt prove abortive, if the *ſame Powers* ſhould ſubſiſt in the Shape of *miniſterial Influence*.—As for Inſtance,

Of what Service will it prove to the *Freedom of Parliaments*, that the *Crown* ſhould deſiſt from the ancient Practice of creating *new Boroughs*, if *Miniſters* ſhould ever be allow'd to chuſe *Members*? May not *exorbitant civil Liſts*, *Exciſe Offices*, *ſtanding Armies*, and ſeveral other *new Powers of the Crown*, give a *Miniſter* as much Command as the *Court of Wards* ever did? May not *Tranſlations* give as much Influence over *Biſhops*, in Times to come, as the *Change of Eccleſiaſtical Lands* did, in former Times? And have not *Judges* additional Salaries, which are not *durante vitâ*, or *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*?

By

By the frequent Uſe of *Quo-Warranto's*, *Non-obſtantes*, &c. ſome former Proceedings were very oppreſſive in *Weſtminſter-Hall*. But if a *Miniſter* ſhould ever be able to put a Negative upon the Determination of *Thouſands*, by corrupt Practices upon a *Dozen*, will the Oppreſſion be farther removed than from *one Court to another?*

If the *Mauſoleum* of the immortal K. *William* muſt be ſacrilegiouſly broke open, in Search of *one ſingle Act*, done in ſo much Secrecy, as only to occaſion Conjectures and Suſpicions; will that juſtify *publick Corruption* as the wholeſome Means of Government? Could *that great Prince* have ever imagined that his Defence of *Liberty*, upon a *particular Exigency*, would have been turn'd into a tinſel Ornament for *general and avow'd Bribery*; or that his great Character would ever have been mention'd as a Precedent of *Corruption* to future Ages? If we may judge of him from the Glory of his *other Actions*, we may venture to pronounce that he would ſooner have loſt his *Life* and *Crown*, than have ever conſented to the publick Exerciſe of *Corruption*, at leaſt.

So eminent were the Virtues of the illuſtrious Q. *Elizabeth*, that I ſhould be glad to cloſe my Eyes to her Faults. But ſince it muſt be otherwiſe, I do acknowledge that ſhe did, in many Caſes, govern in too haughty and arbitrary a Manner; to which the People ſubmitted, becauſe they found her Power was conducted with Wiſdom, and directed to advance the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation. But this Behaviour proved very unhappy for *her Succeſſors*; who, aſſuming the ſame Authority, and not conducting it to the ſame good Ends, a few Years afterwards there fell out a fatal Period, both to the *Crown* and *People*.

Let us proceed to examine another Argument, in order to prove the *low State of* Prerogative *from the Neceſſity of* Corruption.—"Does any Man *corrupt* another, who can *command* him; or do we give Fees to *thoſe*, who are *Dependents on ourſelves?*"—To this let me add another Queſtion.—After the *Bribe* is received, who commands the *Perſon*; he, who *gives*, or *receives* it?—It would be a very difficult Matter to determine who was the moſt diſhoneſt Man, the *Corruptor*, or *Corrupted*; but it is very eaſy to ſay which is the *moſt abject Slave*.

The *Virgin* commands, whilſt ſhe preſerves *her Innocence*; but as ſoon as ſhe yields to the Temptations of *her Seducer*, ſhe gives up her Honour, Dignity, and Power.—It is therefore from the frequent Succeſs of *miniſterial Temptations*, that the *People of England* are deſirous to ſecure the *Chaſtity of their Repreſentatives*.

A little lower, in the ſame Paper, are theſe Words.—"If I give *my Friend's Servant* Money to encourage him in his *Duty*, it is *Generoſity*."—I would not willingly miſinterpret the Words of *another Perſon*; but I think the foregoing Lines cannot bear any other Conſtruction than the following, *viz.* that if a *Miniſter*, gives a Sum of Money to a *Member of Parliament*, to ſupport *his Schemes*, it is not *Corruption*, but *Generoſity*.

But in the next Paragraph, we ſhall find a much franker Confeſſion. "If therefore, notwithſtanding the Growth of the Inconvenience, as certainly *Faction* hath been always increaſing, *thoſe at the Helm* have found Means to *drive on the Government* for a long Courſe of Years, without any of thoſe Rubs, to which (when the *Machine* was *freer*) it was nevertheleſs expoſed by Careleſsneſs, or Want of Capacity, in *former Managers*: Muſt we condemn *their Conduct?*—*Their Enemies* may call it *Corruption*, nay *Weakneſs*, or *Folly*; but *impartial Poſterity*, and even *themſelves*, (if once *in Power*) will eſteem it *Wiſdom*.—Such *ſhallow Politicians* as ſet up on *Utopian Syſtems*, and think all Things may be managed by *certain Rules*, and *Maxims of State*, will condemn what they cannot underſtand. But *all proper Judges*, ſuch as *practical Stateſmen*, will form a right Notion of it in their Heads, tho' they may not, for *certain prudential Reaſons*, think proper to explain them."—If this publick Declaration is not very *honeſt*, it is at leaſt very *open*; and I believe we may reaſonably conclude, that the *Writer*, whoever he is, hath not miſtaken the Sentiments of *his Patron*.

I ſhall not make any farther Comments upon *this Paper*, but leave it to the Judgment of our Countrymen, according to the Explanation of a *Gazetteer*, to chuſe *Freedom*, or *miniſterial Influence*.

A. B.

To Robert Treſuſis *and* Kellond Courtenay, *Eſqrs.*

Gentlemen,

WE the Mayor, Aldermen and Capital Burgeſſes of the Borough of *Truro*, amidſt that Torrent of Corruption that almoſt overwhelm'd this County, at the laſt general Elections, ſtood undefiled, and therefore choſe you for our Repreſentatives, whom we can now thank for your ſteady and conſtant Adherence to the true Intereſt of your Country. It is with Pleaſure we have obſerv'd, from your paſt Conduct, how much you are convinced the Liberties of this Nation exiſt, by the Independency of its Parliaments; but, at the ſame Time, it is with the utmoſt Sorrow we obſerve the ſame ſcandalous and open Attempts, daily made, all around us, to procure Placemen to be again elected, in the enſuing Parliament. Should the vaſt Sums of publick Money, in the Hands of the Adminiſtration, be once more able to effect this; what fatal Conſequences may we not expect from ſo exorbitant a Number of Placemen, always ſubſervient

ſervient to the Nod of a ſelf-ſufficient and over-bearing Miniſter.

The next Step to limiting the Number of Placemen, for the Security of our Liberties, is, to ſhorten the Duration of Parliaments: Long Parliaments afford infinite Opportunities to the Wicked and Deſigning, to put their moſt pernicious Schemes in Execution, and muſt, at laſt, end in the utter Deſtruction of our Liberties. Theſe Grievances, it's true, have often been loudly complain'd of, and the Endeavours to remedy them have as often, hitherto, prov'd ineffectual: But theſe melancholy Inſtances only convince us, how juſtly our Fears are grounded.

We therefore think it incumbent upon us to enjoin and inſiſt, that you give a ſtrict and due Attendance, at the next Seſſions, and uſe your utmoſt Efforts to get theſe crying Evils effectually redreſs'd, and ſuch Efforts can never be exerted on a more important Occaſion; and by your ſo doing, whatever may be the Fate of your Endeavours, we ſhall at leaſt have this pleaſing Satisfaction, that thoſe, whom we entruſted with our Rights and Liberties, have contributed all in their Power to prevent the impending Ruin of our Country.

Given under our Common Seal the 9th of October 1740.

Common Senſe, Nov. 8. N° 196.

Of encouraging ARTS *and* SCIENCES.

NEXT to enriching the Nation at home, by Manufactures and Commerce, and aſſerting its Honour and Intereſt Abroad, one would think, it ſhould be the Care of every Adminiſtration, to adorn it, by the Encouragement and Improvement of liberal Arts and Sciences. Self-Love at leaſt, (if no nobler Motive) ſhould naturally produce this Effect; Arts and Sciences being always grateful to their Patrons, and tranſmitting with Luſtre to Poſterity, the Names of thoſe to whom they owed their Riſe or Perfection. This, in Truth, has always been the Caſe, and we may obſerve in every Country, that Arts and Sciences have conſtantly been the ſecond Care of every Governmene, that made the Honour and Intereſt of the Nation its firſt.

Auguſtus Cæſar left nothing to be added, either to the *Roman* Empire, or to Arts and Sciences; and even counted the beautifying of *Rome* among the Glories of his long Reign; and *Lewis* XIV. acquired as much Honour to himſelf, and, it may be, more real Advantages to his Kingdom, by his generous Protection of Arts and Sciences, than by his Conqueſts; he has rendered the *French* Language almoſt the univerſal Language of *Europe*, and has made *France* the Standard of Faſhion at leaſt, to every other Nation; from which two Articles alone, very great and real Advantages have ariſen to that Kingdom, to the Prejudice of almoſt every other.

There never was a Time, in which the Generality of a Nation was more inclined to encourage Arts and Sciences, than this Nation ſeems to be at preſent; as appears by the numerous and liberal Subſcriptions of Individuals, to whatever wears but their Name. But this Encouragement is too laviſh and indiſcriminate, and as often the Effect of Solicitation, Acquaintance or Charity, as the Reward of Merit. Whereas, ſuch a general Diſpoſition ought to be concentered into proper Eſtabliſhments; where the Care and Expence of thoſe in the Government ſhould take the Lead, and lay the firſt Stone; but I muſt, with Concern and Surprize, acknowledge, that not one ſingle Inſtance of this Kind has appeared.

I am the more ſurpriz'd at this, when I conſider the Individuals who compoſe the preſent glorious Ad————n, and who poſſeſs all the Qualifications neceſſary to form compleat *Mecænas's*; their profound Erudition, their exquiſite Judgment, their delicate Taſte, their liberal Manners, their polite Addreſs, and the pleaſing Urbanity and Atticiſm of their Converſation, ſeem to promiſe Arts and Sciences all the Encouragement and Perfection of the ſeveral Reigns of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, and *Lewis* XIV. I can therefore only ſuppoſe, that their great Avocations to Politicks, *Treaty-making*, *Hunting*, *War*, *Gin*, *Stockjobbing*, *Armies*, *Exciſes*, *Conventions*, *Elections*, *Preliminaries* and *Pot-Acts*, have engroſſed all their Time, and left no Room as yet for their ſecond Cares.

I know the Creatures of one particular Perſon of the Ad————n, or if you will, of the Ad————n of one particular Perſon, boaſt his Patronage and Protection of Letters. But this I can only admit in the literal Senſe, and not in the metaphorical and common Acceptation of the Term; the Works of his Authors, in Truth, conſiſting only of the four and twenty Letters fortuitouſly placed, ſo that it may more properly be called an Encouragement of the Type-makers, than of Learning.

Another Inſtance in which I am aſſured that this great Perſon manifeſts his Love of Letters, is, the conſiderable Salaries, and Rewards, which he gives to certain curious and ſkilful Perſons, to examine, collate and tranſcribe, the ſeveral Manuſcripts of that invaluable *publick Library*, *the Poſt-Office*: But this Mark of his Attention, far from proving an Encouragement, has, as I am informed, been a great Check to *Letters*, and diſcouraged the very beſt Writers.

As for a certain Junto of *Perſons of Honour* who have of late obliged the Publick with their Poetical Labours, ſuch as incomparable obſcene Diſfigurations of *Horace*; Ballads well ſeaſoned

ſeaſoned with Bawdry, and other caſual Performances of equal Emolument to the Publick, I ſay, I cannot look upon that Junto as his Authors; nor the Share they enjoy of his Favour, as the Reward of their Poetical, but of their Political Abilities; not but that if one were to judge of that Gentleman's Taſte of Poetry, by his Taſte of Proſe, it would not be impoſſible but that he might have ſettled that Triumvirate, for his *Poetical Gazetteers*.

However, I rather think they recommend themſelves to his Favour, by the *Monoſyllabical Performances*, he being the generous and avowed Patron of the Monoſyllables, or (as ſome Critics write it) the *Money-ſyllables*, thoſe Gentlemen being peculiarly happy in the right Uſe and Application of them.

I don't know whether the Hon. Gentleman does, but I really do, lament that he will not have fair Play with Poſterity for his Reputation: His *Gazetteers* are either *ſtill born*, or *die* before they have attained to *Reaſon*, or *Engliſh*; they live at moſt but from Candle to Candle; from that they were produced, to that they wrap up, and expire, like the *Phœnix*, in the Flames to which they owed their Birth. The Labours of the Laureat, though Originals in their Kind, yet being detached Pieces, may poſſibly be all buried in a Place I don't care to name; and to uſe his own happy metaphorical Stile, will ſcarce ever arrive as *Meſſengers to the Kite of Poſterity*. And the Oracles formerly delivered from the Mercenary Tripos of his *Robinizing* P———, have long ſince ceaſed. So that upon the whole, Poſterity will not receive one Scrap of Paper in his Favour; whereas, on the other hand, many of thoſe Writings, in which he is not very advantagiouſly delineated, will be preſerved and read, while Wit and Learning are tolerated or taſted in this Kingdom. In what a Light then muſt he inevitably, tho' unjuſtly, appear to Poſterity? Innumerable Volumes remaining, filled with the ſtrongeſt Charges of Peculate, Oppreſſion, Falſhood, Nepotiſm, Ignorance, Puſillanimity, *&c.* and not five righteous Lines being found to ſave him, notwithſtanding that a River of Ink hath been exhauſted in Encomiums and Adulation upon him.

The Utrecht Gazette *gave us the following* Declaration, *which, it ſays, is to be publiſhed in* America, *by Lord* Cathcart.

THE King of *Great Britain*, my Maſter, having found himſelf obliged to declare War againſt the King of *Spain*, and being reſolved, with the Aſſiſtance of Almighty God, to take Vengeance for the Inſults and barbarous Depredations committed on his Subjects, whereby their lawful Trade and Navigation have been unjuſtly interrupted; has ordered me to invade, attack and reduce to his Obedience, the Colonies, Caſtles, Places, and Kingdoms or Provinces belonging to the ſaid King of *Spain* in the *Indies*, which ſhall appear to me to be moſt convenient: But his Majeſty being perſuaded at the ſame Time, that the ſaid Injuries and Depredations much more proceeded from the Malice and Counſels of ſome particular Perſons in *Spain* and the *Indies*, than from the general Inclination of the *Spaniſh* Nation, between which and his Subjects there has ſubſiſted (except of late Years) a Conformity of Intereſts and Councils, a continual Commerce and amicable Correſpondence cultivated and maintained to their reciprocal Utility and Satisfaction; has, out of his Goodneſs been pleaſed to mix Mercy with Correction, and give Room to the Innocent to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the Guilty: For which Purpoſe, I have Orders from the King my Maſter, to declare, as I hereby declare in his Royal Name, offer and promiſe all Perſons, *Spaniards*, *Mulattos*, *Negroes*, *Indians*, whether Eccleſiaſticks or Laymen, that thoſe who, within a certain Term after the Publication of this Declaration, and before any Hoſtility committed on their Part againſt the Forces of the King my Maſter, ſhall freely and peaceably put themſelves under his Protection, clement Adminiſtration and Government, ſhall be received, protected and maintained in their Lands, Houſes, Poſſeſſions, and all other Effects belonging to them, of what Nature ſoever they be, in the ſame Manner as if they were his own natural Subjects, and ſhall likewiſe enjoy the free Exerciſe of their Religion, in the ſame Manner as they do at preſent. They ſhall be freed from Impoſts, *Alcavalas*, Duties, *&c.* and from all the other Oppreſſions which they now ſuffer from the Nature and Form of the Government eſtabliſhed in the *Spaniſh Indies*. The *Indians* in particular ſhall be delivered from the Royal Tributes and Services they are ſubject to; they ſhall have the Privilege and Right of Trading directly with *Great Britain*, and all the *Britiſh* Colonies in *America*; and in fine, in all Reſpects, they ſhall be regarded, ſuccour'd, favour'd, and treated as the Natives of *Great Britain*.

But on the contrary, thoſe who ſhall refuſe, reſiſt, or obſtinately delay to accept of theſe clement Offers, muſt reckon themſelves in the Number of the Guilty, and expect all the Severities that may be exerciſed in a juſt War, undertaken by a magnanimous Prince, and a provok'd Nation, to revenge the undeſerved Injuries and Depredations which they received ſo many Years together.

The French *King's* MANIFESTO, *concerning the Departure of the* Breſt *and* Toulon *Squadrons.*

SINCE the Departure of the *Breſt* and *Toulon* Squadrons, ſo many different Re-

ports have been ſpread, eſpecially in *England*, concerning the Motives to that Reſolution, as well as concerning the King's Intentions in the preſent Conjuncture, that it has appear'd neceſſary to put his Majeſty's Miniſters abroad in a Condition to ſet in a clear Light the Principles of his Conduct to this Day, and the End he propoſes to himſelf.

It was not without a great deal of Concern that the King ſaw, in the Year 1738, the Seeds of Diſſenſion growing up between *Spain* and *England*: The opening the Conferences at *Madrid* gave ſome Hopes of an Accommodation; but the unforeſeen breaking off of theſe Conferences made us ſuſpect that *England* was very averſe to all pacifick Sentiments; and the Hoſtilities begun in *America* by the *Engliſh* Nation, before the Declaration of War could be known there, no longer permitted us to doubt of her Intentions.

Nevertheleſs, the King judged he ought to wait the Conſequences of this War before he took any Reſolution: The Views of the *Engliſh* Nation were not as yet fully manifeſted: It might be thought that the Heat of the People had precipitated her Steps; that in the main ſhe had no other Aim but to revenge the *pretended* Vexations of the *Spaniſh Guarda Coſtas*; and that when the firſt Ferment was over, both Parties would reſume the Methods of Reconciliation.

It is not that *France* had not on her Side Grievances to alledge againſt *England*, perhaps more conſiderable than thoſe which kindled up the War between the Catholick King and the King of *Great Britain*: Several *French* Veſſels ſtopt, viſited and rummaged, as well in *Europe* as in *America*: Their Letters taken and carried off, againſt the Law of Nations and the Faith of Treaties; and other Violences ſtill more notorious, of which Complaints were made in vain, might have excited the King to do himſelf Juſtice: But his Majeſty diſſembled all thoſe Infractions, and would not even permit the *French* Privateers to aſſiſt in any Shape in diſturbing the *Engliſh* Navigation: Objects of ſtill greater Importance were neceſſary for overcoming his Majeſty's Moderation.

Hitherto the *Engliſh* had carried on the War only by Sea, but it was not long before they form'd Enterprizes upon the Continent. The taking of *Porto Bello* was follow'd by that of *Chiagria*; the Demolition of theſe two Forts opened a Door for all their contraband Trade, in Prejudice to the Commerce of all Nations; and their Armaments encreaſed to ſuch a Degree as to create the greateſt Uneaſineſs about what they might afterwards attempt.

At that Time the *Britiſh* Embaſſador was forewarn'd, in the King's Name, that whatever Patience *France* had ſhewn in Expectation that Satisfaction would have been made her for the irregular and violent Proceedings of ſeveral *Engliſh* Officers, it ought not to be thought that ſhe would remain a quiet Spectator of the Enterprizes which the *Engliſh* might form in *America*; nor that the King would ſuffer them to make any Settlement in the *Spaniſh Indies*. This Declaration was known by all the foreign Miniſters reſiding at the King's Court; it was renew'd from Time to Time, as we ſaw the Preparations againſt *America* more plainly diſcover'd Projects of Conqueſt; and the *Britiſh* Embaſſador giving no Anſwer on ſo important an Affair, the King judg'd he could no longer delay arming his Ships, in order to put himſelf in a Condition to prevent a Danger which became every Day more imminent.

In fine, *England* made no longer a Myſtery of her Deſigns, when ſhe thought her Meaſures ſo well taken that it would be impoſſible to oppoſe them. She embark'd 8000 regular Troops in order to join thoſe raiſed in her Colonies. The Nation doubting no longer of Succeſs, gave out the Conqueſt of the *Havannah* as a Thing certain. Admiral *Vernon* formally declar'd by his Letter of the 8th of *May* to the Commandant of the *French* Part of the Iſland of *Dominica*, that he had Orders to take *Carthagena*; and the Manifeſto deliver'd to Lord *Cathcart* in order to be publiſh'd in *America*, which they troubled their Heads no longer to keep a Secret, has at laſt plainly evinced what thoſe prodigious Armaments tended to, of which the World has never yet ſeen an Example.

Then it was that the King found there was not a Moment to be loſt, for putting an Obſtacle to Projects, the Execution of which would deſtroy all the Treaties and Conventions made, as well at the Congreſs of *Utrecht* as ſince, for the Balance of Trade in *Europe*. His Majeſty has nothing elſe in View but to maintain the ſaid Conventions: The Orders he has given to the Marqueſs *d'Antin* tend to that ſole End, his Majeſty having expreſly enjoin'd him not to interrupt the *lawful* Commerce of the *Engliſh* Merchants, and to let all the Commandants and Governors of the *French* Colonies know, that ſuch are the Intentions of his Majeſty, which they are ſtrictly to conform to.

At the ſame Time his Majeſty has taken ſome Precautions at the Towns of *l'Orient* and *Dunkirk*, to prevent any Surprize from the *Engliſh* Corſairs; the Inſults which our Ships had met with, even at the Time of *France*'s entire Impartiality, rendering at preſent theſe Precautions ſtill more neceſſary.

Such is, according to the ſtricteſt Truth, the Conduct obſerv'd by his Majeſty to this Day, nor can any Fact be alledg'd to the contrary. Nevertheleſs the Court of *London* has expreſs'd herſelf in the ſharpeſt Manner concerning the pretended Works made at *Dunkirk*, as if the Court of *France* fail'd in the ſole

Engagements ſhe contracted by the Treaty of *Utrecht*.

It is eaſy to judge, after this Expoſition, in what Side is the Infraction of Treaties, whether on *France*'s Side, who has contented herſelf with planting four Batteries of Cannon at *Dunkirk*, without raiſing up any Fortification, nor making any Sort of Works, even declaring that thoſe Batteries ſhall be deſtroy'd as ſoon as Tranquillity is reſtor'd; or whether it is on the Side of the Court of *London*, who no longer conceals the Plan ſhe has form'd for invading openly all the Commerce of the *New World*.

Craftſman, Nov. 15. N° 750.

Extract from a Pamphlet, Printed, but not publickly Sold, in the Year 1730, *Intitled*, The Caſe of *Dunkirk* faithfully ſtated and impartially conſider'd.

WHETHER the *Demolition* of *Dunkirk* does, in a great Meaſure, ſecure actly Seven-ninths of the Trade of *England* om the Power of *France* at Sea, as it has en aſſerted, I ſhall not trouble myſelf to culate; neither ſhall I examine nicely how this *Port* may juſtly be deem'd our Rival Time of Peace, by ſupporting ſome conſiable Branches of the *French* Manufactures, by carrying on a Trade to the *Weſt-Indies*, ich has been inſiſted upon likewiſe. In geal it will not be denied, that the *French* e annoy'd our Trade, and promoted their n extreamly, by the convenient Situation other Advantages of the *Port* of *Dunkirk*. To make therefore a true Judgment in the ſent Caſe, it is ſufficient to prove the foling Propoſitions.

. The declared Senſe of the *Britiſh* Nation, he Time of making the laſt *Treaty of Peace* h *France*, was, that *Dunkirk* ſhould be no e either a *fortified City*, a *fortified Port*, or an *unfortified Harbour*.

. *France* conſented to the *Demolition* of *kirk* in this Senſe, and engaged never to re it again in any one of theſe Reſpects.

Theſe Propoſitions are fully proved by the *Article* of the *Treaty of Utrecht*; by which *at Britain* required, and *France* conſented, *all the Fortifications of the City of* Dun- *ſhould be raſed*; *thoſe towards the Sea in onths, thoſe towards the Land in* 3 *Months*. as far the *Article* ſtipulates the *Demolition* Dunkirk as a *fortified City* and as a *fortified* , and if no more had been intended, no e would have been ſaid; but the *Article* a great deal more; it ſays expreſly that *Harbour ſhall be filled up, and that the es or Moles, which ſerve to cleanſe the Harſhall be levelled*. The naked *Harbour* itwas therefore to be deſtroy'd, as well as the ifications towards the Land and towards Sea. After all theſe Stipulations follow expreſs Condition, *That the ſaid Fortifications, Harbour, Moles, or Sluices be never repaired again*. So that *France* has never had, ſince the *Treaty of Utrecht*, nor can have, while that Treaty ſubſiſts, any more Right to open, or by Reparations to help to open the *Harbour* of *Dunkirk*, than ſhe has to rebuild the Fortifications of that City.

The late Q. *Anne* was ſo ſolicitous to have this principal Part of the Article effectually perform'd, that when ſhe ſent her Commiſſioners to *Dunkirk* to ſee the Demolition of that Place executed, ſhe gave them the moſt particular Inſtructions imaginable on this Head. They were not only to ſee the *Moles*, and *Jettees*, and *Keys*, and *Sluices* demoliſh'd, but they were to ſee the *Stones* belonging to them, even the *Stones of the Keys for ſhipping and unſhipping Goods, thrown into the Canal or Harbour, the more effectually to ſpoil the ſame and render it impracticable for the future*. They were to ſee the *Channel of each Sluice filled up with Earth from the next Rampart, till it was made level with the Streets*. Nay they were to ſee the *Road*, which lies before the Entrance of the *Harbour, ſpoil'd as much as poſſible*; and the Reaſon for this particular Inſtruction is there given, *to prevent as much as poſſible any Ships coming in for the future*.

The late King of *France* had tried, by his Miniſters at *Utrecht*, and even by a direct and ſtrong Application from himſelf to the late Queen, while the Treaty was in Negotiation, to have the Rigour of the 9*th Article*, in ſome Degree, ſoftned. He did not deſire that any Thing, which had been erected to fortify the Town, or make and preſerve the Harbour, ſhould be ſpared, but hoped and preſſed that the *Queen* would allow *one Sluice* to be left, which had been erected, as it was then pretended, by the People of the Country, before he fortified the Place, to carry off the Waters, and ſave the low Lands from Inundations. Even this Application proved fruitleſs. The Article was inſiſted upon, and was accordingly paſſed without any Exception.

Not diſcouraged by this, the Inhabitants of *Dunkirk* ſent over a Deputy, who was warmly ſupported by the Ambaſſador of *France*. Several freſh Inſtances were made, and all Endeavours were uſed to move the Queen's Compaſſion, by deſiring, as a Grace, what they pretended no Right to by Treaty, *that the Sluice of* Furnes *at leaſt might be preſerved*, to carry the Waters off from the Country, and to preſerve the Town from Filth, Stench, and the Conſequence thereof, Infection.

But the Queen, who was reſolved that *Dunkirk* ſhould have neither a *fortified Port*, nor even a *naked Harbour*, knew by the Reports of her Commiſſioners, that Mr. *Armſtrong*, one of their Number, abſolutely denied the Neceſſity of preſerving thoſe Sluices, in order to diſcharge the Waters of the Country.

She was informed likewiſe, by the Report of the ſame Commiſſioners, that *if any of the Sluices remained, it would be impoſſible to prevent the Harbour from being kept open; whereas if they were all deſtroy'd, a ſmall Space of Time would effectually fill up the Harbour.* She continued therefore inflexible, and beſides ſeveral other Anſwers to the ſame Effect, given to the *French* Ambaſſador, and to the Deputy of *Dunkirk*, upon theſe Occaſions, a Secretary of State was ordered, upon one of them, to write to the *Britiſh* Miniſter at *Paris*, to acquaint that Court, *That the Queen will inſiſt that, by the Treaty, all Things are to be deſtroyed*, quæ eluendo Portui inſerviunt, *which ſerve to cleanſe the Harbour: That no Diſtinction is therein made of what contributes accidentally and what directly to this Purpoſe: That the* French *Miniſters had inſiſted at* Utrecht *to have ſuch an Exception inſerted in the Treaty; that it was poſitively refuſed, and that they ſubmitted: That under a charitable Pretence of ſaving the Country, the* French *would ſave the Harbour: In ſhort, that he muſt let Monſieur* de Torcy *feel, and by him the* King, *that the* Queen *ſees plainly the Correſpondence between his Officers and the People of the Town, who are unwilling to loſe their Harbour.*

Thus the Intention of the late Queen, and of thoſe who negotiated, by her Orders, the *Treaty of Utrecht*, was to deſtroy *Dunkirk* for ever, not only as a *Fortreſs*, but as a *Sea-Port*. To this the *French* ſubmitted, tho' with much Reluctancy; and in this at leaſt the Miniſters at that Time were ſeconded by the Voice of the whole Nation. Even thoſe, who oppoſed that Adminiſtration, were aſhamed of ſome weak Attempts made to depreciate this important Article of the *Utrecht* Treaty. They ſoon took the other Part. They ſounded high the Conſequence of it, and the Neceſſity of executing it with the utmoſt Rigour. They were ſo far from thinking the Demolition of the *Fortifications* to the Land and to the Sea ſufficient, that the *Mole* and *Harbour* were call'd by them, and I think rightly, *the Terror of the* Britiſh *Nation.*

Such was the Iſſue of the firſt Diſputes about *Dunkirk*, a little before the Death of the late Queen. The *French* were obliged to proceed to a total Deſtruction of it. They turned themſelves therefore to another Method, and began to cleanſe and widen the Canal of *Mardyke*. The Pretences of doing it were the ſame as had been urged in order to ſave the Port of *Dunkirk*, under Colour of ſaving the Country from Inundations. But the plain Deſign of this Work was to open a new Harbour at *Dunkirk*, and a new Communication with the Sea.

As the Work proceeded, this Deſign became every Day more evident, by the Breadth and Depth which were given to the Canal of *Mardyke*, and by the enormous Size of the new Sluice, larger than that at *Dunkirk*, and vaſtly beyond any Proportion that could be pretended neceſſary for carrying off the Waters, or even for receiving Fiſher-Veſſels, and other ſmall Craft.

As the Deſign became more evident, the Repreſentations againſt it became more frequent and ſtrong. But the *French* drew the Affair into length, by the common Arts of Negotiation, and in the mean time purſued their Enterprize with all the Vigour and Diſpatch imaginable; till the late King, reſolving not to ſuffer ſo manifeſt a Violation of the *Treaty of Utrecht*, ſent the Earl of *Stair* to the Court of *France*, ſoon after his Acceſſion to the Crown.

This Miniſter proceeded on the Principle eſtabliſh'd at firſt, and hitherto not once departed from. *The true Senſe of the Treaty of Utrecht*, ſays he, in one of his Memorials, *and the Intention of* Great Britain *is, that* Dunkirk *ſhall never have a Port again.* From whence he argues, that ſince the Port of *Mardyke* is in its Uſe a Port to the City of *Dunkirk*, as much as the old one was, the King of *Great Britain* would have liked as well to have had this ſubſiſt, and only the Name of it changed, as to ſee another Port, larger and more convenient, open'd at a League to the Weſtward.

The Anſwers which the Court of *France* made to all theſe Repreſentations, were very far from giving Satisfaction; but the Firmneſs which the Earl of *Stair* ſhewed, and perhaps the declining State of *Lewis* XIV. prevail'd on the *French* Councils to ſtop the carrying on theſe Works.

Such was the Iſſue of the ſecond Diſputes about *Dunkirk*, when the late King of *France* died. The *French* neither departed from their Pretenſions, groundleſs as they were, nor ruined the Works they had made at *Mardyke*. They kept one alive, and only ſuſpended the other.

The late King, therefore, inſtead of dropping this Affair, continued to puſh it, and to ſhew that he was determined, at any Rate, to have another Sort of Satisfaction than he had yet received.

This Satisfaction he obtain'd ſoon after, by a *proviſional Agreement* made with the Miniſter of *France* at *Hampton-Court*, in *September*, 1716, and inſerted in the *Triple Defenſive Alliance* concluded at the *Hague* between *Great Britain*, *France*, and the *States General* in *January*, 1717.

The Duke of *Orleans* was now Regent of *France*. His political Intereſts led him to deſire the Friendſhip of the late King. This Diſpoſition was cultivated and improved on our Parts, and the Union between the two Courts grew to be extreamly intimate. But as *Great Britain* and *France* acted in Concert like *Friends*, ſo they acted together in thoſe Days

Days like *Equals*. If we uſed their Help, we lent them ours. The Dependance was at leaſt mutual, and when our ſeparate Intereſts came into Competition with theirs, far from fearing to aſſert our Right, leſt we ſhould diſoblige our Friends, we treated with them like an *independent Nation*, who knew that it is, or may be always made the Intereſt of *France* to keep Meaſures with *Great Britain*, as much as it can become, at any Time, the Intereſt of *Great Britain* to keep Meaſures with *France*.

His late Majeſty did indeed at this Time conſent, that the Canal, open'd at *Mardyke*, ſhould ſubſiſt, for carrying off the Waters, and for the little Commerce neceſſary to ſupply that Part of the Country with Proviſions. This was a Conceſſion which had not been made before, and which the *French* had not ſtrictly any Right to expect. But ſurely it was wiſe to make it in the Manner, and on the Conditions on which it was made.

As long as a King of *France* had the plauſible Pretence of ſaving his Subjects from drowning, or ſtarving, to cover his Deſigns, it was obvious enough, by all that had paſs'd, that the Deſign of reſtoring *Dunkirk*, under this Pretence, would never be laid aſide. The late King, therefore, in order to defeat the Deſign once for all, reſolved to take the Pretence entirely away.

By the 4th *Article* of the *Triple Alliance*, the great new Sluice made at *Mardyke*, and all the *Jettees* erected along the Strand, are to be deſtroy'd, and not to be made uſe of *for any Port, Haven, or Sluice at* Dunkirk, *or at* Mardyke, *or at any other Place within two Leagues Diſtance of either of theſe; the Intention of the contracting Parties, and the End which they propoſe to themſelves by this Treaty being, that no Port, Harbour, Fortification, Sluice, or Baſon, ſhall be made or built at* Dunkirk, *at the Sluice of* Mardyke, *or at any other Place whatſoever upon the Coaſt, within the Diſtance before-mentioned.*

By the ſame Article it was ſtipulated likewiſe, that the *Digues* or *Jettees*, on both Sides of the old Canal or Port of *Dunkirk*, ſhould be entirely demoliſh'd down to the Strand, and that ſome other Things ſhould be further done, which might be neceſſary to the more compleat Deſtruction of the *Harbour*.

This being conſented to on the Part of *France*, his Majeſty conſented that the little Sluice on the Canal of *Mardyke*, ſhould remain, provided the Breadth of it was reduced to ſixteen Foot.

Such was the Iſſue of the Diſputes about *Dunkirk*, in the Time of the late King; and ſurely there was good Reaſon to hope, after the Settlement then made, that we ſhould hear of them no more. But to the great Detriment and Misfortune of our Nation, ſo it is, that we have greater Reaſon than ever to renew theſe Diſputes. What the *French* were not ſuffer'd to attempt by *that Adminiſtration*, which Sir *Richard Steele* call'd the *French Adminiſtration*, they have been lately ſuffer'd to do. Inſtead of not executing *one Treaty* fully, they have publickly violated *two*. They actually enjoy the Benefit of the Canal of *Mardyke*, which was indulged to them, that there might remain no Colour for ever opening that of *Dunkirk*; and in the midſt of this Enjoyment, they have open'd, they have repair'd that of *Dunkirk*, and contrived their Work ſo, that whenever they ſhall think proper to finiſh it, *Dunkirk* will be at once a better Harbour than it was, when it ſtood the Glory of *France* and the Terror of *Britain*.

Extract from the Gazetteer *of* Nov. 11.

THE *Craftſman* of *Oct.* 25, gives us a Letter as from the deceaſed *Machiavel*, in ſeveral Reſpects humorous and pleaſant enough, but has nevertheleſs ſomething in it, that, I think, deſerves Animadverſion.

He inveighs greatly againſt our Conduct, for not joining the Emperor in the late War againſt *France* and *Spain*, and ſays, that it was then, and ſtill is the general Opinion of all impartial and ſenſible Men, that we ſhould have done ſo.

Query. Where were all theſe impartial and ſenſible Men to be found at that Time? Where did they declare it to be their Opinion, that we ſhould go into that War in the Situation we were then in? Did they ſpeak it in Parliament, did they write it in the *Craftſman*?

Query 2. Did *this Machiavel* at that Time once open his Mouth to perſuade us to go into that War? Did not all Parties then agree that we ought not to engage in that War, without the *Dutch*? Did not a preſent Hon. Member for the City of *London*, a very great Merchant, and as great a Speaker, declare in the Houſe of Commons at that Time, that in his Opinion we ſhould be a *Nation infatuated*, if we pretended to enter into the War on account of the Emperor, without the Concurrence of the *Dutch*? Was it not at that Time the univerſal Opinion, that all the Intereſts of our Trade requir'd us not to engage in the War without the *Dutch*? (See p. 539.)

Common-Senſe, Nov. 22. N° 198.

How Sheriffs were anciently appointed.

THE Cuſtody of the County is committed to the Sheriff; the Execution and Return of all Writs belong to him; by Virtue of which he is not only Returning Officer in the Election of Knights of the Shire, but in ſome Meaſure, of every Citizen and Burgeſs in the County. He can haſten or delay ſend-

ing

ing the Writ to the proper Officer of each City or Borough; and if there is any Diſpute who that Perſon is, he can direct it to which he pleaſes. So that there is no Officer in whom greater Truſt is repoſed, *eſpecially in an Election Year.* But at another Time, when there is no particular Jobb to ſerve, notwithſtanding it is an Office of great Truſt, yet as it is likewiſe attended with Hazard and Expence, it is generally conſider'd as a Burden.

Sheriffs by the common Law were choſen by the Freeholders, as were all other Officers, who were inſtituted either for Preſervation of the Peace of the Counties, or for Execution of Juſtice. But upon Pretence that inſufficient Perſons were ſometimes choſen to be Sheriffs, this Power of Nomination was by 9 E. II. taken from the People, and placed in the Chancellor, Treaſurer, Barons of the Exchequer, and the reſt of the Juſtices. But this Statute was far from remedying the *pretended* Evil, for no ſooner was the Power taken from the Freeholders, but the Kings uſurped it to themſelves, from which there aroſe a *real* Inconvenience: For the Kings were frequently perſuaded to make Grants to Sheriffs of their Bailiwicks for Term of Years, by which, as is recited in 14 E. III. c. 7. "they were encouraged to do many Oppreſſions to the People, and evil Service to the King and his People." It is therefore by that Statute eſtabliſh'd, "That no Sheriff ſhall tarry in his Bailiwick over one Year, and then another convenient ſhall be ordained in his Place, that hath Land ſufficient in his Bailiwick, by the Chancellor, Treaſurer, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer, taking to them the Chief Juſtices, if they be preſent; and that ſhall be done Yearly in the Morrow of All-Souls at the Exchequer." And by 12 R. II. c. 2. "The Chancellor, *&c.* are to be firmly ſworn that they ſhall not ordain, name, or make Juſtices of Peace, *Sheriffs*, &c. for any Gift or Brocage, Favour or Affection; nor that none that purſueth by him or by other, privily or openly, to be in any Manner of Office, ſhall be put in the ſame Office, or any other."

Thus ſtands the Law at preſent in Regard to the Nomination of Sheriffs, but the Practice is different. The ſeveral great Officers, who have the Aſſigning of Sheriffs (and others, who perhaps have not that Power) meet at the Day and Place appointed by the Statute, and there, being ſworn, make a Liſt of three Perſons for every Shire, out of which they leave it to the King to chooſe one for each County.

This is not exactly conformable to the Statute, yet as it is done out of Deference to the Crown, and as the Election made by the King out of ſuch Liſts may in Law be conſider'd as an Aſſignment by thoſe great Officers, it is not liable to much Objection. But there is another Practice crept in, that has not the leaſt Colour of Law to protect it; and that is appointing another to be Sheriff than one of the three aſſign'd by the great Officers. This in the Court Stile is called, *making a Pocket Sheriff*; and is either done as a Mark of Reſentment, or to ſerve a particular Turn.

The great Officers are bound by a ſolemn Oath to make Sheriffs "*of the beſt and moſt lawful Men, and ſufficient to their Eſtimation and Knowledge,*" but thoſe who adviſe his Majeſty to neglect their Liſt and nominate other Perſons to be Sheriffs, are under no ſuch Obligation; they may do it out of Favour or Affection, they may do it out of Rancor or Malice, and not be guilty of Perjury.

Before the great Officers were under the Obligation of an Oath, they too frequently miſ-uſed the Power placed in them by Parliament, by nominating ſuch Perſons to be Sheriffs as would be ſubſervient to the Miniſter in Elections. But this was too groſs an Abuſe to be long ſuffer'd in thoſe Times.

In the 11th Year of *R.* II. Articles of Appeal for High Treaſon were exhibited in Parliament againſt Sir *Robert Treſilian* and his Accomplices, the 11th of which is, "That the ſaid *Robert Treſilian*, and other the Appellees, Traytors to the King and Kingdom, had cauſed the King to direct his Councel to make certain Perſons that were named to him by the ſaid Malefactors and Traytors to be Sheriffs throughout *England*, *to the Intent that they might procure ſuch Knights of Shires to come to Parliament as they liked of.*"

Sir *Robert* was ſolemnly call'd to appear and anſwer to the ſaid Articles, but he making Default, was convicted and hang'd as a Traytor and Enemy to the King and Kingdom.—And the very next Year the Parliament paſs'd that Act, which I have already taken Notice of, to oblige the great Officers to take an Oath to make Sheriffs of the beſt, and moſt lawful Men, and that without Favour or Affection: But the Security given by that Statute is entirely evaded, if this Practice of making Pocket Sheriffs is to prevail.

When this open Infraction of the Statute Law was firſt introduced, I cannot ſay; however, this I find, *It is a Practice which has been long ſince ſolemnly condemn'd.* K. *Henry* VI. in the 34th Year of his Reign, had been perſuaded to appoint a Perſon Sheriff for the County of *Lincoln*, who was not one of the three aſſign'd by the great Officers in the Exchequer. The Perſon thus illegally appointed refuſed to act in an Office of ſo much Trouble and Expence. Upon which the Lord Chancellor demanded of the Judges, "What them ſeemed ſhould be doon in this Behalfe." And (according to the Record in the Council Book) "the two Chief Juſtices the ſame Day came unto my Lords of the King's Counſel

Counſel in the ſterred Chamber, and upon the aboveſaid Demaund ſayde, That them ſeemed, and ſo it ſeemed unto the Remnant of the Juges, *That the King did an Errour, when that he made another Perſon Sherief of* Lincolnſhire *then was choſen and preſented unto his Highneſs after the Feet of the Statut in ſuch Behalfe made.*" And they further add, that he could not be puniſh'd or fined for his Diſobedience, as if he had been one of the three Perſons choſen after the Tenour of the Statute. Here we behold all the Judges of *England* unanimouſly declaring, *That the King had erred in what he had done.*

After this ſolemn Determination it might have been imagined no one would ever preſume to adviſe his Royal Maſter to commit the like Error. Yet that this Method of making Sheriffs ſhou'd have been ſometimes made uſe of long before the Revolution, when our Kings pretended a Right of ſetting aſide Acts of Parliament by their Prerogative, and to *non-obſtante* their Subjects out of their Liberties, is not much to be wonder'd at: But that the like iniquitous Practice ſhould prevail after that Doctrine of Slavery was exploded, appears very extraordinary; nevertheleſs, Cuſtom can never be pleaded, in direct Oppoſition to a poſitive Statute.

Craftſman, Nov. 22. N° 751.

The Advantages of PRINTING, *and the Liberty of the* PRESS.

THE great and extenſive Uſefulneſs of the *Art of Printing* is allow'd by all civilized Nations; and without the *Liberty of the Preſs*, under very moderate Limitations, the *Art of Printing* itſelf would be of little or no Uſe to Mankind, in Matters either of *Religion* or *Government*.

To this we entirely owe the *Reformation of Religion*, not only in *Proteſtant*, but even in *Popiſh Countries*; for however the *latter* may ſtill keep up the outward Forms and Pageantries of their Forefathers, *Popery* now is as different from the *Popery* of ancient Times, before the *Preſs* laid open the Uſurpations and Corruptions of the *Church*, as it ſtill is from *Proteſtantiſm*. We have not heard of any Biſhop of *Rome*, for many Ages, who hath had the Impudence to aſſert a Right of treading upon the Necks of *Emperors*, putting whole Kingdoms under *Interdicts*, thundering out *Anathemas* againſt Princes, and abſolving their Subjects from *their Allegiance*. The *Inquiſition*, indeed, of a much more modern Date, ſtill prevails in *two or three Popiſh Countries*; but, I am rightly inform'd, the Rigour and Cruelty of it is very much abated.

Nay, *our own Church* hath been additionally reform'd, even ſince the *firſt*, *great Reformation*, in the juſt and prudent Explication of her *Doctrines*, the moderate Exerciſe of her *Power* and *Diſcipline*, and an extenſive Charity to all our *diſſenting Proteſtant Fellow-Subjects*. This hath been principally, if not entirely, owing to the Light, which the *Preſs* hath diffuſed amongſt all Ranks of People.

Civil Government hath received the ſame Benefits and Advantages from the *Preſs* in all Nations, where the *Liberty* of it hath been allow'd in any Degree; for tho' all People are naturally *free*, yet by the Ambition of ſome Men, and the Corruption of others, moſt of them ſoon loſt their *original Liberty*. I need go no higher for Inſtances of this, than to the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*; nor is there any Occaſion to dwell upon theſe, ſince every School-Boy knows that from the moſt *free* and *flouriſhing States*, they at laſt became the *moſt abject and miſerable Slaves*, whilſt *their Oppreſſors* wanton'd in all the Exceſſes of Vice and Luxury.

But as all violent Proceedings muſt in Time have an End, the Degeneracy of the *Roman* People, who were at laſt reduced to the loweſt Dregs, paved the Way for infinite Numbers of hungry Foreigners, who ſwarm'd from their *northern Hives*, in Search of new Habitations, to invade them, and over-run all *Europe*. This however was attended with one very good Effect; as it laid the Foundation of thoſe *Gothic Forms of Government*, which they eſtabliſh'd in *Europe*, from whence our old *Saxon Conſtitution* is derived.

All the other Governments of *Europe*, except our own, have long ago loſt the great Privileges of this *antient Conſtitution*; and if we may give Credit to the *miniſterial Hacks*, we have no Right to it ourſelves; for they are eternally repreſenting all Oppoſition to the Meaſures of a Court, and all Struggles to ſupport our Liberties, as ſo many Inſtances of a ſeditious Spirit, and unwarrantable Invaſions of the Prerogative. Nothing gives *theſe modeſt Gentlemen* more Diſturbance than the *Liberty of the Preſs*, tho' they exerciſe it themſelves to a Degree of Licentiouſneſs never practiſed before, and directly contrary to Law.

But I think our moden *Sydneys*, *Exports*, and *Freemans* have no Reaſon to complain of a little Liberty, on *our Side*, ſince they cannot have the Vanity to imagine, that any *Miniſter* would think it worth his While to employ ſuch a Parcel of *Reptiles* in his Service, with any other View than to throw Dirt, and beſpatter thoſe, whom he cannot anſwer. Whenever the *Liberty of the Preſs* is intirely deſtroy'd, they will be immediately laid aſide, like uſeleſs Scaffolding, and the poor Poſt-Horſes would be diſcharged from the heavy Burden of diſtributing their Rubbiſh thro the Nation. I have often given them this candid Hint, and once more earneſtly beſeech them to conſider, who would be at the Expence of *buying their Works*, when ſo very few People will now vouchſafe them a Reading, tho' they are ſent to them *gratis*.

The

The DIVERSIONS *of* DENBY's.* *A new* BALLAD.

YE friends to rural ſports,
Who love the fragrant air,
O! leave the foggy town,
And quick to me repair.
Then to Denby's *we will go, will go, will go; then to* Denby's *we will go.*
Aſſur'd, at our arrival,
An *Engliſh* heart to find;
A face, like plenty ſmiling;
An ever-chearful mind.
And to Denby's, &c.
View the proſpect round,
As up the hill we ride;
The hill, which o'er the vallies,
Looks down with noble pride.
And to Denby's, &c.
Sweetly intermingled
The leſs'ning objects lie:
There *Windſor*'s towers; the ocean there;
There *Paul*'s proud dome we ſpy.
And to Denby's, &c.
Hail wondrous landſkip,
Thus ever-varying round!
Britannia, in thy empire,
Where can the like be found?
And to Denby's, &c.
Lo! the blooming ſpot,
Where art has nature foil'd.
O friend! what but thy ſpirit
Cou'd thus improve the wild!
And to Denby's, &c.
How charming, here to wander,
E'er *Phœbus* ſips the dews!
Or, ſmil'd upon by *Cynthia*,
To court the wood-land muſe!
And to Denby's, &c.
Here, various poultry;
There lowing kine delight;
With ev'ry beauty of the farm,
That can the eye invite.
And to Denby's, &c.
Adjoining to theſe,
See the ſalon aſpire;
Where *Hayman* and *Roubillac*
Their works with life inſpire.
And to Denby's, &c.
Wit and good humour,
Here juſtly temper'd meet:
The muſe, loves, and graces,
Inhabit this retreat.
And to Denby's, &c.
All in ſplendid order
The diſhes now advance:
Theſe gone, quadrille's the word;
And, next, a ſprightly dance.
And to Denby's, &c.
A fig, for your aſſemblies:
O what ſhall we compare
To the bright band of relatives,
Who form the circle here!
And to Denby's, &c.
For leſs modiſh ſports
We to the hall retire;
There crack new jokes; old ſtories tell,
Around the greenwood fire.
And to Denby's, &c.
Thrice bliſsful manſion,
Where clocks are uſeleſs found;
Where time's diſtinguiſh'd only
By pleaſure's circling round!
And to Denby's, &c.
Thy caſcades, ſweet *Loneſome!* †
And ‡ *Woolton*'s we ſurvey,
When to *Leith-Hills* (amazing ſcene!)
We ſhape our winding way.
And to Denby's, &c.
Now, faſt-hook'd, the carp
Lies, toſſing in the lake.
Now, flutt'ring, drops the pheaſant,
Shot, riſing from the brake.
And to Denby's, &c.
Hark! the cocks are crowing;
The planets diſappear:
The hounds are all abroad;
And *Ringwood* charms the ear.
And to Denby's, &c.
See! in ſylvan ſtate
The train ſpreads o'er the lawn;
Whilſt our early muſic
Awakes the drowzy dawn.
And to Denby's, &c.
Thro' the pathleſs thicket,
The huntſman burſts away:
Not fences, ditches, gates, or floods,
Can keep him from the prey.
And to Denby's, &c.
Swift from his covert
The fox in terror flies:
Briſk we purſue o'er hills and dales;
Purſue with joyful cries.
And to Denby's, &c.
Fir'd by the rival voice
Of men, and horns, and hounds,
We ſeem to fly along the gale,
So ſwift each courſer bounds.
And to Denby's, &c.
Lo! the fox lies gaſping;
The huntſman founds his fate:
Then with our trophies home we march,
And our great feats relate.
And to Denby's, &c.
Cheer'd by thee, gay *Bacchus*,
Our joys we ſoon refine:
Then, grateful, in return pour forth
Libations at thy ſhrine.
And to Denby's, &c.

* *A Houſe ſtanding on a very high Hill of that Name, oppoſite to* Box-Hill, *in* Surrey. † *Mr.* Jacobſon's *rural Retirement; a Beauty in it's Kind; and, like* Horace's Pyrrha, *Simplex munditiis.*
‡ *The delightful Seat of Sir* John Evelyn.

By the fire, the huntſman
Improves the jocund tale,
With hounds flung out, and horſes ſtak'd,
As round he hands the ale.
And to Denby's, &c.
To paint the various pleaſures
Which in this ſeat abound,
Tho' a ream were ſcribbled full,
'Twould ſcarce give half the round.
And to Denby's, &c.

Since we promis'd the following Poem, we have been favour'd with a more perfect and correct Copy, which we now give our Readers.

Feſtum Luſtrale, ſive Baptizatio Ruſtica.

SOLENNES ritus, puerumque aſpergine lymphæ
Sacratum ſuperis, obſtetricemque facetam,
Hic canere incipimus: Faveat Lucina canenti,
Tuque harum adjutrix curarum & conſcia Juno!
Jam decima humentes aurora fugaverat umbras,
Ex quo maternis infans vagîſſet in ulnis:
Nec mora, vicini coeunt; jam dedita ventri
Pars puerum ſacrâ properant conſpergere lymphâ.
Interea pendent opera interrupta, ligoque
Stat medio defixus agro, ſpinoſaque ſepes
Semiputata manus agreſtes poſcit; at ille
Jam parat, ut ſociis cultus conviva colonis
Interſit; juvat hunc diſponere in ordine crines;
Compoſitum conjux aptat collare marito.
Nec minus ipſa ſibi curat ſua ſponſa, tumentes
Conſtringit vinclis coſtas, fingitque premendo;
Quamque ſuis nevit manibus, circumdata lanâ
eſt. [num
Componit veſtes, tremulumque in vertice co-
Erigit, & farris conſpergit pulvere crines.
Pars pedes ire parat campis; parſque ardua tardis
Fertur equis; unâque armati calce fatigant
Quadrupedes; lumbos onerat pinguiſſima conjux:
Poſt equitem cura alma ſedens, ſimiliſq; cadenti,
Sæpe premit tutum tremebunda ad pectora ſponſum:
Ille ſibi pondus commiſſum reddere terræ
Gaudet, & optatas tandem contingere portas.
Jam ſubeunt thalamum, ſociaſque puerpera matres
Excipit; illa humeros albo velamine cincta eſt,
Et ſedet in molli plumis ſuffulta ſedili.
Matronæ ſpectant puerum; juvat ora tueri,
Et verſare manu, naſumque agnoſcere patris,
Majorumque genas, & blandos matris ocellos.
Tunc avia has rumpit placido de pectore voces:
Tu patrem memini puerum, ſic ora ferebat,
Et ſic ridebat teneris nutricis in ulnis.
Altera ſpes aviæ ſurgas, meliora parente
Arva colas, mediâque olim luctator arenâ
Advertas juvenes; tum parto indute galero
Ibis ovans, tacitoſque accendes Phyllidis ignes.
Et ſi larga meis flaveſcat meſſis in arvis,
Noſtraque longævo placeat ſententia ſponſo,
Tu nunquam attrito proſcindas arva ligone,
Nec ſubigas tauros; ſed grandior aldermanque
Urbani incedes tardus poſt pondera ſceptri.
Laudant propoſitum matres, & provida Mopſa
Deſtinat æquævæ jam nunc connubia natæ.
Tandem procedunt matres, quas inter euntes
Infantem manibus geſtat Lucina tenellum,
Quem circumfuſo nutrix ornaverat oſtro,
Demiſſâque ſtolâ pedibus, quâ Battus & omnes
A Batto ſoliti natos decorare recentes. [fontem
Tum ſubeunt templum, ſacrumque ex ordine
Supplicibus cingunt genibus, gelidamque ſacerdos
Spargit aquam, puero nomenque imponit avitum.
Flet puer, & vetulæ gaudentes omine fauſto
Non dubitant longam ex fletu prædicere vitam.
At domus interea luxu decoratur agreſti:
Diſponunt famuli lances, luteaſque patellas,
Ornamenta abaci veteris, qui mole ſuâ ſtat
Ligno compoſitus ſculpto. Tum lintea menſæ,
Lintea ficulnis imponunt candida quadris.
Pendula detergunt, quæ fixit aranea, fila;
Bibliaque à nitidis toilunt antiqua feneſtris,
Durſeique modos, quos roſerat eſuriens mus.
Idem ardor ſervos ſtimulat, queîs cura culinæ,
Accendunt ignem, verubuſque affigere longis
Terga bovis properant, manibuſque calentia verſant.
Parte aliâ tepidum fumos emittit ahenum.
O genti alituum lux exitioſa! Columba
Amiſſos queritur tectorum in culmine fœtus;
Solaque neglectos errat gallina per hortos.
Illi cura penum ſtruere, & ſpectabile pruno
Hæc miſcet fartum; farriſq; hæc mœnia condit.
Illâ parte puer cultros in limine primo
Exacuit, multa abſtitit ſcintilla metallo.
Fervet opus, ſuavi redolet nidore culina. [nis
Hæc inter famuli variè properantur, & om-
Jam redit a templo conviva, epuliſque paratis
Accumbit tacitus; primâque in ſede locatur
Obſtetrix, craſſoque gemit ſub pondere ſella,
Plena ipſâ; tunc illa bovis fumantia terga
Deſecat in partes varias, menſamque per omnem
Mittit, & agreſtes dapibus lætantur opimis,
Vinaque de pleno ducunt pomacea cornu
Ridentes, & ſæpe calix redit actus in orbem
Exhilarans animos, & corda oblita laborum.
Jam, Lucina, tui gliſcunt incendia naſi,
Et linguâ inceſſis tardos mordace maritos,
Ultra annos vultumque gerens, animumque facetum; [aulâ
O pecus ignavum, ſponſi, queîs nullus in
Ludit filiolus, nec dulcis filia, patrem
Quæ recreet placidis redeuntem veſpere nugis,
Miſtaque colloquiis puerilibus oſcula jungat.
Vos multi pueri, multæ ſprevere puellæ,
Dum luget vacuos prudens matrona penates.
O utinam ſegnes premeret lex æqua maritos!
Floreat ille pater, qui natis computat annos.
Finierat; calicemque avenți gutture plenum
Siccat, & hoc hauſto nondum ſatiata recedit.
Interiore domo matreſque oblectat hiantes,
Secreta obſcuris pandens myſteria verbis,
Et ſteriles damnans campos: procul ite puellæ,

Fas nulli innuptæ Lucinæ audire labores.
Non pudet opprobriis ſponſos illudere, culpas
Vicinæ arcanas alio ſub nomine celat,
Fœmineamque jubet præſtare ſilentia turbam.
Exuit interea veſtes, cuniſque reponit
Infantem nutrix. En parvum machina lectum
Continet objectu laterum; mirabere coſtas
Vimine candenti textas, & penſile tegmen
Obductum capiti, lædat ne pulvis ocellos,
Subjectoſque pedes, queîs machina mobilis unâ
Itque reditque viâ, ſomnumque invitat eundo.
Flet puer interea, cantat blandiſſima nutrix,
Atque imperfectis lallat cunale loquelis.
Nec potis eſt molli fletum compeſcere cantu,
Quin puerum è cunis tollat, mammaſque miniſtret,
Suppeditetque cibum, proprio quem verſat in ore
Ipſa prius, guſtuque alieno paſcitur infans.
Haud aliter fruges diſperſas colligit arvis
Ales, & ore refert pullis crepitantibus, illi
Eſcam avidè captant, & hianti gutture condunt.
At juvenes, puero dederant qui nomina, libant
Oſcula virginibus repetita; eſt flamma medullas
Mollis, & innocuos læti meditantur amores.
Agricolæ multâ traherent convivia nocte,
Ni jam ſuaderent fulgentia ſidera ſomnos.
Surgunt convivæ; Corydon tamen ipſe moratur,
Continuatque ſcyphos; ſedet, æternumque ſedebit,
Ni moveat ſolitas conjux fidiſſima lites.
Diſcedunt hilares; baculo hic veſtigia firmat,
Conjugis implicitam tenet ille uxorius ulnam.
Tum pater exultans dictis compellat euntes;
Ite, valete omnes! tandem redeunte Decembri,
(Ni fallar) pulchram pariet mea Lydia natam,
Voſque reverſuro feſtum renovabitis anno.
Rident matronæ, votiſque his omnia firmant,
Stet domus, & ſimili frondeſcat prole quotannis.

To D—n S—T, *on his* BALLY-SPELLING. *(See p. 500)*

ONE day I ſat in harmleſs chat,
When *Celia* at her ſelling,
Aſk'd, if I'd ſeen the *Magazine*
In praiſe of *Bally-Spelling*.

But think you, Sir, with all this ſtir,
Verſe you're a non-pareil in?
There are ſome few, as well as you,
Can write on *Bally-Spelling*.

Without a joke, incroaching folk
For inch will take an ell in;
So you'd have praiſe for trifling lays,
On ſprings at *Bally-Spelling*.

I'm ſure 'tis plain, you've rack'd your brain,
For words the letter *L* in;
Some you have got, and others not,
That ſound like *Bally-Spelling*.

In former days you won the bays,
Your muſe each muſe excelling;
When *Molly Mog* ſet you a-gog,
As now has *Bally-Spelling*.

But ſince grown old, and deaf, I'm told,
I heard it at the *Bell-Inn*;
No wonder that you've fail'd in what
Is rhyme to *Bally-Spelling*.

We all agree, with ſhips twice three
Vernon our foes repelling,
Took *Porto-Belle*; brave news to tell
The nymphs at *Bally-Spelling*.

With joy and mirth, to *Vernon*'s birth,
All grief and care diſpelling,
Fill ev'ry glaſs; and let it paſs
Quite round, at *Bally-Spelling*.

Who does not think his health to drink,
I wiſh he were a well in,
As low and deep, as rocks are ſteep,
Or thoſe at *Bally-Spelling*.

For folk like theſe, beſure 'twou'd pleaſe
The clerk to toll the bell in;
And none would dare to drop a tear,
For ſuch at *Bally-Spelling*.

Where is the bard wou'd ſtrive ſo hard
To bring his ſtanza's well in?
For at the beſt, 'tis a mere jeſt
To think of *Bally-Spelling*.

Our *Dog and Duck* has better luck
In maladies expelling,
Stone, itch or gout; and, paſt all doubt,
Cures more than *Bally-Spelling*.

In height of ſpring when linnets ſing,
And peaſe and beans are ſhelling;
The water here, is far more clear
Than yours, at *Bally-Spelling*.

If ſpleen infeſt a damſel's breaſt,
I'm told by doctor *Pelling*,
If ſhe comes here, and quits her beer,
She needs no *Bally-Spelling*.

Then ceaſe your ſtrain, your wit is vain;
Your judgment's not compelling
Enough to make the *Engliſh* take
A trip to *Bally-Spelling*.

H.

On Admiral VERNON's BIRTH-D
An irregular ODE.

Hic dies vere mihi feſtus atras
Eximet curas: Ego nec tumultum
Nec mori per vim metuam, tenente
Cæſare t

I.

PROPITIOUS be this happy m
May every bleſſing crown the d
Bright ſun, ariſe, inſpire our joys,
And bleſs us with thy kindeſt ray.
Be the day conſign'd to fame,
Deareſt to the *Britiſh* name,
That gave great *Vernon* light;
Generous *Britons*, join in praiſe,
It's *Vernon*'s acts commands your lays,
That ſhine profuſely bright.

2.

ure her ſwifteſt cycles run,
bring the bliſsful minute on;
ven tranſported, with a ſmile,
'd, now, I've bleſs'd the *Britiſh* iſle.

3.

old, his thunders roll,
beria trembling at the ſound;
rrors and death eclipſe each ſoul,
And ſpread confuſion round.

4.

e *Britiſh* lion foams with ire,
d pours forth deluges of fire,
Along the *Indian* ſhoar;
embling nature ſtarts with fear,
ads the laſt conflagration's near,
ſhock'd by his dreadful roar.

5.

untains of batteries ſtrive in vain,
all the legions of proud *Spain*
Can ſtop the boundleſs flame;
ture herſelf ſubmits to fate,
en heaven, and *Britain*, give the date,
And *Vernon* joins the ſame.
s his the cauſe of heaven to fight,
d give an injur'd nation right,
make th' inſulting *Spaniard* know,
rge is heav'n's vice-roy below.

W. E——N.

On a LADY *who f–rted at Church.*

HIDDEN beneath the lily fair,
Oft dangerous ſnakes we ſee:
trees that ſweeteſt gooſberries bear,
Ten thouſand prickles be.
o' choiceſt honey in her lips,
The ſweet-mouth'd bee may bring;
in her tail this cunning gyps
Conceals a pois'nous ſting.
us beautify'd with every grace,
With ev'ry winning art,
e with ſweet alluring face
Commands each gazer's heart.
ilſt thus ſhe ſeem'd ſo very fair,
Moſt admirably neat,
h ſhining face and powder'd hair
o every way compleat;
ed in church, quite gayly dreſs'd,
With ev'ry air ſo ſmart,
! poor girl, too tightly lac'd,
Poor *Chloe* let a f–rt.
From the brighteſt ſky does *Jove*
The loudeſt thunder ſend;
d mermaids, beautiful above,
n hideous fiſhes end *.

K. H.

The DUCK *and the* BULRUSH.

fame ſays true, there was a time
When each inanimate could rhyme;
imes like thoſe a *bulruſh* ſtood,
re tall than wiſe, more plump than good;
Laviſh in his own commendations,
Deſpis'd his friends and his relations;
No titl'd fop of twenty-three
Cou'd be more pert, or dull than he.
Sure (ſaid the vaunter) foreſt trees
Beneath me are, by ten degrees;
The *aſh* and *poplar* boaſt they're ſtrong,
A ſtorm can lay them all along;
The *oak* may boaſt his might in vain,
I've ſeen him tumbl'd on the plain.
I ſtand the ſhock of wind and weather,
Whence I may reaſonably gather,
That I am firſt, and beſt of all,
Who never yet was known to fall.
A *duck*, by chance, was waddling by,
And made this ſhort but juſt reply:
Ignoble plant, vain coxcomb, ceaſe,
Hear reaſon once, and hold thy peace.
Know that when lawleſs ſtorms ariſe;
The noble *oak*, in patriot guiſe,
Reſiſts the tempeſts of the ſky,
Reſolv'd to ſtem its rage, or die.
The *aſh* and *poplar*, heroes like,
May chance to fall, but ſcorn to ſtri
Did they, like thee, fawn, cringe, ſtake;
They might ſtand ſafe as thou doſt and bow,
ow.

MORAL.

Thus many a placeman boaſts his me
Imputes his wealth to wit and ſpirit,
Who like my friend the *bulruſh* ſtands,
With heart corrupt, and dirty hands.

An Italian, *ſtruck with the Charms of ſome* Engliſh *Ladies who were walking in the* Mall, *aſks the Catholic Church, (who is here imagin'd as a Perſon) whether it were true that thoſe beautiful Ladies ſhou'd be damn'd, and the homely* Roman *ones be ſav'd?*

GREAT queen, who ſit'ſt on *Peter*'s throne, conceal'd;
Whoſe power extends o'er heav'n, o'er earth and ſea;
Say, is it true, what late a friar reveal'd,
Concerning a divine, but harſh decree?
Say, muſt the *Britiſh* fair be doom'd to woe,
The fair, who beauteous here, as angels ſeem;
And *Rome*'s coarſe dames, whoſe face the *fury* ſhow,
When hence tranſlated, riſe to bliſs ſupreme?
'Tis ſo, (cries ſhe;) th' eternal volume read,
Thou'lt find ſalvation, there, alone decreed,
To thoſe o'er whom juſt ſway, to me, is giv'n,
If that's the caſe (ſaid I) a truth I'll tell:
Heav'n, thus diſfigur'd, will become as hell;
And hell, imbelliſh'd thus, be chang'd to heaven.

The Original of this Sonnet (written by an eminent *Italian* Poet now in *London*) is as follows.

* *Definit in Piſcem Mulier formoſa ſuperne.* *Horace*'s Art of Poetry.

SONETTO.

SACRA regina, che ſul tron di piero
Regni, ed in cielo, e in terra ai poteſtate,
Dimmi s' è ver quel che a me diſſe un frate,
Sopra un divin giudizio aſpro e ſevero.

Dimmi dunque, ſovrana, s' è mai vero,
Che queſte belle Ingleſe ſien dannate,
Che ſon 'angeli in terra? e ſian beate
Le brutte furie del Romano impero?

Così ſarà, dic' ella; il libro eterno
Da te ſi legga, e vi vedrai deciſo,
Che al ciel ſol quelle andran, che quì governo.

Or. s' è così, riſpond' egli, io t' avviſo,
Che 'l paradiſo diverrà un 'inferno,
E che ſarà l' inferno un paradiſo.

Anſwer to the ÆNIGMA *in the* Magazine *for* September 1740. (P. 454.)

By a young LADY *of* Eighteen.

WHEN firſt bright *Phœbus* did his beams display,
To lighten chaos with *the firſt-born day*;
And when his darting rays of heavenly light
Expell'd the darkneſs of *eternal night*;
When thus our globe from gloomy miſts was clear'd,
And gladſom warmth the new creation chear'd,
'Twas then the SHADES of all things firſt appear'd.
In various ſhapes deſcending down to earth,
From the bright *ſun* the SHADOW takes its birth:
Oft in a monarch's form 'tis ſeen to tread,
Or like an humble ſuppliant kneel for bread.
All ſhapes the breathleſs roving SHADOW wears,
Sometimes like men, ſometimes like beaſts appears.
But when great *Sol* around the heavens has run,
And night's black curtain hides the ſetting ſun,
SHADOWS then diſappear; but riſe again,
When pale-fac'd *Cynthia*, with her ſtarry train,
In languid light begins her nightly reign.
Oft, when the wretch, on horrid murder bent,
At midnight roams to hide his black intent,
His SHADOW does his guilty ſoul affright,
Which like a phantom haunts his troubled ſight.
A breathleſs form, yet *every thing together*,
And always diſappears *in cloudy weather*.

North Wales,
Oct. 24, 1740. AMANDA.

ANOTHER.

DEEPLY engag'd the wits muſt be
To find your riddle out,
When e'en it is diſclos'd by me,
The meaneſt of the rout.
In ev'ry ſhape, in ev'ry place
This wonder is you ſing:
It cannot be a plainer caſe,
A SHADOW is the thing.

Birmingham,
Oct. 22, 1740. THELAMONT.

To a FRIEND, *that noble Actions are the moſt laſting Monument.*

WHEN winter clothes the hills with ſnow,
And glazes ev'ry field,
The trees with icy branches bend,
And a bleak proſpect yield.
Yet ſpring returns, and warmer ſuns
Paint ev'ry vale with flow'rs,
While bloſſom'd trees in vernal pride
Smell ſweet with gentle ſhow'rs.
But when, my friend, all-changing time
Has ſilver'd o'er your head,
No more will graceful waving locks
Agen your ſhoulders ſpread;
No more your eyes dart lucid flame,
Or ſprightly blood diſcloſe,
While thro' the blooming cheek it glows,
The colour of the roſe.
So heav'n ordains, the fatal hour,
Tho' ſlow, will come at laſt,
That muſt unſtring the vig'rous arm,
And youthful beauty blaſt.
But yet by merit you may raiſe
A monument of fame,
And to poſterity tranſmit
The glory of your name.
So *Vernon* ſhall diſtinguiſh'd ſhine
In fame's reſplendent ſphere,
His actions warm each *Britiſh* heart,
And name tranſport each ear:
While future ages will relate
His conqueſts on the main,
Who *Porto Bello* took, and ſtruck
A terrour into *Spain*.
May not the county juſtly boaſt
That ſuch a hero gave,
As long as hatred ſhall purſue
The coward, or the knave?

PHOEBE *ſinging.*

SAY, gentle breeze, what muſick breaks the air,
What ſong thus charms, thus raviſhes my ear?
Why ſprings my heart with an unuſual bound,
Loſt in the pleaſing extaſy of ſound?
Diffuſive tranſports all my boſom fire;
I pant, I glow, I tremble and admire.
Does ſome ſweet *Sappho* touch the quiv'ring ſtrings?
Some *Syren* charm? Or is it *Phœbe* ſings?
'Tis *Phœbe* ſings: Ye circling woodbines bend,
Ye linnets liſten, and ye larks attend:
Attend and liſten; from the charming fair
Learn ev'ry note, and practiſe ev'ry air:
Such charms, ſuch notes, ſo lovely and ſo clear,
I'd live to rev'rence, and I'd die to hear.

TITYRUS.

The Latin *Verſion of* Milton's Hymn *to* Light, *the Fable of the Mice, and the Verſion of Mr.* Gunn, *ſhall be inſerted in our next.*

THE

Monthly Chronologer.

SATURDAY, *Nov.* 1.

THIS Night was a moſt dreadful Hurricane, which continu'd from between 5 and 6 a Clock to 10 or 11, and did a great deal of Miſchief, as well on the River, as in and near *London*. At Six, a Stack of Chimnies belonging to the Rev. Mr. *Dormer*, who kept a Boarding-School at *Kenſington*, fell down upon the Houſe, and by their great Weight made their Way quite into the Cellar: Mr. *Dormer* was in the Room next under the Garret, and a Son of Sir *Richard Mill*, Bart. with him; Mrs. *Dormer* was in the Room under them, and another Son of Sir *Richard*'s with her, being juſt come down from his Brother, and they were all cover'd with the Ruins: Mr. *Dormer* and his Wife were both kill'd, but the two young Gentlemen were taken out alive, but very much bruis'd. The reſt of the Boarders were happily at another Part of the Houſe. About Eight, one of the Spires of *Weſtminſter-Abbey* was blown down: As was alſo great Part of *Hyde-Park* Wall, between *Kenſington* and *Hyde-Park Corner*. About Ten, Part of the Houſe of Mr. *Prince*, of *Hollis-Street*, *Cavendiſh-Square*, was blown down, and the Maſter and Servants eſcap'd with the utmoſt Hazard of their Lives. At the Coach and Horſes Alehouſe in *Brook-ſtreet*, *Groſvenor-ſquare*, a Stack of Chimnies fell into a Room were 7 Men were drinking, and kill'd one *Thomas Gaull* on the Spot, and bruis'd ſome of the reſt. At the *Royal Exchange* a Brick Chimney was in a very ſurprizing Manner parted, and turn'd almoſt round, where it hung by an Iron Hold-Faſt till Sunday in the Afternoon, when ſome Workmen were employ'd to take it down. In the *Blue-Coat-Hoſpital* two Stacks of Chimnies fell on the Roof of one of the Wards, broke thro', and alarm'd them very much, but did no other Damage. A great many other Chimnies were blown down, the Tiling ſtript off the Houſes in moſt Places; and in ſhort a greater Deſolation has not been known for many Years.—But the Damage on the Water was much more conſiderable: For we had moſt melancholy Accounts from *Lynn*, *Yarmouth*, and ſeveral other Places, that many Ships and Veſſels were loſt, and others very much damag'd; that ſome were without Maſts, ſome without Anchors, and ſome without Men, and ſeveral dead Bodies were drove aſhore. A Paſſage-Boat going from *Sheerneſs* to *Chatham* was loſt, and 17 or 18 People drown'd. Capt. *John Peddie*, who lately made a brave Defence againſt a *Spaniſh* Privateer, unfortunately loſt his Ship, the *Prince of Orange*, in the *Mergate Road*; of which, among the reſt, he gave the following Particulars:—"At 10 we drove aſhore on a Ledge of Rocks call'd the *Naylins*, where we lay till 12 Sunday Noon, when Merchant *Brooks* got two Boats carted from to Windward of the Wreck. The Ship had not been Half an Hour on Shore, before the Stern, Cabbin, and Round-houſe, broke in pieces. We then got to the Fore-Caſtle, and by Morning all was gone abaft the Windlaſs. Thus 23 of us continued, the Sea making a free Paſſage over us 14 Hours. Five periſh'd with Cold before got off, and I could not have ſurviv'd an Hour longer. I loſt the Uſe of my Limbs, and write this in Bed, where by having hot Cloths apply'd to me, I am much recover'd. I have not ſav'd any Thing. The Height of the Gale was at *North*, and the People here ſay they never knew ſo violent a Gale."—Amidſt the Damages ſuſtain'd by the Violence of this Storm, 'twas a Conſolation to hear, that the Fleet under Sir *Chaloner Ogle* in great Meaſure eſcap'd its Fury; and that very little of it was felt to the *Weſtward*, our Letters from *Plymouth*, *Dartmouth*, *Falmouth*, &c. making no Mention of any Loſſes ſuſtain'd thereby.

At a General Meeting of the Corporation of the Governors and Guardians of the Hoſpital for the Maintenance and Education of expoſed and deſerted young Children, ſummon'd by Order of his Grace the Duke of *Bedford*, the Preſident, to be held on ſpecial Affairs, it was Reſolved, That the general Committee be impower'd to purchaſe of the Earl of *Saliſbury*, his two paſture Fields, containing about 34 Acres of Land, on the *North* Side of *Ormond-ſtreet*, between *Lamb's-Conduit* and *Southampton-Row*, for a Scite to build an Hoſpital upon: And that the ſaid Committee be impower'd to do all Things neceſſary for building an Hoſpital, as ſoon as the Land ſhall be purchaſed.

TUESDAY, 11.

A Court of Common-Council was held at *Guildhall*, when a Motion was made, and the Queſtion put, *That the Court of Aldermen have the Power of putting a Negative upon the Framing of a Queſtion*, which paſs'd in the Negative; and the ſame paſs'd in the Negative in the Court of Aldermen, by a Majority

of 10 to 4. After which a Motion was made, *That the Court of Aldermen have* not *the Power of putting a Negative upon the Framing of a Queſtion*, which paſs'd in the Affirmative; and the ſame paſs'd in the Affirmative in the Court of Aldermen, by a Majority of 11 to 4.

WEDNESDAY, 12.

This being the brave Admiral *Vernon*'s Birth-day, it was diſtinguiſhed in a very extraordinary Manner, by Ringing of Bells, and publick Dining in many Places, *&c.* and in the Evening, the greateſt Rejoicings, Bonfires, and Illuminations in *London*, that has been known for many Years. Don *Blaſs* was burnt in many Places; and at *Chancery-Lane* End was a Pageant, where was depicted Admiral *Vernon*, and a *Spaniard* on his Knees, offering him his Sword; a View of *Porto-Bello*, and the Ships and warlike Implements; over the Admiral's Head was wrote, *Venit, vidit, vicit*; and under him, *Vernon ſemper viret*. The Day was celebrated alſo in moſt of the chief Places of the Kingdom, as alſo in *Ireland*; as was likewiſe the 1ſt Inſtant, in the Borough of *Southwark* and other Places; there being then ſome Uncertainty, whether that or the 12th was the Anniverſary of the Birth of that great Man. The 22d alſo, being the Day he took *Porto Bello*, was celebrated with great Rejoicings.

Came on at *Cooks-Hall* in *Alderſgate ſtreet*, the Election of an Alderman for *Alderſgate* Ward in the Room of *Richard Levett*, Eſq; deceaſed; when *William Benn*, Eſq; an eminent Soap-Boiler in *Biſhopſgate-ſtreet*, was unanimouſly choſen in his Room. It's greatly to the Honour of the preſent Lord Mayor, that he appointed the ſecond Day after the Deceaſe of Ald. *Levett*, for the Election, which gave no Opportunity for Bribery and Corruption.

SATURDAY, 15.

His Majeſty's Ship the *Roſe*, appointed Convoy to the Trade going to *Carolina*, and the *Bahama Iſlands*, being got down the Channel as far as the *Start Point*, her Commander, Capt. *Frankland*, perceiv'd a Boat (which appear'd like a *French* Fiſhing-Boat) in Company with a ſmall Sloop, and ſuſpecting her to be a *Spaniſh* Privateer with a Prize, he order'd the Ships under his Convoy to make the beſt of their Way to *Torbay*, and himſelf gave Chace to the Boat, and in three Hours and a half came up with her, and ſhe proving to be a *Spaniſh* Privateer, he took her: She is a Launch of about 20 Tons, rows with 14 Oars, and had 20 Men on board when taken: The Sloop, which was in her Company, prov'd to be a Prize which was taken by her, call'd the *Molly*, *John Weſtcomb* Maſter, from *Hamble* bound to *Fowey*.

TUESDAY, 18.

The Judges of his Majeſty's Court of King's Bench determined the great Cauſe (which began in the Year 1731) between *John Dormer*, Eſq; Plaintiff, and Sir *John Forteſcue Aland*, Knt. one of the Juſtices of his Majeſty's Court of *Common-Pleas*, his Lady, Mrs. *Katherine Dormer*, *John Parkhurſt*, Eſq; and his Wife, Defendants; the Court unanimouſly gave Judgment for the Plaintiff, by which Mr. *Dormer* becomes poſſeſſed of about 1500*l.* a Year, after an Expence of upwards of 9000*l.*

The King went to the Houſe of Peers, and the Commons being ſent for up, and attending, his Majeſty opened the Seſſion with the following moſt gracious Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Acquainted you, at the Cloſe of the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, that I was making Preparations for carrying on the juſt and neceſſary War in which I am engaged, in the moſt proper Places, and in the moſt vigorous and effectual Manner. For this Purpoſe, ſtrong Squadrons were got ready, and ordered to ſail upon important Services, both in the *Weſt-Indies* and *Europe*, with as much Expedition as the Nature of thoſe Services, and the manning of the Ships, would admit: A very conſiderable Body of Land Forces was embarked, which is to be joined by a great Number of my Subjects raiſed in *America*; and all Things neceſſary for tranſporting the Troops from hence, and carrying on the deſigned Expedition, were a long Time in Readineſs, and waited only for an Opportunity to purſue the intended Voyage.

The ſeveral Incidents which have happened in the mean time, have had no Effect upon me, but to confirm me in my Reſolutions, and to determine me to add Strength to my Armaments, rather than to divert or deter me from thoſe juſt and vigorous Meaſures which I am purſuing, for maintaining the Honour of my Crown, and the undoubted Rights of my People.

The Court of *Spain* having already felt ſome Effects of our Reſentment, began to be ſenſible, that they ſhould be no longer able, alone, to defend themſelves againſt the Efforts of the *Britiſh* Nation; and if any other Power, agreeably to ſome late extraordinary Proceedings, ſhould interpoſe, and attempt to preſcribe or limit the Operations of the War againſt my declared Enemies, the Honour and Intereſt of my Crown and Kingdoms muſt call upon us to loſe no Time in putting ourſelves into ſuch a Condition, as may enable us to repel any Inſults, and to fruſtrate any Deſigns formed againſt us, in Violation of the Faith of Treaties; and I hope any ſuch unprecedented Steps, under what Colour or Pretence ſoever they may be taken, will inſpire my Allies with a true Senſe of the common Danger, and will unite us in the Support and Defence of the common Cauſe.

The great and unhappy Event of the Death of the late Emperor, opens a new Scene in the Affairs in *Europe*, in which all the principal Powers

Powers may be immediately or conſequentially concerned. It is impoſſible to determine what turn the Policy, Intereſt, or Ambition of the ſeveral Courts may lead them to take in this critical Conjuncture. It ſhall be my Care ſtrictly to obſerve and attend to their Motions, and to adhere to the Engagements I am under, in order to the maintaining of the Balance of Power, and the Liberties of *Europe*; and in Concert with ſuch Powers as are under the ſame Obligations, or equally concerned to preſerve the publick Safety and Tranquillity, to act ſuch a Part as may beſt contribute to avert the imminent Dangers that may threaten them.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered Eſtimates to be prepared, and laid before you, for the Service of the enſuing Year. It is always with Regret that I aſk any extraordinary Aids of my People: But what I have already mentioned muſt be ſufficient to ſatisfy you, that ſome Augmentations will be neceſſary, not only for carrying on the preſent War with Vigour, but alſo to put ourſelves in a Condition of being prepared for ſuch Events as may ariſe in this new and uncertain State of *Europe*. I therefore depend on your experienced Zeal and Affection for me and my Government, your Concern for your own Safety, and the Support of the common Cauſe, to grant me ſuch effectual Supplies as may be requiſite for theſe great Ends.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Scarcity of Corn, which has happened in many Countries of *Europe*, has induced ſeveral Powers to make extraordinary Proviſions to obviate the ill Effects of that Misfortune; and though in many Parts of this Kingdom, the Harveſt has proved more favourable, yet common Prudence calls upon us to provide as far as may be againſt the Approach of ſuch a Calamity. Beſides, in our preſent Circumſtances, it would be an inexcuſable Neglect to ſuffer our Enemies to be ſupplied with any Kind of Proviſions from my Dominions, and that even at the Hazard of my own Subjects being diſtreſſed. Let me therefore earneſtly recommend it to you to conſider of ſome good Law to prevent this growing Miſchief.

The Difficulties which have been found in manning the Fleet by the uſual Methods hitherto practiſed, demonſtrate the Want of ſome Parliamentary Remedy: I muſt therefore preſs it upon you to loſe no Time in making ſuch Proviſions in this Reſpect, as, whilſt we are engaged in a War in Defence of the Commerce and Navigation of this Kingdom, may enable the Publick to avail itſelf of thoſe great Numbers of Seamen, which make ſo valuable a Branch of our Strength.

The Importance of theſe Conſiderations is ſo apparent, that I need uſe no Arguments to convince you of the Neceſſity of the utmoſt Unanimity and Diſpatch in your Proceedings.

Whitehall, Nov. 18. A Letter from Capt. *Mitchell*, Commander of his Majeſty's Ship the *Buckingham*, dated at *Spithead* the 16th Inſtant, gives the following Account: Sir *Chaloner Ogle* was on Friday the 31ſt of *October* 70 Leagues to the Weſtward of the *Start*, in Lat. 47, 54, having had a good Paſſage down the Channel with a Northerly Wind. That Night it came to the Weſtward, and blew hard, with a great Sea, but back'd again to the Northward in the Morning, at which Time we could plainly make the *Superb* to have loſt all her Maſts except her Bowſprit. It blew hard all that Day and the next Night; the Fleet lay to with their Heads to the Weſtward; our Ship labouring very much, hove away her Foretopmaſt, and on Sunday Morning we found the Mainmaſt to be ſprung, which we loſt ſoon after, at which Time the Admiral made Sail to the Weſtward. We loſt Sight of all the Fleet that Afternoon. After having conſider'd the Diſtance of our Rendezvous, and the Condition of the Ship, Capt. *Mitchell* thought it proper to return with her to *England*. From the Time we loſt Sight of the Fleet, we had the Wind to the 9th Inſtant between the North and Eaſt, and ſince between the North and Weſt; ſo that if the Fleet have had the ſame Winds, they muſt be got well to the Southward.

WEDNESDAY, 19.

The humble Addreſs of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, was this Day preſented to his Majeſty, and is as follows.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, beg Leave to return your Majeſty our humble Thanks for your moſt gracious Speech from the Throne.

The Reſolution which your Majeſty is pleaſed to expreſs, for carrying on this juſt and neceſſary War, in the moſt proper Places, and in the moſt vigorous and effectual Manner, is ſo agreeable to your Royal Wiſdom, as well as to the united Deſires of your People, that it fills our Hearts with the moſt grateful Sentiments. As the *Weſt-Indies* has been the Scene of the moſt outrageous Depredations and Violences, committed by the *Spaniards* upon your Majeſty's Subjects; we hope and truſt, that by the Bleſſing of God on your Majeſty's Councils and Arms, this Nation will, in thoſe Parts more eſpecially, obtain that juſt Satisfaction for paſt Injuries, and effectual Security for their Navigation and Commerce for the future, which have hitherto been refuſed, contrary to the Faith of the moſt ſolemn Treaties.

We muſt ever acknowledge it, amongſt the many Inſtances of your Majeſty's Firmneſs, and true Greatneſs of Mind, that you have not ſuffered any Incidents whatſoever, to

divert

of 10 to 4. After which a Motion was made, *That the Court of Aldermen have* not *the Power of putting a Negative upon the Framing of a Queſtion*, which paſs'd in the Affirmative; and the ſame paſs'd in the Affirmative in the Court of Aldermen, by a Majority of 11 to 4.

WEDNESDAY, 12.

This being the brave Admiral *Vernon*'s Birth-day, it was diſtinguiſhed in a very extraordinary Manner, by Ringing of Bells, and publick Dining in many Places, *&c.* and in the Evening, the greateſt Rejoicings, Bonfires, and Illuminations in *London*, that has been known for many Years. Don *Blaſs* was burnt in many Places; and at *Chancery-Lane* End was a Pageant, where was depicted Admiral *Vernon*, and a *Spaniard* on his Knees, offering him his Sword; a View of *Porto-Bello*, and the Ships and warlike Implements; over the Admiral's Head was wrote, *Venit, vidit, vicit*; and under him, *Vernon ſemper viret*. The Day was celebrated alſo in moſt of the chief Places of the Kingdom, as alſo in *Ireland*; as was likewiſe the 1ſt Inſtant, in the Borough of *Southwark* and other Places; there being then ſome Uncertainty, whether that or the 12th was the Anniverſary of the Birth of that great Man. The 22d alſo, being the Day he took *Porto Bello*, was celebrated with great Rejoicings.

Came on at *Cooks-Hall* in *Alderſgate ſtreet*, the Election of an Alderman for *Alderſgate* Ward in the Room of *Richard Levett*, Eſq; deceaſed; when *William Benn*, Eſq; an eminent Soap-Boiler in *Biſhopſgate-ſtreet*, was unanimouſly choſen in his Room. It's greatly to the Honour of the preſent Lord Mayor, that he appointed the ſecond Day after the Deceaſe of Ald. *Levett*, for the Election, which gave no Opportunity for Bribery and Corruption.

SATURDAY, 15.

His Majeſty's Ship the *Roſe*, appointed Convoy to the Trade going to *Carolina*, and the *Bahama Iſlands*, being got down the Channel as far as the *Start Point*, her Commander, Capt. *Frankland*, perceiv'd a Boat (which appear'd like a *French* Fiſhing-Boat) in Company with a ſmall Sloop, and ſuſpecting her to be a *Spaniſh* Privateer with a Prize, he order'd the Ships under his Convoy to make the beſt of their Way to *Torbay*, and himſelf gave Chace to the Boat, and in three Hours and a half came up with her, and ſhe proving to be a *Spaniſh* Privateer, he took her: She is a Launch of about 20 Tons, rows with 14 Oars, and had 20 Men on board when taken: The Sloop, which was in her Company, prov'd to be a Prize which was taken by her, call'd the *Molly*, *John Weſtcomb* Maſter, from *Hamble* bound to *Fowey*.

TUESDAY, 18.

The Judges of his Majeſty's Court of King's Bench determined the great Cauſe (which began in the Year 1731) between *John Dormer*, Eſq; Plaintiff, and Sir *John Forteſcue Aland*, Knt. one of the Juſtices of his Majeſty's Court of *Common-Pleas*, his Lady, Mrs. *Katherine Dormer*, *John Parkhurſt*, Eſq; and his Wife, Defendants; the Court unanimouſly gave Judgment for the Plaintiff, by which Mr. *Dormer* becomes poſſeſſed of about 1500*l*. a Year, after an Expence of upwards of 9000*l*.

The King went to the Houſe of Peers, and the Commons being ſent for up, and attending, his Majeſty opened the Seſſion with the following moſt gracious Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Acquainted you, at the Cloſe of the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, that I was making Preparations for carrying on the juſt and neceſſary War in which I am engaged, in the moſt proper Places, and in the moſt vigorous and effectual Manner. For this Purpoſe, ſtrong Squadrons were got ready, and ordered to ſail upon important Services, both in the *Weſt-Indies* and *Europe*, with as much Expedition as the Nature of thoſe Services, and the manning of the Ships, would admit: A very conſiderable Body of Land Forces was embarked, which is to be joined by a great Number of my Subjects raiſed in *America*; and all Things neceſſary for tranſporting the Troops from hence, and carrying on the deſigned Expedition, were a long Time in Readineſs, and waited only for an Opportunity to purſue the intended Voyage.

The ſeveral Incidents which have happened in the mean time, have had no Effect upon me, but to confirm me in my Reſolutions, and to determine me to add Strength to my Armaments, rather than to divert or deter me from thoſe juſt and vigorous Meaſures which I am purſuing, for maintaining the Honour of my Crown, and the undoubted Rights of my People.

The Court of *Spain* having already felt ſome Effects of our Reſentment, began to be ſenſible, that they ſhould be no longer able, alone, to defend themſelves againſt the Efforts of the *Britiſh* Nation; and if any other Power, agreeably to ſome late extraordinary Proceedings, ſhould interpoſe, and attempt to preſcribe or limit the Operations of the War againſt my declared Enemies, the Honour and Intereſt of my Crown and Kingdoms muſt call upon us to loſe no Time in putting ourſelves into ſuch a Condition, as may enable us to repel any Inſults, and to fruſtrate any Deſigns formed againſt us, in Violation of the Faith of Treaties; and I hope any ſuch unprecedented Steps, under what Colour or Pretence ſoever they may be taken, will inſure my Allies with a true Senſe of the common Danger, and will unite us in the Support and Defence of the common Cauſe.

The great and unhappy Event of the Death of the late Emperor, opens a new Scene in the Affairs in *Europe*, in which all the principal

Powers

Powers may be immediately or conſequentially concerned. It is impoſſible to determine what turn the Policy, Intereſt, or Ambition of the ſeveral Courts may lead them to take in this critical Conjuncture. It ſhall be my Care ſtrictly to obſerve and attend to their Motions, and to adhere to the Engagements I am under, in order to the maintaining of the Balance of Power, and the Liberties of *Europe*; and in Concert with ſuch Powers as are under the ſame Obligations, or equally concerned to preſerve the publick Safety and Tranquillity, to act ſuch a Part as may beſt contribute to avert the imminent Dangers that may threaten them.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have ordered Eſtimates to be prepared, and laid before you, for the Service of the enſuing Year. It is always with Regret that I aſk any extraordinary Aids of my People: But what I have already mentioned muſt be ſufficient to ſatisfy you, that ſome Augmentations will be neceſſary, not only for carrying on the preſent War with Vigour, but alſo to put ourſelves in a Condition of being prepared for ſuch Events as may ariſe in this new and uncertain State of *Europe*. I therefore depend on your experienced Zeal and Affection for me and my Government, your Concern for your own Safety, and the Support of the common Cauſe, to grant me ſuch effectual Supplies as may be requiſite for theſe great Ends.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The Scarcity of Corn, which has happened in many Countries of *Europe*, has induced ſeveral Powers to make extraordinary Proviſions to obviate the ill Effects of that Misfortune; and though in many Parts of this Kingdom, the Harveſt has proved more favourable, yet common Prudence calls upon us to provide as far as may be againſt the Approach of ſuch a Calamity. Beſides, in our preſent Circumſtances, it would be an inexcuſable Neglect to ſuffer our Enemies to be ſupplied with any Kind of Proviſions from my Dominions, and that even at the Hazard of my own Subjects being diſtreſſed. Let me therefore earneſtly recommend it to you to conſider of ſome good Law to prevent this growing Miſchief.

The Difficulties which have been found in manning the Fleet by the uſual Methods hitherto practiſed, demonſtrate the Want of ſome Parliamentary Remedy: I muſt therefore preſs it upon you to loſe no Time in making ſuch Proviſions in this Reſpect, as, whilſt we are engaged in a War in Defence of the Commerce and Navigation of this Kingdom, may enable the Publick to avail itſelf of thoſe great Numbers of Seamen, which make ſo valuable a Branch of our Strength.

The Importance of theſe Conſiderations is ſo apparent, that I need uſe no Arguments to convince you of the Neceſſity of the utmoſt Unanimity and Diſpatch in your Proceedings.

Whitehall, Nov. 18. A Letter from Capt. *Mitchell*, Commander of his Majeſty's Ship the *Buckingham*, dated at *Spithead* the 16th Inſtant, gives the following Account: Sir *Chaloner Ogle* was on Friday the 31ſt of *October* 70 Leagues to the Weſtward of the *Start*, in Lat. 47, 54, having had a good Paſſage down the Channel with a Northerly Wind. That Night it came to the Weſtward, and blew hard, with a great Sea, but back'd again to the Northward in the Morning, at which Time we could plainly make the *Superb* to have loſt all her Maſts except her Bowſprit. It blew hard all that Day and the next Night; the Fleet lay to with their Heads to the Weſtward; our Ship labouring very much, hove away her Foretopmaſt, and on Sunday Morning we found the Mainmaſt to be ſprung, which we loſt ſoon after, at which Time the Admiral made Sail to the Weſtward. We loſt Sight of all the Fleet that Afternoon. After having conſider'd the Diſtance of our Rendezvous, and the Condition of the Ship, Capt. *Mitchell* thought it proper to return with her to *England*. From the Time we loſt Sight of the Fleet, we had the Wind to the 9th Inſtant between the North and Eaſt, and ſince between the North and Weſt; ſo that if the Fleet have had the ſame Winds, they muſt be got well to the Southward.

WEDNESDAY, 19.

The humble Addreſs of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, was this Day preſented to his Majeſty, and is as follows.

Moſt gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled, beg Leave to return your Majeſty our humble Thanks for your moſt gracious Speech from the Throne.

The Reſolution which your Majeſty is pleaſed to expreſs, for carrying on this juſt and neceſſary War, in the moſt proper Places, and in the moſt vigorous and effectual Manner, is ſo agreeable to your Royal Wiſdom, as well as to the united Deſires of your People, that it fills our Hearts with the moſt grateful Sentiments. As the *Weſt-Indies* has been the Scene of the moſt outrageous Depredations and Violences, committed by the *Spaniards* upon your Majeſty's Subjects; we hope and truſt, that by the Bleſſing of God on your Majeſty's Councils and Arms, this Nation will, in thoſe Parts more eſpecially, obtain that juſt Satisfaction for paſt Injuries, and effectual Security for their Navigation and Commerce for the future, which have hitherto been refuſed, contrary to the Faith of the moſt ſolemn Treaties.

We muſt ever acknowledge it, amongſt the many Inſtances of your Majeſty's Firmneſs, and true Greatneſs of Mind, that you have not ſuffered any Incidents whatſoever, to

divert

divert or deter you from these Measures: And we doubt not but your Enemies will soon be convinced, that the Security of your Majesty's Government at home, must be strengthened in the Affections and Support of your People; whilst your Squadrons are sent to distant Parts of the World, as well for maintaining their undoubted Rights and Interests, as the Honour of your Imperial Crown.

Under this deep Sense of our Obligations to your Majesty, permit us to offer at your Royal Feet the strongest Assurances, that if any other Power should attempt to prescribe or limit the Operations of the War against your declared Enemies; such an extraordinary Proceeding would not fail to create in us the highest and most becoming Indignation, and to determine us to concur in all proper Measures, for vindicating and defending your Majesty's Dignity and Honour against any Insults, and for frustrating any Designs formed against us.

We are truly sensible, that the Death of the late Emperor is an Event, which calls for the vigilant Attention of all those who sincerely wish well to the common Safety and Tranquillity; and we beg Leave to assure your Majesty, that we will zealously stand by and support you, in adhering to the Engagements you are under, for maintaining the Balance and Liberties of *Europe* on that important Occasion, as well as in the vigorous Prosecution of the present War.

To repeat the unfeigned Professions, that we have so often made, of our unalterable Fidelity and Affection to your Majesty's sacred Person and Government, and our Zeal for the Continuance of the Protestant Succession in your Royal House, may seem unnecessary, when it is demonstrably our essential Interest, as well as our Duty, to persevere in these Principles. But we should be wanting to those warm Impressions, which we feel in ourselves, if we did not, in this Conjecture, declare to your Majesty, and the whole World, the fixed and unshaken Purpose of our Hearts, to defend and support this glorious Cause, at the Expence of our Blood and Treasure; and, at the same Time, express our sincere and ardent Wishes, that all your Enterprizes, for maintaining the Honour of your Majesty's Crown, and the Rights of your People, may be blessed with the most prosperous Success.

His MAJESTY's most gracious Answer.

My Lords,

I *Thank you for this most dutiful and affectionate Address. Nothing can be more agreeable to me, than the Zeal you express for the vigorous Prosecution of this just and necessary War, the Support of my Dignity and Honour, and the Preservation of the Balance and Liberties of* Europe; *all which I have entirely at Heart.*

This Day there was a great Meeting of the Liverymen of this City, at *Vintners-Hall*, to nominate four proper Persons for Candidates at the next General Election, of which Mr. Deputy *Nash* was chosen Chairman. Mr. *Chitty*, one of the Candidates at the last Election, proposed Sir *John Barnard* for one; upon which a Letter was produced by Mr. *Calvert*, directed to the Livery, returning them Thanks for the Honour they had done him, in returning him for three former Parliaments, and desiring they would excuse his serving them any longer than the present Session; notwithstanding which, the Question was insisted on, and seconded by Mr. *Glover*; and being put, was carry'd unanimously. After which, the following Aldermen were recommended, viz. the Right Hon. *Humphry Parsons*, Esq; Lord Mayor, *John Barber*, Esq; *Micajah Perry*, Esq; Sir *Robert Godschall*, *George Heathcote*, Esq; and *Daniel Lambert*, Esq; and being severally put up, a very great Majority of Hands appear'd for the Lord Mayor, Sir *Robert Godschall* and *George Heathcote*, Esq; who were accordingly declared, with Sir *John Barnard*, by the Chairman; and it was determined to support the Nomination of the said four Aldermen at the next Election. Of the other three Gentlemen who were recommended, *Daniel Lambert*, Esq; had a vast Majority.

THURSDAY, 20.

The Hon. House of Commons waited on his Majesty, with their Address of Thanks for his most gracious Speech from the Throne: To which his Majesty was pleased to return a most gracious Answer.

FRIDAY, 21.

Was held a Board of Admiralty, when their Lordships were pleased to appoint *Cornelius Mitchell*, late Captain of the *Buckingham*, who return'd back from Sir *Chaloner Ogle*'s Fleet on account of the Damage his Ship receiv'd in the late Storm, to be Captain of the *Argyle*, a third Rate, who is immediately order'd to sail out for the *West-Indies*.

MONDAY, 24.

Five of the condemn'd Malefactors were executed at *Tyburn*, viz. *William Dewell*, *Tho. Clack*, *William Meers*, *Margery Stanton*, and *Eleanor Mumpman*. *White* and *Hancock*, condemn'd in *September* Sessions, who were likewise to have suffered, were reprived for a Week: And *Edward Madder* and *Anne Howard*, condemn'd in *October* Sessions, were reprieved for Transportation.

Dewell, executed for the Rape and Murder committed with several others on a poor Woman in a Barn at *Acton*, was brought to *Surgeons-Hall*; but after he was stripp'd and laid on the Board, and one of the Servants was washing him, to be cut up, he perceiv'd Life in him, and found his Breath came quicker and quicker, on which a Surgeon bled him and took several Ounces of Blood from him, and in about two Hours he came so much to himself

'mſelf as to ſit up in a Chair, groan'd very much, and ſeem'd in great Agitation, but ould not ſpeak. He was kept at *Surgeons-Hall* ill 12 o'Clock at Night, the Sheriffs Officers who were ſent for on this extraordinary Occaſion) attending; he was then convey'd to *Newgate*, to remain there till he be prov'd to e the very identical Perſon ordered for Execution the 24th Inſtant; the next Day he as in good Health in *Newgate*, eat his Victuals heartily, and aſk'd for his Mother. Great Numbers of People reſort continually o ſee him.

At a Board of Admiralty, their Lordſhips ppointed Sir *William Hewet*, Bart. Captain of he *Colcheſter*, of 40 Guns; and the brave aptain *Peddie*, Captain of the *Baſiliſk* Bomb ketch, in his Room. The Preſents made to his Gentleman, ſince the Loſs of his Ship in he late Storm, and the Profits of the Play cted for his Benefit, are ſaid to amount to wards of 1000*l.*

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

ANTHONY *Marley*, Eſq; eldeſt Son to the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Baron *Marley* in *Ireland*, to Miſs *Uſher*.

Mr. *George Savage*, an eminent Linen-raper near *Smithfield Bars*, to Miſs *Forcer*, ly Daughter of Mr. *Forcer* of *Sadler's Wells*.

Mr. *Sayer*, an eminent Soap-Boiler, to rs. *Savage*, Relict of Mr. *Savage*, China-an, in *Ludgate-ſtreet*.

Sir *John Barker*, of *Sproughton* in *Suffolk*, rt. to Miſs *Alice Fytch*, of *Eltham* in *Kent*, aughter of Sir *Comport Fytch*, Bart. a ,000*l.* Fortune.

——— *Chowne*, Eſq; of *Suſſex*, to Miſs *ſon*, third Daughter of the late *George Til-*, Eſq; of *Petty-France*, *Weſtminſter*.

Dr. *Reeves*, one of the Phyſicians of St. *mas's Hoſpital*, to Miſs *Gilbert*.

Sir *Edward Manſell*, of *Trimſaran* in *Car-rthenſhire*, Bart. to Miſs *Bayly*.

Mr. *Thomas Bayly*, to Miſs *Langdon*, Niece Sir *Edward Manſell*.

Thomas Powys, Eſq; of *Lilford* in *Northamp-ſhire*, to Miſs *Henrietta Spence*, only Child of *mas Spence*, Eſq; late Serjeant to the Houſe Commons, a 30,000*l.* Fortune.

Mr. *Palmer*, an eminent *Weſt-India* Mer-nt in *Aldermanbury*, to Miſs *Tibbalds* of *rey-ſtreet*.

Sir *James Stanley*, of *Alderley* in *Cheſhire*, rt. to Miſs *Frances Butler*, a near Relation the late Duke of *Ormond*.

Counteſs of *Orrery* deliver'd of a Daughter.

Lady of the Lord *Windſor* and Viſc. *Mont-* of a Son.

DEATHS.

IR *George Cook*, Knt. at his Chambers in the *Temple*.—Rev. Mr. *Samuel Gan-*, Miniſter of St. *Peter* of *Mancroft* Pariſh *Norwich*.—Capt. *Hamilton*, at *Lawford* in *Scotland*, who was in the Battle of *Bothwell-Bridge*, and had the Misfortune to loſe one of his Legs.—*Michael Seeres*, Eſq; at his Seat at *Tring-Grove* in *Hertfordſhire*.—Mr. *Stokes*, one of the City Marſhals, who purchas'd that Place a few Months ſince for 1800*l.* two Thirds of which goes to the Lord Mayor.—Rev. Mr. *Leigh*, at *Nantwich* in *Cheſhire*, a young Gentleman of a worthy Family in that County, juſt return'd thither from his Studies at the Univerſity.—Mr. *Abraham Oſgood*, Deliverer of the Votes, Caſes in Parliament, *&c.* at the H. of Commons.—*Mark Anthony*, Eſq; at his Seat at *Shernbrook* in *Bedfordſhire*.—Lady *Anne Mackenzie*, Wife to the Lord *Murkle*, in *Scotland*.—Rt. Hon. the Counteſs of *Shelbourne*.—*John Aſhley*, Eſq; one of his Majeſty's Gentlemen-Uſhers.—Rt. Hon. Sir *John Comyns*, Knt. Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*.—*Iſaac Honywood*, Eſq; at his Houſe in *Hampſtead*, Father of Mr. *Honywood*, Banker in *Lombard-ſtreet*, who it's reckon'd gets above 40,000*l.* by his Death.—Rt. Hon. *James* Earl of *Caſtlehaven* in *Ireland*, and Baron *Audley* in *England*: He died at *Paris*, and is ſucceeded in Dignity and Eſtate by his eldeſt Son the Lord *Touchet*, now Earl of *Caſtlehaven*, &c.—*Richard Levett*, Eſq; Alderman of *Alderſgate-Ward*.—Sir *Andrew Aylmer*, Bart. in *Ireland*.—Mrs. *Agnes Dopping*, Aunt to the Rt. Hon. the Counteſs of *Orrery*.—Mrs. *Nevil*, a Widow Lady, nearly related to the Lord *Abergavenny*.—Miſs *Stapylton*, eldeſt Siſter of Sir *Miles Stapylton*, Bart. Knight of the Shire for the County of *York*.—Generyl *Pierce*, of the Iſland of *Barbadoes*. He died in *September* laſt.—*Charles Cæſar*, Eſq; at his Houſe at *Tottenham High-Croſs*.—*Charles Vanbrugh*, Eſq; at his Houſe on *Blackheath*. He was Brother of the late Sir *John Vanbrugh*, and one of the oldeſt Captains in the Navy; alſo Memb. of Parl. for *Plymouth*.—*Gregory Weſtcombe*, Eſq; one of the Gentlemen of his Majeſty's Hon. Band of Penſioners.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Manlove* choſen upper Miniſter of St. *Peter* of *Mancroft* Pariſh in *Norwich*, in the Room of Mr. *Canning*, deceas'd; and Dr. *Francis* choſen in the Room of Mr. *Manlove*.—Mr. *Barcham* inſtituted into the Living of *Earſham* in *Norfolk*, void by the Death of the foreſaid Mr. *Canning*.—His Majeſty's Conge d'Elire was iſſued to the Archdeacon and Chapter of *Landaff*, for chuſing Dr. *John Gilbert* Biſhop of that See, in the Room of Dr. *Mawſon*, tranſlated to *Chicheſter*.—Mr. *Negus* choſen Lecturer of St. *Michael Royal* on College-Hill.—Mr. *Tindal*, Tranſlator of *Rapin's* Hiſtory of *England*, collated by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to the Rectory of *Alverſtock* in *Hampſhire*, worth 400*l. per Ann.*—*Henry Rooke*, M. A. preſented to the Rectory of *Hadſtock* in *Eſſex*.—Mr. *Henry Thomſon*, to

the Vicarage of *Lunta-Magna* in *Lincolnſhire*. —Mr. *Griffith Orlton*, to the Vicarage of *Llanvihangel-Lanmelon*, alias *Nantmelan*, in *Radnorſhire*.—*Tho. Riding*, A. M. collated by the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* to the Rectory of *Wonſton* in *Hants*, worth between 4 and 500*l.* a Year.—Mr. *Ogle* of St. *Peter's Cambridge*, preſented by the Maſter and Fellows to the Rectory of *Norton* in *Suffolk*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil and Military.*

HON. ——— *Bertie*, Eſq; a near Relation of the Duke of *Ancaſter*, appointed one of the Gentlemen of his Majeſty's Privy Chamber.—*John Murray*, Eſq; made a Lieutenant in the Royal Reg. of Horſe-Guards, Blue.—*Richard* Lord *Onſlow*, made Lord Lieutenant, and Cuſtos Rotulorum of the County of *Surry*, in the Room of his Father, deceaſed.—*George Stone*, Eſq; made Receiver-General of the Revenue of the Poſt-Office, in the Room of *Denzil Onſlow*, Eſq;—The Worſhipful *Edward Simpſon*, L. L. D. Maſter of *Trinity-Hall*, choſen Vice-chancellor of *Cambridge*.—Rev. Dr. *Shaw*, Fellow of *Queen's College*, *Oxford*, elected Principal of *Edmund-Hall* in that Univerſity.—Mr. *Henry Allen*, a Wine-Cooper in St. *Martin's-Lane*, choſen Warden of *Dulwich College*. The Perſon in this Office muſt be of the Name of *Allen*, according to the Will of the Donor, and 8 Candidates of that Name now offer'd themſelves. —His Majeſty diſpoſed of the 3 vacant Regiments of Foot to the following Gentlemen, *viz.* the Hon. Colonel *Cholmondeley*, Hon. Colonel *Pawlet*, Hon. Colonel *Mordaunt*; and the late Colonel *Dolloway's* Regiment of Dragoons to Lord *James Cavendiſh*.—*Auguſtin Earle*, Eſq; made a Commiſſioner of Exciſe, in the Room of *Thomas Wylde*, Eſq; deceaſed.—Mr. Juſtice *Probyn* made Lord Chief Baron, in the Room of Lord Chief Baron *Comyns*, deceas'd.—Mr. Baron *Wright* made one of the Judges of the *King's-Bench*, in the Room of Mr. Juſtice *Probyn*.—Sir *Thomas Abney* made one of the Barons of the *Exchequer*, in the Room of Mr. Baron *Wright*. —*Robert Fenwick*, Eſq; Solicitor Gen. of the Duchy Court of *Lancaſter*, made Attorney Gen. at the ſaid Court, in the Room of Sir *Thomas Abney*.

New Members.

Sir *Boteler Chernock*, Bart. for the Town of *Bedford*.—*Denzil Onſlow*, Eſq; for *Guildford*. —*John Frederick*, Eſq; for *New Shoreham*.

PERSONS *declar'd Bankrupts.*

JOSEPH Jekyll, of St. *Andrew*, *Holborn*, Grocer.—*Edward Langford*, of the *Long-Walk*, near *Chriſt's-Hoſpital*, Mercer.—*John Wilſon*, of *Baldwin's-Gardens*, Brewer.—*Stephen John Whitaker*, late of the Pariſh of St. *Mary le Bon*, Brick-maker.—*Edward Cleypole*, late of *Eaſtendine*, in the County of *Rutland*, Dealer and Saleſman.—*Sarah King*, of *Reading*, in the County of *Berks*, Coffee-woman and Dealer in Wines.—*William Lockwood*, of *New Bartlett-ſtreet* in the Pariſh of St. *George*, *Hanover-ſquare*, Taylor.—*James Elliott*, of St. *James*, *Clerkenwell*, Saleſman and Dealer in Tobacco.—*Samuel Sandford*, late of *Kingſton upon Hull*, Tobacconiſt.—*Robert Alder*, of St. *James*, *Clerkenwell*, Brewer and Victualler.—*Tho. Batchelor*, of *Bath*, Brewer. —*Edward Billingſley*, late of *Leaden-hall-Street*, Merchant.—*John Burrows* the Elder, of *Biſſiter*, in *Oxfordſhire*, Mercer.—*Mary Kello*, of *Houndſditch*, Widow and Mercer.—*Thomas Hill*, now or late of *Abingdon*, *Berks*, Baker.—*Cornelius Connor*, of *Pall-Mall*, Vintner.—*Edmund Stephens*, now of *Birchin-lane*, Cutler.—*Cornelius Dowſe*, late of St. *Anne's Weſtminſter*, Linen-draper.—*Thomas Holloway*, of *Guildford*, Timber-Merchant.—*Benjamin Hunter*, of *Primroſe-ſtreet*, without *Biſhopſgate*, Carpenter.—*Matthew Allen*, late of *Piccadilly*, Farrier.—*George Brooke*, of *Norwich*, Worſted-weaver.—*Charles Salmon*, late of *Bull-Croſs*, in the Pariſh of *Enfield*, Brewer.—*Charles Harper*, of St. *Leonard Shoreditch*, Haberdaſher of Hats.—*Anne Haſbert*, of *Norwich*, Grocer.—*Thomas Milſom*, late of *Bath*, Innholder.—*Thomas Farr* of *Bromſgrove*, Chapman.—*Robert Shepherd*, late of St. *Martin's in the Fields*, Baker.—*John Titcomb*, of the Pariſh of *Hackney*, Brewer.—*Prior Green*, of *Cheapſide*, Brazier.

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Oct.* 21. to *Nov.* 25.

Chriſtned	Males	644	} 1253	
	Females	609		
Buried	Males	1123	} 2376	
	Females	1253		
Died under 2 Years old				818
Between	2	and 5		165
	5	10		122
	10	20		65
	20	30		188
	30	40		228
	40	50		258
	50	60		189
	60	70		140
	70	80		139
	80	90		50
	90	and upwards		8
				2376

Hay 66 to 72*s.* a Load.

ADVICES from *Spain* ſay, that Admiral *Haddock* had on the 11th of *September* appeared with *five* Ships of his Squadron off of the Port of *Carthagena*, and had fired many Diſcharges againſt the ſmall Fort upon the *Mackerel* Iſland; whereupon the Governor reinforced the Gariſon of that Fort, and the Commanding Officer in it very briſkly returned the *Engliſh* Fire; however, the *Engliſh* Admiral continued cannonading till Night, when he retired without meeting with any Succeſs, which occaſioned great Rejoicings at that Place. The ſame Advices ſay, that there have been great Rejoicings in *Spain*, upon raiſing the Siege of *St. Auguſtine* in *Florida*; and that his Catholick Majeſty has made the Governor of that Fort a Brigadier of his Armies, in Conſideration of his brave Defence. How theſe Projects were concerted, or how they failed of Succeſs, we cannot account for; but it would be much better to make no Attempt, than to revive and cheer the Spirit of the Enemy by fruitleſs Attacks.

Upon the Death of the Emperor of *Germany*, as mentioned in our laſt, his eldeſt Daughter, *Maria Thereſa Walpurge* (married to the Duke of *Lorain* and *Tuſcany*) was the ſame Day proclaimed Queen of *Hungary*, and *Bohemia*, Princeſs of *Tranſilvania*, Archdutcheſs of *Auſtria*, and univerſal Succeſſor to all the hereditary Dominions of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, in Purſuance of the *Pragmatick Sanction* made by the late Emperor, in the Year 1713, which was guarantyed by *Spain* in 1725, by *Great Britain*, and ſoon after by the *United Provinces* in 1731, by the Diet of the *Empire* in 1732, and by *France*, *Savoy*, and *Spain* a ſecond Time, in 1739. However, this Succeſſion is diſputed by the Elector of *Bavaria*, who founds his Pretenſion on the Will of *Ferdinand* I. who married his eldeſt Daughter to *Bavaria*, and by his Will, as the latter ſays, appointed, *that if ſhe ſhould be alive at the Time when the Succeſſion ſhould become open, ſhe ſhould ſucceed to the two Kingdoms of* Bohemia *and* Hungary, *&c. in caſe there ſhould be no* Male *Heirs left by any of the Emperor's three Brothers:* But in the original Will preſerved in the Archives at *Vienna*, this Clauſe happens to be very different; for the Condition, as therein expreſſed, is, *in caſe there ſhould be no* lawful *Heirs left by any of the three Brothers.* In the mean time *France* has declared, that ſhe will inviolably keep her Engagements with regard to the *Pragmatick Sanction*; and *Saxony*, *Pruſſia*, and *Hanover*, have declared, they will ſupport it not only with their Intereſt, but their Troops: Yet *Bavaria* openly declares his Intention to diſpute the Succeſſion, and the Electors, *Palatine*, *Cologn*, and *Triers*, have entered into a League with him, to maintain (as they call it) the Peace of the *Empire*. This makes it probable, that *France*, notwithſtanding her Declaration, will interfere, either in the *Succeſſion*, or in the *Election of an Emperor*, which the Elector of *Mentz*, as Arch-chancellor of the *Empire*, has fixed for the 16th of *February*, when a King of the *Romans* is to be choſen, who is afterwards to be declared Emperor. On this Occaſion it is to be obſerved, that the Houſe of *Auſtria*'s having a Vote at the Election, depends upon their Right to *Bohemia*, ſo that the Arch-dutcheſs's Vote will be diſputed by *Bavaria* and his Friends, and of Conſequence, it may probably come to be a diſputed Election, which will be exceeding good Game for *France*; and if ſhe does not purſue this Game, we may conclude, that the whole Bent of her preſent Politicks is ſingly upon the Ruin of this Nation. If this be the Caſe, a War upon the Continent would be the beſt News we could hear.

What muſt greatly contribute to the Succeſs of *France*, let her preſent Views be what they will, is the Death of the *Czarina*, who died at *Peterſburgh* the 17th of laſt Month, *O. S.* Before her Death ſhe made her Will, by which ſhe named the young Prince *Ivan*, or *John*, Son of Duke *Anthony Ulrick* of *Brunſwick*, by the Princeſs *Anne* of *Mecklenbourg*, her Succeſſor in the Throne; and appointed the Duke of *Courland* to be Regent till the young Prince, who was then but 3 Months old, comes to be 17 Years of Age.

The deceaſed Czarina, *Anne Ivanowna*, was the Daughter of *Ivan* or *John Alexowitz*, elder Brother of the Czar *Peter* I. call'd *Peter the Great*, and for a Time Aſſociate with him on the Imperial Throne; but he died in *May* 1696, whereas *Peter the Great* reign'd till the 8th of *Feb.* 1725. She was born the 28th of *May*, 1693, and marry'd the 13th of *Feb.* 1710, to *Frederick William*, Duke of *Courland* (Nephew to the late King of *Pruſſia*) who dy'd in *Jan.* 1711, in the 19th Year of his Age, as he was returning with his *then lovely Princeſs* from *Peterſburgh* to his own Country. She was proclaimed Empreſs on the 29th of *Jan.* 1730, upon the Death of *Peter* II. her Couſin, and Grandſon to *Peter the Great*, when he was on the Point of being marry'd to the Princeſs *Catherine Dolgborucki*, Niece to the Velt-Marſhal of that Name. The Friends of Princeſs *Elizabeth*, Daughter to *Peter* I. thought it very hard that ſhe ſhould be ſet aſide, to make Room for another Princeſs, who was not ſo near the Throne; but as the Succeſſion of that Empire varies from the Rules obſerved elſewhere, the Event was not ſo unexpected.

The late Empreſs having convers'd much with Foreigners, and underſtanding their Languages, ſhe protected the Strangers that were invited to *Ruſſia* by *Peter* I. favour'd the Arts and Sciences that then began to flouriſh there; and, in ſhort, govern'd according to the Maxims obſerv'd and recommended by that truly great Monarch.

The

HISTORICAL.

* 1. THE Hiſtory of the Revolutions in *Rome*. By Mr. *Ozell*. The 5th Edition. In 2 Vols. 8vo, price 10*s*. 6*d*.

* 2. The Hiſtory of the *Bucaniers* in *America*. The 4th Edition. In 2 Vols. pr. 6*s*.

3. The Life of *Pierce Gaveſtone*, Earl of *Cornwall*. Printed for *G. Bickham*, pr. 1*s*.

MISCELLANEOUS.

4. Pamela: Or, Virtue rewarded. In 2 Vols. Printed for *C. Rivington* and *J. Oſborne*, price 6*s*.

5. Seven Conferences on Painting. Printed for *T. Cooper*, pr. 4*s*.

6. A new Deſcription of *Merryland*. Sold by *S. Dodd*, pr. 1*s*. 6*d*.

7. A Treatiſe concerning the Malignant Fever in *Barbadoes*, &c. By *H. Warren*, M. D. Printed for *F. Gyles*, pr. 1*s*.

8. The conciſe practical Meaſurer. By *Tho. Miles*. Printed for Meſſ. *Ward* and *Chandler*, pr. 1*s*. 6*d*.

9. Hermanni Boerhaave Prælectio Publica de Calculo. Impenſis G. Innys & J. Oſborne, price 1*s*.

10. The principal Cauſes of ſome late Diviſions in diſſenting Congregations. By *H. Moore*. Printed for *R. Hett*, pr. 6*d*.

11. Quinti Horatii Flacci Opera. Ad fidem Editionis alterius Cantabrigienſis caſtigata. Beautifully printed on a ſuperfine Writing-Paper, in a neat Pocket Volume, for *S. Birt*, *T. Aſtley*, *S. Auſtin*, *A. Millar*, and *R. Manby*, pr. 2*s*. 6*d*.

12. Maximi Tyrii Diſſertationes Gr. & Lat. ex Recenſione J. Daviſii, &c. Editio altera. Sold by *C. Rivington* and *J. Oſborne*, 4to, pr. 14*s*. in Sheets.

13. The Unfortunate Princeſs. By Mrs. *Haywood*. Printed for *T. Wright*, pr. 2*s*. bound.

14. An Appendix to a Diſſertation on the Civil Government of the *Hebrews*. By *Moſes Lowman*. Printed for *J. Noon*, pr. 1*s*.

* 15. The Immorality of the Moral Philoſopher. The 2d Edit. pr. 1*s*.

16. Winter Evening Entertainment. Printed for *T. Wright* and *S. Birt*, 8vo, pr. 5*s*.

17. The Novels of *Bandello*, in *Italian*, in Quarto. Four Parts. Printed for *S. Harding*, price 2 Guineas the ſmall, and 3 Guineas the large Paper.

18. The Gentleman's compleat Book-keeper. By *R. Hayes*. Printed for *J. Noon*, 8vo, pr. 4*s*.

19. A Letter to Mr. *Tho. Coad*. By *S. Dampier*. Sold by *R. Hett*, pr. 6*d*.

20. Don *John* further diſplay'd. Printed for *J. Roberts*, pr. 6*d*.

21. The Popiſh Impoſtor. Printed for *T. Cooper*, pr. 1*s*.

POETICAL.

22. A curſory View of the Creation. By *Tho. Cooke*, A. M. Sold by *R. Manby*, pr. 4*s*.

23. The Fair Thinker. Printed for *T. Robins*, pr. 6*d*.

24. Truth in Fiction. Printed for *T. Robins*, pr. 6*d*.

25. The Weather-Menders. Printed for *J. Roberts*, pr. 6*d*.

26. He has kept his Word. Printed for *R. Richards*, pr. 4*d*.

27. The Faction. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d*.

28. Mum. A new Ballad. Printed for *T. Robins*, pr. 6*d*.

POLITICAL.

29. Are theſe Things ſo? The previous Queſtion from an *Engliſhman* in his Grotto, to a great Man at Court, price 1*s*.

30. Yes they are. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s*.

31. What of That? Printed for *T. Cooper*, pr. 1*s*.

32. An Account of the Riſe of the War with *Spain* in 1718. Sold by *J. Roberts*, price 1*s*.

33. The Operations of the War for the firſt twelve Months examin'd, &c. Printed for *T. Cooper*, pr. 6*d*.

34. A Letter to a Member of Parliament, concerning the preſent State of Affairs. Printed for *T. Cooper*, pr. 1*s*.

35. *Great Britain*'s Complaints againſt *Spain*, impartially examin'd. Printed for *J. Roberts*, pr. 1*s*. 6*d*.

36. *French* Influence upon *Engliſh* Counſels. Printed for *T. Cooper*, pr. 1*s*.

37. The *Leviathan* Hook'd. Sold by *B. Cole*, pr. 6*d*.

SERMONS.

38. A Sermon preach'd at *Durham* Aſſizes. By *R. Parker*, A. M. Printed for *J. Stagg*, price 6*d*.

39. A Sermon on Miracles. By *H. Moore*, Printed for *R. Hett*, pr. 6*d*.

40. The Character, Preaching, &c. of Mr. *Whitefield*. In a Sermon preach'd at *Charles-Town*, *South Carolina*. By *J. Smith*. Printed for *J. Lewis*, pr. 2*d*.

THEOLOGICAL.

41. Some Enquiries relating chiefly to Spiritual Beings. By *Vin. Perronet*, A. M. Printed for *F. Gyles* and Meſſ. *Knapton*, pr. 2*s*.

42. The Expounder expounded: Or, Annotations on Mr. *Whitefield*. Printed for *T. Payne*, pr. 1*s*.

43. A Conference about Infant Baptiſm. By *H. Moore*. Printed for *R. Hett*, pr. 6*d*.

44. The Trial of Mr. *Whitefield*'s Spirit. Printed for *T. Gardner*, pr. 1*s*.

45. The Biſhop of *Ely*'s Charge. Printed for *F. Gyles*, pr. 6*d*.

THE LONDON MAGAZINE.

DECEMBER, 1740.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 538.

In order to let the Reader underſtand the Nature and Cauſe of the following Debate, I muſt acquaint him, that on Tueſday, Dec. 18. *laſt, a Motion was made in the Houſe of Commons, That that Houſe ſhould be called over, upon* Wedneſday, Jan. 16, *then next; but upon the Queſtion's being put, it paſſed in the Negative. This being ſomething new, it occaſioned various Speculations in our Club, and at laſt it was reſolved, to have a Debate upon this important Subject; for which Purpoſe, upon* Jan. 31. *being one of our Club Days, we aſſumed the Character we uſually do upon ſuch Occaſions; and* M. Cato *opened the Debate in Subſtance thus:*

Mr. Preſident,
SIR,

IT is with Regret I obſerve, that almoſt every Seſſion introduces ſomething new, in Diminution of the Liberties or derogatory to the Conſtitution of this Kingdom. In former Times, the Grant of a Supply often ſtood a long Debate in this Houſe, and was ſometimes abſolutely refuſed; now it is always granted, *Nemine contradicente*. The *Malt* Tax was never introduced till towards the latter End of King *William*'s Reign, and was at firſt moſt ſtrenuouſly oppoſed: Nay, even during the War in Queen *Anne*'s Time, it was often oppoſed, and was looked on as a Tax ſo burdenſome upon the poor Labourers and Manufacturers of this Kingdom, that no Man imagined any Miniſter would have the Aſſurance to propoſe renewing or continuing it, after the War was over: Even our Neighbours of *Scotland* thought themſelves ſo ſure of this, that by the Articles of Union they ſtipulated to be free from this Tax only during the War; but they, as well as we, have ſince found ourſelves miſtaken: This grievous Tax has been continued to this Day, and is now, in ſome Meaſure, become a Motion of Courſe. The *Mutiny* Bill was at firſt thought to be a moſt dangerous Innovation, and was therefore moſt violently oppoſed, eſpecially in Time of Peace; but it is now become ſo familiar to

us, that we paſs it regularly every Year, without the leaſt Oppoſition, as if a Standing Army and a Mutiny Act were two Things abſolutely neceſſary for the Subſiſtence of our Conſtitution. Not many Years ago, the Members of this Houſe, when aſſembled, looked upon themſelves as the Grand Inqueſt of the Nation, and therefore thought themſelves in Duty bound to enquire into every Grievance and Complaint, without any other Foundation than a publick Rumour; but now every Motion, that tends to an Enquiry into any Complaint, is rejected; or if any ſuch Enquiry be ever ſet on Foot, it is committed to thoſe who are themſelves ſuſpected of being the original and chief Cauſe of the Complaint.

Thus, Sir, we have for ſeveral Years gone on approaching, I'm afraid, to the Confines of Slavery; and in this Seſſion we have made a new and a very extraordinary Step. Till this Seſſion it was always thought, that every Member of this Houſe had a Right to move for a Call of the Houſe. We are Fellow-Labourers for the publick Good: We are all joint Guardians of the Liberties of our Country; and every Member has a Right to inſiſt upon it, that his Companion ſhould attend and bear an equal Share of the Burden, or at leaſt a Share proportionable to his Strength and Capacity. But in this Seſſion, Sir, we have ſeen a Motion for a Call rejected, tho' that Motion was the firſt of the Kind that had been made, tho' it was ſupported by ſtrong Reaſons, and though it was deſired by near one Half of thoſe that were then preſent. This I muſt look on as a moſt dangerous Innovation; for when we begin to incroach upon or derogate from our own Rights, no Man can tell how far it may go: I do not know, but I may live to ſee the Queſtion put upon a Gentleman's riſing up to ſpeak, whether he ſhall have Leave to ſpeak? And if ever ſuch a Queſtion ſhould be put, I ſhall not in the leaſt doubt of its being carried in the Negative, in caſe there ſhould be a Suſpicion of the Gentleman's intending to utter Things diſagreeable to thoſe that may then have the Direction of the Majority of this Houſe.

For this Reaſon, Sir, I was extremely ſorry when I ſaw the Queſtion put upon ſuch a Motion, and ſtill more ſorry when I ſaw that Queſtion carried in the Negative; and if I were not fully convinced, that there were then ſeveral Objections to the Motion, which do not now ſubſiſt, I ſhould take Care not to lay a Foundation for another Precedent of the ſame Nature. But as the moſt material Objections are now removed, I believe, I may venture to move again for a Call of the Houſe; and as I am under great Concern for the Succeſs of my Motion, I ſhall beg Leave to explain ſome of thoſe Objections which do not now ſubſiſt.

For this Purpoſe, Sir, I muſt take Notice, that if the laſt Motion for a Call had been complied with, the Country Gentlemen who have no Place or Office under the Crown, and are therefore under no Obligation, but that of Conſcience, to attend the Service of this Houſe, unleſs we force them to it by a Call, would have found themſelves under a Neceſſity of keeping their *Chriſtmas* in Town, inſtead of keeping it in the Country; and I muſt farther take Notice that according to my Obſervation every Gentleman in this Houſe that has, or is ſuſpected of having a Poſt, Office, or Penſion from the Crown, gave his Negative to that Motion. Now, I hope, they will give me Leave to ſuppoſe, which very few others will do, that their giving that Negative proceeded from the great Regard they have for the poor Peo-

ble in the Country. By the Nature f their Place or Office, they are bliged to attend punctually the Buineſs of this Houſe, and to reſide, or the greateſt Part of the Year, erhaps the greateſt Part of the ſeven Years, in this great City. By his Means the Poor in the Country re deprived of that Hoſpitality, hich they ſo generouſly, and ſo haritably keep, when an Election, r ſome ſuch Occaſion, calls upon hem to viſit their Conſtituents; and n order to atone, as far as they ould, for the Loſs the Poor ſuffer y their Abſence, they were unilling to draw away from the ountry any of thoſe Gentlemen ho might, and were inclined to ep their *Chriſtmas* there. But as *hriſtmas* is now over, this Reaſon longer ſubſiſts; therefore I now pe to have the Concurrence of any of thoſe Gentlemen who voted ainſt the laſt Motion for a Call; d I wiſh for it the more ardently, cauſe, I expect no Succeſs unleſs I ve the Concurrence, or at leaſt e Connivance of ſome of them.

Another Objection, Sir, that does t now ſubſiſt, is that which was moved the very laſt Day of our eeting together in this Houſe: I an the Motion for Leave to bring a Bill, for the better ſecuring the eedom of Parliaments, by limit- the Number of Officers to ſit the Houſe of Commons. This l, if it ſhould paſs into a Law, uld certainly exclude many Gen- men who have now the Honour having Seats in this Houſe: At t it would render them incapa- of being choſen Members of a Parliament, unleſs they ſhould gn the Offices they now enjoy. I e ſo good an Opinion of the Of- rs and other Placemen, who are in this Houſe, that every one them would, I believe, give it Concurrence, notwithſtanding private Diſadvantage it would be to him, if he thought the paſſing of ſuch a Bill abſolutely neceſſary for the Preſervation of our Conſtitution; but, I hope, they will pardon me if I think, that their private Intereſt prevents their ſeeing the publick Neceſſity; for in this, my Opinion is confirmed, by their unanimouſly joining to put a Negative upon the very Motion for Leave to bring in ſuch a Bill. Now when the laſt Motion for a Call was made, it was ſtrongly ſuſpected, nay it was, I dare ſay, by moſt of them firmly believed, that there would be ſome ſuch Motion ſoon after the *Chriſtmas* Holy-days; and as moſt of the Country Gentlemen that were then abſent, have upon former Occaſions appeared to be Friends to every ſuch Propoſition, it was the Buſineſs of thoſe that were againſt it, to prevent their being brought up to Town, till after that Motion was over, in order that the Motion might appear to have as few Friends in this Houſe as poſſible, eſpecially conſidering the vaſt Majority of Friends the Bill appears to have in every other Part of the Kingdom.

This, Sir, was, I believe, the moſt material Objection againſt a Call when the Motion was laſt made, which I am the rather induced to believe, becauſe I obſerved that moſt, if not every one of thoſe that appeared againſt the Call, appeared likewiſe againſt the Motion for this Bill; and in this I muſt allow they acted like good Generals; for when a General expects to be attacked, it is certainly his Buſineſs, if poſſible, to prevent the Enemy's being able to aſſemble all their Forces together, eſpecially when he can do it without diſperſing or loſing the Aſſiſtance of any of his own Troops. But as this Attack is now over: As they can be afraid of no future Attack in this Seſſion of Parliament, I hope, they will allow us to have the Authority of this Houſe, for compelling

the Attendance of thoſe Members, who can by no other Means be compelled to attend their Duty in the Execution of that Truſt which they have accepted of from their Country. Therefore I cannot think, that even the Hon. Gentleman near me, will now be againſt a Call, unleſs he be, on his Part, meditating ſome new Attack. To have the Houſe called over once at leaſt in a Seſſion, is in itſelf ſo reaſonable, and has been ſo conſtantly practiſed, that I ſhall expect even his Concurrence, unleſs he has ſomething in *petto*, which he thinks will ſuit beſt with a thin Aſſembly; and if, by giving his Negative to this Queſtion, he declares he has, I hope it will have the ſame Effect with a Call: I hope it will bring every abſent Member to Town, that has the leaſt Regard for the Liberties of his Country.

After having thus ſhewn, Sir, that thoſe Reaſons, which induced many Gentlemen to be againſt the laſt Motion for a Call, do not now ſubſiſt; if I knew any Reaſon ſtill ſubſiſting againſt it, I would endeavour to ſtate and anſwer it; but I cannot really ſuggeſt to myſelf the leaſt Shadow of a Reaſon now ſubſiſting againſt it, except that which I have mentioned, and which, in the Opinion of moſt Gentlemen preſent, will, I hope, be a prevailing Argument in its Favour. I ſay, Sir, I cannot ſuggeſt to myſelf the leaſt Shadow of a Reaſon againſt what I am to propoſe; for ſurely Gentlemen are not in earneſt when they ſay, that becauſe many Gentlemen abſented themſelves from the Houſe laſt Seſſion, after being convinced that their Preſence could be of no Service to their Country, therefore no Gentleman ought to be compelled, during this Seſſion, to give his Attendance. This may be a Foundation for ſome Gentlemens ſhewing us how great Maſters they are of Wit and Humour (as they did upon the laſt Motion for a Call) but it can never be a Foundation for a ſerious Argument. And I muſt obſerve, that however witty thoſe Gentlemen may be upon the Seceſſion, as they are pleaſed to call it, it had a very good Effect. I am convinced, the Gentlemen that retired from the Houſe, did more Service to their Country by retiring, than they could have done by continuing in their Seats. They ſaw they could not by their Preſence prevent or alter the deſtructive, pacifick Humour ſome Gentlemen were then in; and therefore they reſolved to try what they could do by their Abſence. Accordingly it had the deſired Effect: It made us reſolve to vindicate our Honour and our Rights by Arms, ſince we ſaw we could not do it by fair Means; and if the War be but tolerably conducted, it will, with the Aſſiſtance of Providence, contribute as much to the Glory and Advantage of this Nation, as any War we were ever engaged in.

As this Change of Meaſures removed the Cauſe which Gentlemen had to abſent themſelves from the Houſe, moſt of them have now returned, becauſe, if we are really reſolved to proſecute the War with Vigour, their Attendance here may be of ſome Service to their Country. Thoſe who are now abſent have no Reaſon of a publick Nature for their Abſence; and I am for having the Houſe called over, in order to ſee, whether any, and which of them, may have a good Reaſon of a private Nature; for ſurely they ought to be here, if they have no good Reaſon of any Kind for being abſent. Not only the conſtant Cuſtom of Parliament, but many cogent Reaſons of a particular Nature at this Time plead in Favour of what I propoſe, and there is not the leaſt Shadow of Reaſon againſt it; even thoſe who have been for many

Years

Years the conſtant and unvariable Friends of the Adminiſtration, can now have no Objection to it; and, if a Negative be put upon it, merely out of a Wantonneſs of Power, it may again afford a good Reaſon of a publick Nature, not only for thoſe that are abſent to continue ſo, but for many of thoſe that are preſent, to retire a ſecond Time; for when Things are carried in this Houſe without any Reaſon, by what I muſt, in ſuch a Caſe, call an unreaſonable Majority, thoſe who are governed by their Reaſon have no Buſineſs here, becauſe their Attendance can be of no Service to their Country, and may throw a Blemiſh upon their Characters: As the Cuſtom of this Houſe does not allow of Proteſting, or entering our Diſſent upon the Journals, when deſtructive Meaſures are purſued, and authorized or approved by this Houſe, neither the preſent Generation nor Poſterity can diſtinguiſh who were for or againſt that Authority or Approbation; and therefore, the only Method Gentlemen have for vindicating their Characters, is to retire from an Aſſembly where their Preſence may give Countenance to Reſolutions which their Negative cannot prevent, nor their Conſcience approve.

This Sort of Abſence, Sir, is what even an Adminiſtration ought to prevent, or put an End to as ſoon as poſſible, becauſe it can never happen but when ſuch Queſtions are carried, as are condemned by a great Majority of the Nation. The preſent Adminiſtration have wiſely taken care to remove the Cauſe of many Gentlemens abſenting themſelves from the Houſe laſt Seſſion, by giving them, as well as the Nation, the Satisfaction they deſired; and the beſt Method they can take for preventing the like in Time to come, is to put always a greater Confidence in their Arguments than in their Numbers. I hope they will do ſo upon the preſent Occaſion, and therefore I ſhall beg Leave to ſtate ſome of thoſe Arguments in favour of my Motion, which proceed from the critical Situation our Affairs are in at preſent. Let us conſider, Sir, we are now engaged in a War, which is already expenſive, and may become dangerous. We have it from a great Authority, That in a Multitude of Counſellors there is Safety; and as we, in this Houſe, may aſſiſt his Majeſty not only with our Purſes, but alſo with our Advice, therefore, the more numerous and full our Aſſembly is, the better Advice we may give, the more Weight, I am ſure, it will have, both abroad and at home. The Reſolutions of a full Houſe will add great Weight to all his Majeſty's Negotiations abroad, and encourage foreign Powers to enter into Alliances with us. But a little while ago we were told by an Hon. Gentleman, whoſe Veracity cannot be queſtioned, and whoſe Knowledge may be depended on, that we had not one Ally in the Univerſe. In the preſent War we have, as yet, no Occaſion for an Ally; we can have no Occaſion for an Ally, unleſs our Enemies ſhould get ſome very powerful Allies to aſſiſt them. The Reſolutions of a full Houſe of Commons will ſhew the Spirit of the Nation, and may thereby very probably prevent our Enemies getting any ſuch Aſſiſtance; or if they ſhould, thoſe Reſolutions may enable his Majeſty to form a Confederacy upon the Continent of *Europe*, which may give our preſent Enemies and their future Allies ſo much to do at Land, as may diſable them from giving us any Oppoſition at Sea, or in any Part of the *Weſt-Indies*: Whereas, if it be obſerved by foreign Powers, as it certainly will, that there is but a ſmall Number of Members in this Houſe, and that the Friends of the Admi-

Adminiſtration have, by a moſt extraordinary and unprecedented Negative, prevented an Increaſe of that Number, they will either conclude, that the preſent War is not a National, but a Miniſterial War, which, I am ſure, is far from being the Caſe; or they will conclude, that our Miniſters have entered into the War, only to amuſe the People, and that they have not a Mind to proſecute it in ſuch a Manner as to give Satisfaction to the Nation; either of which Concluſions will not only diſcourage thoſe that incline to give us Aſſiſtance, but encourage thoſe that incline to give Aſſiſtance to our Enemies.

Thus it appears, Sir, that with regard to our Affairs abroad, it is abſolutely neceſſary to have a full Houſe; and with regard to our Affairs at home, it is ſtill more neceſſary. Let us conſider, Sir, that in this War, and, indeed, in every War we can be engaged in, we ought to take all the Methods we can think of, for giving Satisfaction to thoſe that contribute towards the Expence of the War, and Spirit to thoſe that carry it on. The People will pay their Taxes with Pleaſure, when thay find they are granted by a full Houſe; becauſe they will ſuppoſe that no larger Sums are granted, than are neceſſary; and that every Shilling they pay, will be applied, with the greateſt Œconomy, to the publick Service. Then, with regard to thoſe that are, or may be employed in any of our warlike Operations, there is nothing gives greater Spirit and Confidence to thoſe that fight either by Sea or Land, than their being convinced, that they are directed in every Thing they undertake by wiſe Counſels, and commanded by brave and experienced Officers. This, both our Soldiers and Sailers will believe, when they find that all our Meaſures are adviſed and comptrolled by a full Houſe of Commons: They will ſuppoſe thoſe Miniſters to be wiſe, vigilant, and careful, that are willing upon all Occaſions, and in every Step, to ſubmit their Conduct to the Review of a full and free Houſe of Parliament: This will inſpire every Soldier with a Confidence of Succeſs, and this Confidence will always be almoſt an infallible Means to ſecure it.

On the other hand, Sir, if this Houſe be not near full, eſpecially if its being ſo be prevented by thoſe that are the known Friends of the Adminiſtration, what muſt the Conſequence be? Does not every one know, that thoſe who are in any Poſt or Imployment under the Crown muſt attend upon the private Call of the Miniſter, but that thoſe who are under no ſuch Influence, depend only upon the publick Call of the Houſe? Does not every one know, that the former will be made uſe of whenever the Miniſter thinks he has Occaſion for it; and will not every one ſuppoſe, that he prevents the latter, becauſe he is afraid of having his Conduct inquired into or directed, by a full and free Repreſentative of the Nation? From hence every Man muſt naturally conclude, that his Conduct is either weak or wicked, or perhaps both; and this will of courſe raiſe an univerſal Diſſatisfaction among the People, and a general Diffidence among our Soldiers and Sailers. This Diſſatisfaction may expoſe us to a real Danger of being invaded, and this Diffidence may render it impoſſible for us to prevent or oppoſe that Invaſion.

The preſent Situation of our Affairs, therefore, both at home and abroad, particularly require a full Houſe; and beſides this, Sir, we have now under our Conſideration ſome Affairs of the utmoſt Importance to this Nation. We have already ordered a Bill to be brought

n for regiſtering Seamen: What Sort of one it may be, I do not as yet know; but it is an Affair in which the Liberties and Well-being of one of the moſt numerous and uſeful Bodies of Men in the King-dom are deeply concerned; and A therefore, I am ſure, it highly de-ſerves to be conſidered in a full Houſe. It is really, in my Opi-nion, an Affair of ſuch Conſe-quence, that I ſhould think the very Rumour of our being to have ſuch an Affair ſoon before us, would B render a Call unneceſſary. It cer-tainly would do ſo, if Gentlemen were properly touched with what may ſo ſenſibly affect the Happineſs and Proſperity of their Country; but the Queſtion that was before us the very laſt Day we met here, con- C vinces me, that nothing but a Call can force ſome Gentlemen to attend the Service of their Country in this Aſſembly. In that Queſtion the Preſervation, the very Being of our Conſtitution was concerned, and yet there were not much above two D Thirds of our Number preſent, which was, perhaps, the Occaſion of a Negative's being put upon the Queſtion; for I muſt obſerve, that, of thoſe who were for that Nega-tive, there were, at leaſt, two Thirds that poſſeſſed Places or Offices under E the Crown, and were conſequently, from their private Intereſt, engaged to have a Negative put upon that Queſtion. I am far from ſaying, that any one of them was governed by ſuch a Motive, becauſe in all Affairs of a publick Nature, I be- F lieve, they never have the leaſt Re-gard to their private Intereſt; but, if it could be ſuppoſed, that any Member of this Houſe were go-verned by his private Intereſt, it muſt be allowed, that ſuch a Mem-ber would never vote for excluding G himſelf from having a Seat or Voice in this Aſſembly, till after he had reſigned the lucrative Poſt or Office he enjoyed under the Crown.

This late Experience, Sir, has convinced me, that nothing but a Call can bring up the Members that are now abſent; and, as it has been the conſtant Cuſtom to call over the Houſe, at leaſt once in a Seſſion, as there are many ſtrong Reaſons of a particular Nature now for it, as there is not the leaſt Sha-dow of a Reaſon againſt it, I hope it will be complied with; therefore, I ſhall conclude with moving, That this Houſe be called over upon this Day three Weeks, being the 21ſt of *February* next.

The next Speech I ſhall give you upon this Occaſion, was that made by C. Triarius, *who ſpoke to this Effect*, viz.

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

I SHALL agree with the Hon. Gentleman who made you this Motion, that the Seceſſion which happened laſt Seſſion of Parliament, was the Cauſe of our changing our Meaſures; but I differ widely from him as to the Manner in which that Cauſe produced its Effect. He ſeems to think, it had an Effect upon the Court of *Great Britain*, and was the immediate Cauſe of our giving over to negotiate, and beginning to fight with *Spain*; whereas, I think, it had not the leaſt Effect upon our Court, but had an immediate Effect upon the Court of *Spain*, and was the only Cauſe of that Court's re-fuſing to comply with any one Thing that was ſtipulated by the Convention. I am perſuaded, the *Spaniſh* Miniſter here thought the Seceſſion of ſo extraordinary and dangerous a Nature, that our Mi-niſters would ſubmit to any Uſage from *Spain*, rather than declare War whilſt the Nation was in a Condi-tion ſo diſtracted and forlorn: Nay, I do not know but that he was con-firmed in this Opinion, by ſome

amongſt

amongſt ourſelves without Doors; and an Account of this Seceſſion, with his Opinion upon it, being tranſmitted by him to the Court of *Spain*, they gave entire Credit to his Accounts, and placed an implicit Faith in his Opinion, which was the Cauſe of their Obſtinacy, and their Obſtinacy was the Cauſe, and a moſt juſt Cauſe too, for our Court's altering its Meaſures. Thus the Seceſſion was the Cauſe, but not the immediate Cauſe of our beginning Hoſtilities againſt *Spain*. When that memorable Event happened, we were in a Courſe of Negotiation: Even *Spain* itſelf ſeemed inclined to do us Juſtice; but that Event put an End to their peaceable Inclinations, and this of courſe put and End to ours.

From hence, I think, Sir, it is at leaſt highly probable, that the War we are now engaged in, was chiefly owing to the Seceſſion; and when Gentlemen conſider this, however confident they may at any Time think themſelves of being in the Right, notwithſtanding the Majority's being of a different Opinion, I hope they will be cautious of ever leaving the Houſe in a Body, as many of them did at that Time; becauſe it can never be of any Service, and may be of great Prejudice to their Country. The only Precedent I can think of for ſuch a Method of Proceeding, is that which happened in the Long Parliament in King *Charles* Iſt's Reign; and the Conſequences that enſued at that Time, cannot, I am ſure, give Encouragement to any Man to follow the Example. The Misfortunes and the melancholy Cataſtrophe of that Reign, and the Tyranny that was afterwards ſet up, ought to be a Warning to Gentlemen, not to deſert the Service of their Country in this Houſe, even tho' many Things be agreed to by the Majority, which they think inconſiſtent with the Intereſt of their Country. At leaſt, they ought not to leave the Houſe, unleſs their Attendance here be abſolutely inconſiſtent with the Safety of their Lives, which was the Caſe of many Members at that Time.

But, Sir, when Gentlemen retire voluntarily, and as it were in a Pet, they can expect no Excuſe from their Country, and, I am ſure, they deſerve no Favour from thoſe that continue in their Duty. Suppoſe ſome of theſe pettiſh Seceders ſhould, in a little Time, reaſon themſelves out of their Pet, and ſhould return to their Duty in this Houſe, could they, with any Countenance deſire, that the Houſe ſhould do them the Favour to compel the Attendance of their Companions? If they did, ought it not to be ſuppoſed, that they did it for no other Reaſon, but that their Return might be as conſpicuous as their Seceſſion? This, Sir, I take to be the very Caſe at preſent: A Number of Gentlemen retired laſt Seſſion from the Service of their Country in this Houſe, I muſt ſuppoſe in a Pet, becauſe I can aſſign no other Reaſon: Many of them have this Seſſion returned, but ſome have not; and now thoſe that have returned, deſire the Favour of us, to call the Houſe over, in order to force the reſt to return to their Duty, I ſay, Sir, they deſire the Favour; for a Call is a Favour granted by the Houſe to thoſe that deſire it. It is not a Right that every Member may inſiſt on. Every Member has a Right to move for it; but a Queſtion is always to be put upon that Motion, and it is never complied with unleſs agreed to by the Majority. A Call is therefore very different from the Right every Member has to be heard; for when a Member riſes up to ſpeak, I believe it was never yet put to the Queſtion, whether or no he ſhould have leave to ſpeak.

The Motion now before us is therefore a Favour, which the Hon. Gentle-

Gentleman that made it desires of us, and every Gentleman has a Right to consider whether it ought to be granted, and to refuse it, if he thinks it unreasonable. I am one of those that think it unreasonable, and shall therefore be against granting it. We gave those that are returned, Leisure to cool of the pettish Humour they had fallen into last Session: I think it was right to do so, and with regard to most of them, it has had a proper Effect: If there are any of them that are not as yet grown cool, and therefore continue in the Country, I am for leaving them still there. The Country, we know, is a proper Place for Reflection and Consideration; and no Cure is so good for a pettish Humour, as cool Reasoning and mature Deliberation. If we should force them out of their Country Retirement, they will, probably, oppose every Thing we do; and it is not so much the Numbers, as the Unanimity of those that are here, that gives Credit to the Nation, or Weight to his Majesty's Negotiations at foreign Courts. Even at home, the Divisions among the People without Doors, are generally owing to the Divisions among those within; and when the Divisions among those within appear to be near equal, they often occasion what approaches very near to Sedition, among those that are without. We seem now to be pretty unanimous, at least with regard to our foreign Affairs. Even those who have this Session returned to their Seats in this House, seem willing to agree to every Thing that may contribute to the vigorous Prosecution of the War; and no Wonder they should be so; for they cannot well refuse to contribute all in their Power to the vigorous Prosecution of that War, which they themselves were, as I have shewn, the remote Authors of. This Unanimity will shew our Enemies what they are to expect; and, by destroying their Hopes of being able to hurt us or defend themselves, will of course render them inclinable to agree to reasonable Terms, which must necessarily bring the War to a happy and speedy Issue; therefore, we ought to do nothing that may, in the least, interrupt that Unanimity which now so happily prevails amongst us.

Besides, Sir, the Hon. Gentleman who made you this Motion, has himself, I think, given you a very good Reason for not agreeing to it. In giving a Reason for the Secession last Year, he told us, that Gentlemen may sometimes, for the Sake of Conscience, and for preserving their Characters, be obliged to leave the House: He even seemed to intimate, that this was the Cause of Gentlemens leaving the House last Session: Now, if some of those Gentlemen have got over this Scruple of Conscience, how do they know that all the rest have? We must naturally, or at least charitably, I think, suppose, that those who have not returned, have not as yet got over this Scruple of Conscience; and as I shall always be against putting any Sort of Force upon a scrupulous and tender Conscience, I must be against compelling the Attendance of such Gentlemen in this House. I am far from finding fault with any of those Gentlemen that have returned: I think they have done their Duty in doing so; but I cannot help comparing them to the present King of *Spain*. He, some Years ago, resigned his Crown, out of a Pet, and, I think, it was a religious or conscientious Pet too. I wish they had done with him, as the Subjects of a near Ally of his since did: I wish they had held him at his Word, and never allowed him to resume, as they might and ought to have done; for his second Son, now

Prince of *Aſturias*, was the natural Succeſſor to his eldeſt, who died King of *Spain*. But they allowed him to reſume his Crown; and we know what Diſturbances he has ſince bred in *Europe*. If the Gentlemen who left their Seats laſt Seſſion, had been taken at their Word: If we had ordered their Seats to be filled up by new Elections, they could have complained of no Injuſtice. But we have this Seſſion allowed ſuch of them as have returned, to reſume their Seats. In this we have ſhewn ourſelves to be as indulgent as the Subjects of the King of *Spain*; and, I hope, they will take Care not to make ſuch an Uſe of the Indulgence they have met with, as his Catholick Majeſty has done. They have hitherto ſhewn, that they do not incline to do ſo; but, if we ſhould call in thoſe that, for ought we know, are ſtill in a bad Humour, I do not know what might happen. Evil Company, they ſay, corrupts good Manners. 'Tis a dangerous Experiment to mingle the Infected with thoſe that are but juſt recovered. For this Reaſon, I was againſt the Call, when it was laſt propoſed; and as this Reaſon ſtill ſubſiſts, I am ſtill againſt it.

There was no true Reaſon, Sir, for being againſt the Call, when it was laſt propoſed, but what ſtill ſubſiſts in its full Force. Every one muſt be ſenſible, that the Hon. Gentleman was not ſerious in the Reaſons he aſſigned, and which, he ſaid, are not now ſubſiſting. However merry he may make himſelf upon this Occaſion, and we are all ſenſible of his ſuperior Talent in that Way, I ſhall always think, that Gentlemen are more uſefully employed in entertaining their Neighbours in the Country, than in oppoſing every neceſſary Meaſure of Government in this Houſe; and therefore, I ſhall always be againſt compelling any Man to come here, who, by his former Conduct, has given me Reaſon to ſuſpect, that when he is here, he will certainly do ſo. As for the Queſtion that was before us the laſt Time of our meeting here, which was but the Day before Yeſterday, I ſhall never be afraid of its being conſidered in a Houſe full of Members, that are free from the Prejudices of Paſſion and Intereſt. The Reaſons againſt the Queſtion are ſo many and ſo powerful, and the Reaſons for it ſo few and ſo weak, that, in ſuch a Houſe, I do not in the leaſt doubt of its meeting always with the ſame Fate, and that the more full the Houſe is, the greater the Majority will be that appears againſt it.

This therefore could be no Reaſon, Sir, for any Gentleman's being againſt a Call, the laſt Time it was moved. With me, I am ſure, it would rather have been a Reaſon for my being for a Call; becauſe, tho' ſome of thoſe that are abſent would perhaps have voted in favour of that Queſtion, I am convinced many more of them would have voted againſt it. My chief Reaſon for being then againſt a Call was, as I have ſaid, becauſe I was againſt our doing any Thing that might interrupt or leſſen that Unanimity in this Houſe, which, with Pleaſure, I obſerve, in every Thing that relates to a vigorous Proſecution of the War; and as this Reaſon againſt a Call is now as ſtrong as it was at that Time, I muſt therefore be againſt agreeing to the Hon. Gentleman's Motion.

The next that ſtood up was Mecænas, *the Purport of whoſe Speech was thus:*

Mr. Preſident,
S I R,

THE Seceſſion, as it is called, which happened upon a very remark-

remarkable Occaſion laſt Seſſion, is a Point that cannot be reaſoned upon here; and therefore, I ſhall make no Application of what I am going to ſay. I have heard, Sir, of Phyſicians taking their Leave of a ſick Houſe, when they thought they could do no Good there, and were not over greedy of Fees; for ſome are ſo keen after Fees, that they would ſtay and preſcribe to a dead Body. But I have heard of others, of a more generous Character, refuſing to continue their Attendance, when they fear'd it was of no Benefit, and yet returning again upon being called to a new Conſultation, when better Symptoms appeared, and greater Hopes of a Recovery, to offer, at leaſt, the proper Remedy, whether it ſhould be taken or not.

Upon this, Pomponius Atticus *ſtood up, and ſpoke in Subſtance as follows,* viz.

Mr. Preſident,

SIR,

THE Motion now under our Conſideration, is a Matter of ſuch Indifference to me, that I am perfectly eaſy whether you agree to it or not. I ſhall grant that it is very uſual to call the Houſe over, at leaſt, once in a Seſſion; but, I could never obſerve, that it was of any Advantage to the Publick, and it is often of great Inconvenience to private Gentlemen, who have the Honour, in this Caſe I may ſay, the Misfortune, to have a Seat in this Houſe. I take it for granted, that every Gentleman who has any Thing to offer for the Service of his Country or Conſtituents, or who thinks he has any Thing to guard againſt that may be of Prejudice to either, will attend duly in his Place; and, I cannot think, there is any great Neceſſity for a Gentleman's being here, who thinks his Abſence can do no Harm, nor his Preſence any Good. But, when the Houſe is ordered to be called over, with the uſual *Certiorari*, that all thoſe who do not then attend, ſhall be taken into Cuſtody, no Gentleman can be ſure, that his Excuſe will be admitted, and therefore many think themſelves obliged to attend, tho' their Attendance can be of no Service, at that Time, to the Publick, and may be of great Prejudice to them in their private Affairs.

From this Conſideration, Sir, I have always been of Opinion, that a Call of the Houſe is neither neceſſary, nor ought to be made ſo often as it is; and ſince, in the laſt Seſſion, we indulged a great many with the Privilege of being abſent, tho', we knew, they had no Excuſe, I think thoſe that are now abſent have Reaſon to expect, at leaſt, from them, the ſame Indulgence. I ſhall not find fault, Sir, with the Privilege Gentlemen took to themſelves upon that Occaſion: Whatever was their Pretence, they ſoon found their Abſence condemned by the whole Nation, and, I believe, they have ſince heartily repented of what they did, which makes me, and I hope, it has made their ſeveral Conſtituents, ready to forgive them. But I cannot forbear taking Notice, that the Obſervation made by the Hon. Gentleman who ſpoke laſt, puts me in mind of a merry Paſſage in a *French* Play, where a Gentleman aſks a Servant, How her Maſter does? In a fair Way of doing well, Sir, ſays ſhe, for his Phyſicians have juſt taken their Leave of him.

Now, Sir, to apply this to what happened laſt Seſſion: I muſt obſerve, that after our political Phyſicians had taken their Leave of the Houſe, as ſome of them did in a very ſolemn Manner, Things went

better than they had done for a great While before. Several Laws were paſs'd, which gave great Satisfaction to the People; every Thing was carried on with great Concord and Unanimity; and to the Joy of our Friends, and Diſappointment of our Enemies both at home and abroad, the Nation ſoon appeared in perfect Health and full Vigour. Among ſeveral good Laws paſs'd in that Interval, I cannot but take Notice of the *Act for granting a Liberty to carry Sugars of the Growth, or Manufacture of any of his Majeſty's Sugar Colonies in* America, *from the ſaid Coloneis directly to foreign Parts, in Ships built in* Great Britain, *and navigated according to Law.* As our Sugar Trade had, for ſome Time, been in a declining Condition, this Act was as much wanted, as it gave univerſal Satisfaction when paſſed, except to thoſe whoſe private Intereſt led them to be againſt it; and yet, if our political Phyſicians had been attending, 'tis probable, they would have oppoſed the Bill; for they generally oppoſe every Remedy that is preſcribed by thoſe who muſt be ſuppoſed to be our beſt Phyſicians, becauſe they have the beſt Opportunity of knowing the State and Circumſtances of the Nation. The *Act for the more effectual preventing of exceſſive and deceitful Gaming*, was likewiſe paſſed during the Seceſſion, and is a Law that muſt be agreeable to every one who has a due Regard to the Morals or Happineſs of the People; yet, if this Bill had been at any other Time propoſed, it would, perhaps, have been violently oppoſed; for, in this Caſe, as in every other of the like Nature, it would have been ſaid, that every new penal Law was an Addition to the Power of the Crown, already too extenſive; which, in my Opinion, is the ſame as if a Phyſician ſhould object to a Preſcription, becauſe of its being proper for giving Strength to his Patient.

For this Reaſon, Sir, if the ſly Servant Maid were, upon this Occaſion, aſk'd ſuch another Queſtion, I'm afraid, ſhe would anſwer, In a very bad Way, Sir, for his Phyſicians are, moſt of them, returned. But to be ſerious, Sir, I am of Opinion, that no Gentleman ought to abſent himſelf from the Service of his Country in this Houſe, when he can, without any great Inconvenience, attend; and therefore, I ſhall be againſt the Motion, becauſe our rejecting it will, I think, be a Sort of tacit Reprimand, with regard to thoſe that, without any good Reaſon, withdrew from their Duty laſt Seſſion of Parliament.

The laſt that ſpoke in this Debate was L. Geganius, *the Purport of whoſe Speech was thus:*

Mr. Preſident,

S I R,

AN Hon. Gentleman that ſpoke ſome Time ago againſt the Motion, allowed, I think, that the Seceſſion, as he was pleaſed to term it, was the remote, tho' not the immediate Cauſe of that Alteration which ſoon after happened in our Meaſures. Sir, if it was any Cauſe, whether remote or immediate, it has done ſignal Service, and has given great Satisfaction to the Nation. But the Seceſſion could add nothing to the Obſtinacy of the Court of *Spain*; becauſe that Court was before, as obſtinate as it was poſſible for them to be. They never had any Inclination, at leaſt not for theſe twenty Years, to do us Juſtice. By the Convention, they neither did us, nor promiſed us any Juſtice: They would not do us ſo much as Promiſe, not to do us any more Injuſtice; for, upon the Face of the Convention it appears, that

they would not ſo much as promiſe to abſtain from interrupting our Navigation, and ſeizing our Ships in the *American* Seas. It is evident, that of late Years, they never had an Inclination to have any Thing to do with us, unleſs it was to plunder our Merchants, and amuſe our Miniſters with fruitleſs Negotiations; and a new Foundation for allowing ourſelves to be treated in this Manner, was all our Miniſters got by that famous Convention. This, I am convinced, would have been the Conſequence, if it had not been for the Seceſſion. Our Miniſters would, upon the Foundation of that Convention, have gone on to treat and negotiate with *Spain*, perhaps for twenty Years more, and the *Spaniſh Guarda Coſta's* would, in the mean Time, have gone on in plundering our Merchants and interrupting our Trade. But ſuch a Number of Members withdrawing, upon that Convention's being approved of, convinced our Miniſters, that the Nation would no longer endure to be treated by the Court of *Spain* in ſuch a treacherous and ignominious Manner. Our Miniſters from thence ſaw, that they muſt begin to fight, either with *Spain*, or with their own Countrymen; and they wiſely choſe the former, as being the ſafeſt for themſelves, as well as the moſt honourable.

This, Sir, I am convinced, the whole Nation is convinced, was the real Cauſe of that Alteration in our Meaſures, which happened ſoon after the Seceſſion; and therefore, however much it was condemned by thoſe that remained within Doors, it was condemned by no Man without, unleſs he was ſuch a one as was under a mercenary Dependence upon ſome of thoſe that remained within. By none others, Sir, was it ever condemned; and as the Gentlemen who withdrew upon that Occaſion, are no way ambitious of having their Conduct approved of by ſuch Judges, I am ſure no one of them has ever yet repented of what he did; ſo that if the Hon. Gentleman that ſpoke laſt never forgives but upon Repentance, thoſe Gentlemen muſt all yet, and, I believe, for ever will, remain under his Wrath, but they are not, thank God! liable to his Vengeance.

The only ſerious Argument I have heard, Sir, againſt the Motion is, leſt it ſhould interrupt or leſſen that Unanimity which now appears, in providing for every Thing that may be neceſſary for a vigorous Proſecution of the War, in which, I am fully ſatisfied, the Hon. Gentleman's Fears are altogether groundleſs. I dare anſwer for every one of thoſe who retired from the Houſe laſt Seſſion, and are now abſent, that no one of them will oppoſe any Meaſure neceſſary for proſecuting the War; and an Hon. Friend of his may, I believe, if he pleaſes, anſwer for moſt of the reſt. I am perſuaded, that no Gentleman who is now in the Houſe, or can hereafter be in it, will openly oppoſe providing for a vigorous Proſecution of the War; and therefore I ſhall only wiſh, that it may be as vigorouſly proſecuted, as it will be unanimouſly provided for.

In this Seſſion of Parliament, therefore, Sir, no Gentleman could be under any real Apprehenſions of a Conteſt about any Thing relating to the War, tho' every Member belonging to the Houſe were now preſent, and continued ſo till the End of the Seſſion; but, as the whole Nation will expect to hear ſome good Accounts of the Proſecution before next Winter, I do not know but that we may then have ſome Conteſts about the War, with regard to its Proſecution; and therefore there may, perhaps, be ſome amongſt us, who are far from wiſhing

to ſee a full Houſe, at any Time, during next Seſſion. If there be any ſuch amongſt us, it is certainly their Buſineſs to prevent the Call of the Houſe for this Seſſion, becauſe it will be a Precedent for doing the ſame in the next, and will be, in all future Times, a convenient and agreeable Precedent for thoſe that are afraid of having an impartial Parliamentary Enquiry into their Conduct. But, for this very Reaſon, Sir, I muſt be of Opinion, that no Gentleman who is unfeignedly for a vigorous Proſecution of the War, or the Preſervation of our Conſtitution, can, when he ſeriouſly conſiders the Conſequences, be for making ſuch a dangerous Precedent.

Thus, I hope, Sir, I have fully anſwered the only ſerious Argument I have heard made uſe of, againſt my worthy Friend's Motion. As for all the other Arguments made uſe of upon the ſame Side of the Queſtion, they were rather Pieces of Wit, than Pieces of Reaſon; and, as moſt of them were pointed at the Gentlemen who, laſt Seſſion, withdrew from the Houſe, they have nothing to do with any Thing that can be propoſed in this. But, I muſt obſerve, that every one of them either miſſed of its Aim, or was very improperly applied. If the King of *Spain* reſigned his Crown with a real View of ſerving his Country, he was in the Right: If he reſumed it again with the ſame View, he was in the Right, and his Subjects were in the Right to receive him: And as for the Diſturbances he has ſince occaſioned, I believe, moſt of them were originally owing to our Miſconduct; therefore, I am ſurprized to hear of them from that Side of the Houſe. If thoſe who compoſe the Majority of this Houſe, have a Mind to prevent Gentlemens ever having a View of ſerving their Country, by leaving their Seats, the beſt Way is never to purſue ſuch Meaſures as are diſagreeable to a great Majority of the Nation; and while they take Care to avoid ſuch Meaſures, they need fear no Diſturbances that any Gentleman can occaſion, either by leaving or reſuming his Seat in this Houſe.

As for the Piece of *French* Wit made uſe of by the Hon. Gentleman that ſpoke laſt, and applied by way of Anſwer to the Obſervation made by the Hon. Gentleman that ſpoke before him, ſurely, Sir, every one muſt ſee that it was miſapplied. If the Obſervation is to be applied to the Members of this Houſe, for the Gentleman that made it, did not, I think, make any Application, we muſt all look upon ourſelves as political Phyſicians; and, indeed, we are ſo: We are properly the ſtate Phyſicians of our Country, becauſe we are to enquire into its Grievances or Diſtempers, and apply the proper Remedies. Therefore, if that Obſervation is to be applied to us, we muſt ſuppoſe that ſome of us are willing to attend, if we can but get a Fee, even tho' we know we can be of no Service to our Country, and that others are unwilling to attend, except when they think they can be of real Service to their Country. I wiſh, Sir, the Application had not been made, for whatever we may think within Doors, thoſe without will judge who are over-greedy of Fees, and who are not. But, I muſt obſerve, that this Piece of *French* Wit proceeded from the Contempt the *French* Phyſicians had then brought themſelves into, by their Ignorance, and by their ſhewing a greater Concern for their Fees, than for the Health or Recovery of the Patient. They were, at that Time, become a Proverb among the Vulgar, and a Subject of Ridicule in every Part of that Kingdom, except in their own

Aſſemblies; and, if we ſhould, by our Ignorance, bring our Country into Misfortunes, or begin to ſhew a greater Concern for Penſions and Places than for the Welfare of our Country, we ſhall bring ourſelves into the ſame Contempt: We ſhall become a Scoff among the Vulgar, and a Subject of Ridicule in every Part of this Kingdom, except in our own Aſſemblies. If this ſhould ever come to be the Caſe, this *French* Piece of Wit may then be properly applied, but not to thoſe Members that retire from ſuch a contemptible Aſſembly. It will be applied to the Breaking up and Meeting of Parliament: When our Seſſion is at an End, it will be ſaid, The Kingdom is in a fair Way of doing well, for its Phyſicians have taken their Leave; and when we meet again, it will be ſaid, The Kingdom is in a dangerous State, for its Phyſicians are, moſt of them, returned. I hope every Gentleman that has a Regard for the Honour and Dignity of Parliament, will endeavour to prevent this Misfortune; and as, I think, nothing can contribute more towards our falling into a general Contempt, than our putting a Negative upon this Motion, therefore, I ſhall moſt heartily give it my Affirmative.

The next Debate I ſhall give you, is that which happened in our Club upon Occaſion of the Penſion Bill, *which was laſt Year paſt by the Commons, and rejected by the other Houſe. The Queſtion ſtated in our Club as uſual upon ſuch Occaſions, was, Whether, after the ſecond Reading of the Bill, it ought to be committed? And our Club having aſſumed the proper Character upon that Occaſion, the firſt that ſpoke againſt Committing, was* Q. Cicero; *but before he began, he moved, That ſome Parts of the Journals in the Years* 1729, 30, 31, *and* 32, *might be read; which being read accordingly, he then went on in Subſtance as follows, viz.*

My Lords,

FROM theſe Journals it appears, that a Bill with the very ſame Title has been already four Times ſent up from the other Houſe, and as often rejected by this, which gave me a Curioſity, as ſoon as the Bill came up, to look into it, and to compare it with the Bill ſo often rejected; and, I muſt ſay, I was greatly ſurprized, when I found it was almoſt Word for Word the ſame, becauſe I really take it to be an Affront offered to us, to ſend up a fifth Time the very ſame Bill that has, ſo lately, been four Times rejected by us. Surely, thoſe who were the Promoters of this Bill muſt think, that we are either ſhort in our Memories, or variable in our Judgments; for the Circumſtances of the Nation are exactly the ſame now, as they were then; and tho' we have ſeveral young Lords come into the Houſe ſince that Time, yet, I am ſure, if all thoſe that were, upon former Occaſions, for rejecting the Bill, be ſtill of the ſame Opinion, I may eaſily judge of its Fate.

This, my Lords, I ſhould think ſufficient, upon the preſent Occaſion, for prevailing with your Lordſhips to put a Negative upon this Motion, if every Lord now preſent had been here, upon former Occaſions, when this Affair was fully debated; but, as there are now ſeveral Lords here, that were not then preſent, I ſhall beg Leave but juſt to touch upon ſome of the Reaſons formerly urged againſt this Bill, and which are now full as ſtrong as they were at that Time, nay, ſome of them, I think, much ſtronger. By wiſe Politicians, my Lords, it has always been laid down as a Maxim, not to make

any

any Alterations in the fundamental Forms of your civil Government or Conſtitution, unleſs ſome Grievance or Inconvenience, that is ſenſibly felt, render it abſolutely neceſſary; and the Reaſons are very plain, becauſe ſuch Alterations are generally attended with Convulſions in the State, and becauſe the Remedies you provide, are often found to be worſe than the Grievances you intended to cure. This Maxim, therefore, ought always to be obſerved, in Time of Peace as well as in Time of War; but, in Time of War, we ought to be much more cautious of departing from it, than in Time of Peace.

Now, my Lords, according to this Maxim, we muſt either ſuppoſe, that there is Corruption in the other Houſe, and that of the worſt Sort; or we muſt allow, that we have now, in Time of War, a ſtronger Reaſon for rejecting this Bill than we ever had before. To ſuppoſe that there is Corruption in the other Houſe of Parliament, and that Sort of Corruption too, which conſiſts in ready Money, or a private Penſion, would be throwing a very great, and, I hope, a very unjuſt Slander upon the other Houſe; but this I ſhould be very eaſy about, conſidering how often they have ſent this Bill up to us, if it did not, at the ſame Time, throw a very great, and, I am ſure, a very unjuſt Slander upon his Majeſty's Government. My Lords, it is a Crime to corrupt, as well as to be corrupted; and as there can be no Corrupted unleſs there be a Corrupter, to ſuppoſe that there is, in the other Houſe, any Man corrupted by the Crown, is to ſuppoſe that the Crown is guilty of a moſt infamous Crime, which no Lord in this Houſe will, I am ſure, ſuppoſe, during his preſent Majeſty's Reign.

We cannot even ſuppoſe, my Lords, that any of thoſe employed by his Majeſty in the Adminiſtration, are guilty of corrupting the Members of the other Houſe, becauſe it is not in their Power. They can grant no Penſion but by a Warrant from his Majeſty; they can give no Money, becauſe they have no publick Money but what they muſt account for to his Majeſty, or to Parliament. As for that Part of the publick Money which they muſt account for to Parliament, no Man will ſuppoſe, they can give any Part of it for bribing the Members; and as for that Part which they muſt account for to his Majeſty, they can give none of it without letting his Majeſty into the Secret, and making him a Sort of Partner in their Crime, which no Man will ſuppoſe they dare attempt. They can, therefore, have no Money for this Purpoſe, unleſs they ſhould make uſe of their own private Fortunes; and, for ſuch a Purpoſe, no private Fortune can be ſuppoſed to be equal. But ſuppoſe it were in their Power, I do not believe it is in their Inclination; and I hope, many Lords in this Houſe are of my Opinion. I have the Honour to be nearly related to ſome of thoſe employed in the Adminiſtration: From thence I have had an Opportunity of knowing their moſt ſecret Thoughts; and from thence I have formed my Opinion. Therefore, if it is neither in the Inclination, nor in the Power of any one employed in the Adminiſtration, to corrupt the Members of the other Houſe, what Occaſion can we have, would it not be altogether imprudent in us, to make an Alteration in one of the moſt fundamental Parts of our Conſtitution, in order to guard againſt a Grievance, which is neither felt, nor can be, in his preſent Majeſty's Reign, ſo much as ſuppoſed?

My Lords, the Prerogative our Sovereign has of rewarding Merit,

in what Shape, or in what Manner, he pleaſes, is one of the moſt fundamental, and one of the moſt uſeful Parts of our Conſtitution; and, an Alteration in this Reſpect, may not only occaſion Convulſions, which muſt be dangerous in Time of War, but likewiſe, it may be attended with Inconveniencies, which it is impoſſible to foreſee. There are many Sorts of publick Services which cannot be immediately explained, which it would be inconſiſtent with the publick Good to divulge; and yet, if this Bill ſhould paſs into a Law, his Majeſty could reward no Services in any Member of the other Houſe, without explaining and divulging thoſe Services; nay, and putting it in the Power of that Houſe to judge, whether thoſe Services deſerved ſuch a Reward, which might occaſion Diſputes between that Houſe and the Crown, and would certainly diſcourage every Member of that Houſe, from rendering any ſecret Services to the Publick.

This, my Lords, would be a great Prejudice to our Civil Government; and the frequent Oaths that are to be introduced by this Bill, would be of the moſt dangerous Conſequence, not only to our eſtabliſhed Religion, but even to natural Religion itſelf. In our antient Polity, both religious and civil, it was a wiſe Maxim, never to oblige or allow a Man to ſwear, in any Caſe, where Self-intereſt was concerned, eſpecially when the Circumſtances of the Caſe were ſuch as made it impoſſible to convict him of Perjury, even tho' he ſhould be guilty of it; but this Maxim ſeems to be quite overturned by this Bill, and therefore, I am convinced it will introduce amongſt us, an utter Contempt of Perjury, which is always followed by an utter Contempt of Religion.

These, my Lords, are ſome of the Reaſons formerly made uſe of againſt this Bill: They have already been four Times approved of by this Houſe: They are now ſtronger than ever they were before; and therefore, for the Sake of your own Character, as well as for the Reaſon of the Thing, I hope you will give this Bill the ſame Treatment, it has ſo often before met with.

[*This* DEBATE *and* JOURNAL *to be continued in our* APPENDIX, *which will be publiſhed ſome Time before the End of* January.]

Craftſman, Nov. 29. N° 752.

THE laſt Seſſion of this Parliament being now open'd, it cannot be thought unbecoming the Duty of a free Subject to make ſome Obſervations on the *preſent State of Affairs*, both abroad and at home.

Whoever hath read *his Majeſty's late Speech*, muſt be highly pleaſed to find that *his Majeſty* hath magnanimouſly determined *not to be* diverted *or* deterr'd *from thoſe juſt and vigorous Meaſures, which he is purſuing for maintaining the Honour of his Crown, and the undoubted Rights of his People.* (See p. 558.)

This is a glorious Reſolution, and worthy of an *heroick Prince*, who will not ſuffer a *brave and free People* to be interrupted in their *Trade*, plunder'd of their *Properties*, and moſt inhumanly treated in their *Perſons*, by a Nation infinitely beneath them in natural Strength, commercial Advantages, and military Virtue. They ſoon felt the *Effects of our Reſentment* in the *Weſt-Indies*, by the Conduct and Valour of Admiral *Vernon*, with ſo ſmall a Number of *Ships*, and but an Handful of *Land Forces*. The juſt Tribute of Praiſe, and Acknowledgment, which hath been paid to the Merit of *that brave and good Man*, renders it unneceſſary in

me to expatiate upon it any farther. Not only the *free Voice*, but the *Hearts of the People* have done him Juſtice; and even *thoſe*, who repine at his Succeſs, are at length obliged to ſtifle their Malevolence, and keep it ſecretly rankling in their own guilty Breaſts.

It were to be wiſh'd, that the *Squadrons* and *Land-Forces*, appointed for the *deſign'd Expedition*, *which were a long Time in Readineſs*, had met with *an Opportunity of purſuing the intended Voyage*. But notwithſtanding the Perverſeneſs of *Winds* and *Tides*, with other Accidents, I hope it is not yet too late for Lord *Cathcart* and Sir *Chaloner Ogle* to execute their Inſtructions, whatever they are; tho' the Seaſon for Action in *that Part of the World*, for which they are ſuppoſed to be deſtin'd, is very far advanced. What cannot *Britiſh* Courage do, under the Direction of *wiſe Counſels* and *vigorous Orders*?

It were likewiſe to be wiſh'd, that the *Spaniards had felt ſome Effects of our Reſentment in* Europe. But I do not find that our Squadron, under the Command of Admiral *Haddock*, which hath often been reinforced with Ships, Ammunition, naval Stores, and Proviſions, hath done any Thing more than ſailing from Port to Port, whilſt the *Spaniſh* Fleet was ſuffer'd to eſcape unmoleſted from *Cadiz* and *Ferrol*, and purſue their Voyage, as is generally ſuppoſed, to the *Weſt Indies*. But tho' they got the Start of us ſeveral Months, I hope, and am willing to believe, that ſuch proper Care was taken, by the known Wiſdom and Vigilance of *our Adminiſtration*, that they will not be able to take either our Fleets, or any of our Settlements in *America*, by Surprize.

It is certain, as his Majeſty moſt wiſely obſerves, *that the Court of* Spain, *having already felt* ſome *Effects of our Reſentment, began to be ſenſible that they ſhould be no longer able*, alone, *to defend themſelves againſt the Efforts of the* Britiſh *Nation*.

This is confirmed by the Hiſtory of all Ages, ever ſince *Spain* was a Monarchy, and when we were much leſs powerful, both by Sea and Land, than we are at preſent. I don't remember that *Spain* ever conquer'd us, tho' ſhe once attempted it, in the Days of our glorious Q. *Elizabeth*, with her boaſted *invincible Armada*; but every Body knows how *Providence*, and the Spirit of *that great Heroine* protected us againſt all their inſolent Bravadoes.

I muſt likewiſe ſo far do Juſtice to the Memory of *O. Cromwell* as to obſerve, that inſtead of ſuffering the *Spaniards* to inſult, plunder and otherwiſe mal-treat the *good People of* England, as he uſed to call them, he made them feel the *Effects of his Reſentment*, in the moſt ſenſible Manner; and we are, to this Day, obliged to him for the Conqueſt and Poſſeſſion of *Jamaica*, which at a moderate Computation, conſidering what they ſend us, and what they take from us in Return, hath brought above 100 *Millions of Money* into this Nation, beſides the other great Advantages of its Situation, and will continue a laſting Mine of Gold to us, with a little due Care, Encouragement and Protection.

Since I have mention'd *Cromwell*, let it be farther remember'd to his Honour, that he forced the *French* Court to deliver up *Dunkirk* into his Hands; and it might have ſtill continued in our Poſſeſſion, as well as *Jamaica*, had it not been infamouſly ſold to *France* in the Reign of King *Charles* II. Theſe two Acquiſitions of *Jamaica* and *Dunkirk*, under the Protectorate of *Oliver*, occaſioned thoſe fine Verſes of Mr. *Waller* to his Memory, particularly the following Couplet.

Bene-

Beneath the tropicks *is our language ſpoke,*
And part of Flanders *hath receiv'd our yoke.*

Dunkirk being thus ignominiouſly ſold to *France*, it proved a terrible Thorn in our Sides in all our ſubſequent Wars with *that Crown*, by lying ſo conveniently to harbour their *Privateers*, and let them looſe upon our *Merchant-Ships* at the very Chops of the Channel. It was therefore ſolemnly ſtipulated by an Article in the Treaty of *Utrecht*, *That all the Fortifications of the City of* Dunkirk *be razed*; *that the Harbour be fill'd up*; *and that the Sluices or Moles, which ſerve to cleanſe the Harbour, be levell'd*; *and that, at the ſaid King of* France's *own Expence.—On this expreſs Condition alſo, that the ſaid Fortifications, Harbours, Moles, or Sluices, be* never repair'd again.—But the *French* Court having attempted to evade their Engagements about *Dunkirk*, by a new Canal and Fortifications at *Mardyke*, in the Beginning of his late Majeſty's Reign, the Treaty of *Utrecht* was confirm'd, explain'd, and extended to the new Works at *Mardyke*, in the ſame ſolemn Manner, by the 4th Article of the Treaty of Alliance between *Great Britain*, *France* and *Holland*, in 1717. (See p. 547, &c.)

Thus ſtood the Affair of *Dunkirk* for ſeveral Years; but at laſt the Court of *France* began to violate her Engagements again, even under our *preſent moſt auſpicious Adminiſtration*, by taking large Steps towards repairing and fortifying the Port and Harbour of *Dunkirk*. This perfidious Conduct, on the Part of *France*, gave our *Merchants* very much Uneaſineſs, and occaſion'd a Complaint in *Parliament*; but our *great Miniſter* had Dexterity enough, at that Time, to ſtop all farther Inquiries into it at home, and to obtain a Declaration from his Brother Miniſter in *France*, (I mean the *Cardinal*) that the Matter of Complaint was owing only to a *providential Tide*, which had cleanſed the Harbour; with a Sort of Promiſe, that the Tenour of the *Treaties* ſhould be punctually obſerved for the future.

This Declaration and Promiſe lull'd the People aſleep for ſome Time longer; tho' it was notorious, from ocular Proof, authentick Informations, and even from our *Cuſtom-Houſe Books*, that the Harbour of *Dunkirk* was capable of receiving *Merchant Ships* of a large Burden, and actually carry'd on a very conſiderable Trade.

But now, the Matter is paſt all Diſpute; for the *French* Court have not only made a great Progreſs in repairing and fortifying the Port and Harbour of *Dunkirk*, but inſolently avow'd and juſtify'd their ſo doing. The loud and even clamorous Voice of the *People*, upon this Account, at length reach'd the *Miniſter*'s Ears, and obliged him, *nolens volens*, to take ſome Notice of ſo bare-faced an Infraction of *Treaties*, and Violation of *publick Faith*. But whoever reads my Lord *Waldegrave*'s Memorial, or Remonſtrance, to the Miniſters of *France*, againſt this perfidious Proceeding, and their Anſwer to it, muſt be convinced that they are reſolved to fortify *Dunkirk*, and ſeem to depend on their Art of amuſing us, as they have too often done already, with trifling and bantering Aſſurances. (See p. 511.) The *French King's Reaſons for fortifying Dunkirk* are not only frivolous and againſt the *Law of Nations*, but contemptuous and inſolent to the laſt Degree.—Will any Man of common Underſtanding believe, that the *French* Court had no other View in erecting Batteries and other Fortifications at *Dunkirk*, than to protect the Port and Harbour from the Inſults of *Smugglers*, *Corſairs*, and *Privateers*? Beſides, by what Right, or Pretence of Right, is *Dunkirk*

again become a *Port* and *Harbour* at all?

The ſame Obſervations naturally ariſe upon the Departure of the *French* Squadrons for the *Weſt-Indies*; which the Court of *France* hath openly juſtify'd in the Face of the World, upon the two following Accounts: *Firſt*, it is ſaid that *theſe Squadrons* are only deſign'd to convoy home the *Spaniſh Galleons*, or at leaſt to ſecure their own Part of the Treaſure aboard them; and, *ſecondly*, to prevent us from taking Poſſeſſion of any of the *Spaniſh* Settlements in the *Weſt-Indies*. So that we are to be rid with a *Martingal*, and *France* will graciouſly condeſcend to let us carry on a little pyratical War againſt the *Spaniards*, provided we do not attack them in ſuch a Manner as to oblige them to do us Juſtice for their long-continued Depredations, Inſults, and Barbarities.—But as it hath pleaſed God to inſpire the Heart of *our auguſt Monarch* with a Reſolution ſuitable to the Character of a *great King*, ſo the Hearts of the People are thoroughly united to ſupport him in the Proſecution of ſo *juſt and neceſſary a War*, which cannot fail of Succeſs, under the divine Bleſſing, but by the Treachery or Puſillanimity of *thoſe*, who are intruſted with the Conduct and Management of it.

The *juſt and neceſſary War*, in which we are engaged with *Spain*, hath already put us to a very great Expence; but as it is perfectly agreeable to the Senſe of the whole Nation, a *few ſervile Courtiers* excepted, and undertaken by *his Majeſty*'s Wiſdom and Goodneſs; ſo the vigorous Proſecution of it will not be retarded by the Want of *ſuch Supplies*, and *extraordinary Aids*, as the preſent Circumſtances of the People will admit; in full Hopes and Confidence that *his Majeſty* will vouchſafe to give his Parliament a diſtinct and particular Account to what Uſes the *liberal Grants of laſt Year* were apply'd.

But nothing will conciliate the Hearts and Affections of his People ſo much, as the Security of their *Liberties at home*, which will encourage them to bear any reaſonable Burden for ſupporting *his Arms abroad*. What the Nation ſeems primarily and univerſally bent upon, for this Purpoſe, is *an Act to limit and reduce the Number of* Placemen *in the* Houſe of Commons. The numerous Inſtructions, and even warm Remonſtrances, from both Parts of the *united Kingdom*, are ſufficient to juſtify my Aſſertion; and therefore I ſhall conclude this Paper with the following Quotation from a little Treatiſe lately publiſh'd, intitled, French *Influence over* Britiſh *Counſels*.

" I know, one of the *mercenary Writers* againſt the *Place-Bill* has wiſely ſaid, that our *Members of Parliament* ought to be under a Dependence upon *Miniſters* for the *Places* they poſſeſs or expect, in order to prevent their falling under a *corrupt* Dependence upon *France*. To ſuppoſe that *France* could ever get any conſiderable *corrupt* Influence over our *Parliaments*, any other Way than by firſt *corrupting* our *Miniſters*, is an Imagination that can never proceed from any Thing but a wrong Head or falſe Heart. It is an Attempt the Court of *France* knows to be impracticable and impoſſible; for as this Influence can be got by nothing but *ready Money*; and, as a ſufficient Sum, in Proportion to the Value each Man puts upon *his Honour*, muſt be given, not only to every *Member of Parliament*, but to every individual *Elector*, ſo far at leaſt as to form a *Majority* of each, it would be impoſſible even for the Crown of *France* to ſpare ſuch a Sum as would be ſufficient for this Purpoſe. But if any one of our *Miniſters* ſhould get the ſole and entire

entire Guidance of our *King*, and thereby the Diſpoſal of all the *publick Money*, and of all the *Penſions*, *Poſts*, and *Offices*, which the *Crown* has in its Power to beſtow, the *yearly Revenue* and *Profits* of which, in the Whole, I could ſhew to be above *ſix Millions Sterling*, ſuch a *Miniſter*, by Means of *theſe Penſions*, *Poſts*, and *Offices*, might get a *corrupt Influence* not only over a *Majority* in each *Houſe of Parliament*, but over a *Majority* at moſt of the *Elections* in the *Kingdom*; and if this ſhould ever come to be our Caſe, the Court of *France* might, and certainly would endeavour to gain *that Miniſter*, either by a large Sum of Money, or by promiſing him their Protection, in caſe he ſhould, by any Turn of Fortune, be in Danger of meeting with *that Fate*, which, thank God, moſt *ſole* and *prime Miniſters* have hitherto met with in *this Kingdom*. And if the Crown of *France* ſhould by either of theſe Means gain a *corrupt Influence* over *that Miniſter*, the *Penſions*, *Poſts*, and *Offices* he had in his Power to beſtow, would be brought in Aid of the *French Influence* upon him; and then our *King*, our *Adminiſtration*, and our *Parliament* might be properly ſaid to be under a *corrupt Dependence* upon the Crown of *France*. This is a Danger we ought to guard againſt, and it can be guarded againſt no other Way, but by preſerving the *Freedom* and *Independency of our Parliaments*."

Common Senſe, Nov. 29. N° 199.

What the Craftſman *handles in a ſerious Manner in Part of the foregoing Paper*, Common Senſe *treats in a humorous Strain, after the ſame Manner as in his Paper of* Oct. 25. *(See p.* 499.*)*

IT hath been objected, (ſays he) that while we had 80 Men of War at Anchor in our Roads and Harbours, there was not one cruizing either within or without the Channel; and that our Merchant Veſſels fell into the Mouths of *Spaniſh* Privateers, where they expected to meet *Engliſh* Men of War ſtation'd to convoy them in.

If this be true, I take it to be the moſt politick of all our Meaſures; for had we ſpread our Ships of War over the Seas, the *Spaniſh* Privateers would not have ventured out, and then how ſhould we have catch'd them?

Good Sportſmen lay Baits to draw Otters and Foxes out of their Holes: If our political Sportſmen have done the ſame Thing by *Spaniſh* Privateers, it hath had ſo good an Effect, that one of them (as I have been inform'd) fell into the Trap; for chaſing a Ship into the Middle of one of our Squadrons, he was nabb'd by it.—After he was taken, he frankly own'd, that he was drawn into this Trap by believing that there was not an *Engliſh* Man of War left upon the Seas.

If it be urged, that the Privateers often eſcaped the Trap, and ran away with the Bait; we anſwer, it is of ſmall Importance; for what were theſe Baits? Nothing but trading Veſſels, not one of our excellent M——, nay, not one of the inferior Placemen were concern'd in any of them, either as Owners, Freighters, much leſs Inſurers.

Upon the whole, our Placemen may ſay of theſe Captures, what Sir *John Falſtaff* ſaid of ſome other Robberies,—We praiſe them, we laud them, they hurt none but honeſt Men.

There have been Murmurs in relation to the continual Preſs for Seamen, which hath laſted a Year and a Half without Intermiſſion; and alſo about thoſe frequent and ſalutary Embargoes, which, it is pretended, is a Meaſure never to be taken

taken but in the laſt Neceſſity, a Meaſure which nothing can excuſe but the ſaving the Nation.

As to this, it may be anſwer'd, that the expeditious fitting out of ſuch immenſe Fleets, againſt ſo formidable a maritime Power as *Spain*, was a Matter of the laſt Neceſſity; and the important Services in which they have been ſince employ'd, juſtify the Embargoes, and ſhew that they have ſaved the Nation, or, at leaſt, they have ſaved themſelves.

While ſome have been grumbling that by our Fleets being kept at home, *Jamaica* and the other Sugar Iſlands lay at the Mercy of the *Spaniards*, if they had had the Courage to have ſent out their *Ferrol* Squadron with a few Troops to have attack'd them: Others have been making a Noiſe about the great Charge incurr'd to the Nation by the Hire of ſo many Thouſands of foreign Troops in *Germany:* Both theſe Meaſures were juſtified, by what a right worthy Gentleman, a Placeman, ſaid to one who, thinking to puzzle him (tho' he fancied him to be in the Secret) aſk'd him, what the *Daniſh* and *Heſſian* Troops were hired for? His Anſwer was, they are hired to defend our Sugar Colonies in *America*; and then laugh'd at his own Wit, like an arch Wag as he was.

Our Army at home hath been no leſs ſerviceably employ'd, than our Navy. As to any Expence occaſion'd by the Augmentation of our Land Forces, or by the Encampments, all the World muſt ſee it was abſolutely neceſſary; the *Spaniſh* Privateers have been bold enough to venture into the Channel; had not our Army been drawn together and encamp'd, what ſhould hinder thoſe Privateers from making a Deſcent upon us, and involving the Nation in Blood?

Theſe Camps have been uſeful in defending us againſt Deſcents from *Spaniſh* Privateers upon the Sea, and have ſerv'd to divert our People aſhore.—The Operations of the War have been conducted ſo much to the Honour of our Commanders, that the Campaign is finiſh'd without the Loſs of a Man, except two or three that are in Danger of being hang'd for ſtealing of Sheep.

The Army was increaſed moſt certainly with no other Deſign, but to attack the *Spaniards* in *America*; But as it is not proper to ſend Troops into that Climate in Summer, becauſe it is too hot, nor in Winter, becauſe it is too cold, the beſt Way to ruin *Spain* is to keep them at home; ſo that I am ſorry they are gone at laſt.

All our Meaſures have ſomething in them to elevate and ſurprize, it is no Wonder therefore they have been attended with ſo much Succeſs; and ſince I have named Succeſs, let me put the World in Mind, that to be eſteem'd fortunate, has at other Times, recommended Men to the Favour of the People; and ſure no Men ever deſerv'd the Title of Fortunate ſo much, as the great Perſon to whom this Nation owes its preſent Pitch of Grandeur.—No ſiniſter Accident hath interpos'd to diſappoint any of their Schemes, —— all hath gone on without the leaſt Ruffle from *France*,—our Fleets have rode at Anchor in our own Harbours, and our Armies have encamp'd upon our own Plains, in Spite of *Spaniards* and of froſty Weather:—Nay, they have been no leſs fortunate in their Perſons than in their Politicks, ſome of them from Bankrupts, enjoy the Affluence of Princes; and from the Dread once of a Jail, now find themſelves ſuddenly tranſported into a Palace;——from the Corruptor down to the *Don*, who was made a Gentleman by his Catholick Majeſty, one would ſwear they had all riſen with their —— uppermoſt.

Un-

Universal Spectator. N° 634.

Of indulging extravagant and romantick FANCIES.

AMONG all the Vices which inhabit the Mind of Man, there are none ſo pernicious, as that of giving one's ſelf over to whimſical *Fancy*.——The Mind of Man, if not properly exercis'd, will be wiſhing for Impoſſibilities, and thinking that Happineſs moſtly conſiſts in that which cannot be obtain'd; for Lady *Fancy* is abſolute, controling her Votaries to her Commands, ſtill keeping ſuch watchful Eyes, that Victories, Diadems, and Magnificence, employ the ambitious Temper; but none but lazy, abandon'd Wretches would worſhip a Phantom, that leads into imaginary Romantick Pleaſures, unknown to human Creation. Let us compare this State to that of him, whoſe *Induſtry* improves the Mind, and the Health and Vigour of the Body, cheriſhing the Fruits of Labour, by being pleas'd with his daily Works, and when Night approaches, hopes for the enſuing Morn to finiſh the buſineſs of his fruitful Hands: This is what employs the Thonghts of the Induſtrious, which leaves no Room for vile Notions to fruſtrate the Pleaſures of the Virtuous; but a plenteous Harveſt enriches him and his Poſterity, while the other is overned by Miſery, Misfortunes, and Impoſſibilities. This Subject is nely touch'd in the *Characteriſticks* of the Lord *Shaftſbury* *.

"A Diſtemper in my Eye, ſays he, may make me ſee the ſtrangeſt kind of Figures; and when Cataracts, and other Impurities are gathering in that Organ, Flies, Inſects, and other various Forms, ſeem playing in the Air before me: But if my Senſes err ever ſo widely, I am not, on this Account, beſide myſelf; nor am I out of my own Poſſeſſion, whilſt there is a Perſon left within, who has Power to diſpute the Appearances and redreſs the Imagination.

I am accoſted by Ideas and ſtriking Apprehenſions, but I take nothing on their Report; I hear their Story, and return them Anſwer as they deſerve: *Fancy* and I are not all one; the Diſagreement makes me my own: When on the contrary I have no Debate with her, no Controverſy, but take for Happineſs and Miſery, for Good and Ill, whatever ſhe preſents as ſuch; I muſt then join Voices with her, and cry *Precipice! Fire! Cerberus! Elyſium!*

Sandy Deſarts! Flowery Fields!
Seas of Milk, and Ships of Amber!

A *Grecian* Prince, who had the ſame Madneſs as *Alexander*, and was deeply ſtruck with the Fancy of *conquering Worlds*, was ingeniouſly ſhewn the Method of expoſtulating with his Lady Governeſs; when by a diſcreet Friend, and at an eaſy Hour, he was aſk'd little by little concerning his *Deſign*, and the final Purpoſe and promis'd Good, which the flattering Dame propos'd to him. All the Artifice employ'd againſt the Prince was a well manag'd Interrogatory, of *what next?* Lady *Fancy* was not aware of the Deſign upon her, but let herſelf be worm'd out by Degrees: At firſt ſhe ſaid the Prince's Deſign was only upon a Tract of Land which ſtood out like a Promontory before him, and ſeem'd to eclipſe his Glory: A fair rich Iſland, which was cloſe by, preſented itſelf next, and as it were naturally invited his Conqueſt; the oppoſite Coaſt came next in View, then the Continent on each Side the larger Sea, and then (what was eaſieſt of all, and would follow of Courſe) the Dominion both of Sea and Land. And *what next?* reply'd

* *Advice to an Author*, Sect. 2. Part III. p. 325. Vol. I.

reply'd the Friend; what ſhall we *do* when we are thus become *happy*, and have obtain'd our *higheſt Wiſh?* Why *then* we'll *ſit down peaceably, and be good Company over a Bottle.* Alas, Sir! what hinders us from doing the ſame where we now are? Will our Humour or our Wine grow better? Shall we be more ſecure or at Heart's Eaſe? What you may poſſibly loſe by theſe Attempts, is eaſy to conceive; but which Way you will be a Gainer, your own Fancy (you ſee) cannot ſo much as ſuggeſt. *Fancy* in the mean While carry'd her Point; for ſhe was abſolute over the Monarch, and had been too little talk'd to by herſelf to bear being reprov'd in Company: The Prince grew ſullen, turn'd the Diſcourſe, abhorr'd the Profanation offer'd to his Sovereign Empreſs, deliver'd up his Thoughts to her again with deep Devotion, and fell to conquering with all his Might; the Sound of Victory rung in his Ears, *Laurels* and *Crowns* play'd before his Eyes.—What was this beſides Giddineſs and Dream? Appearances incorrected, Worlds dancing, Phantoms playing, *Seas of Milk, and Ships of Amber!*"

Common Senſe, Dec. 6. N° 200.

A Seaſonable ADMONITION to PLACEMEN.

THE Nation is now engaged in a War, and whether the People have Bread to eat, or not, Money will be raiſed to carry it on. Pacifick Armies at home and abroad, unactive naval Expeditions, and that bottomleſs Pit *ſecret Service*, have been attended with an Expence ſcarce known in former Ages; even in Time of War: But ſtill there is a Stock of Wealth left in the Nation ſufficient for its Defence, tho' it is not in the Hands of the People; and no doubt it will be raiſed upon thoſe who are able to bear the Burden.

In *Richard* IId's Time, a Meſſage being ſent to the Parliament to deſire the Supplies neceſſary to enable the King to carry on the War, the Parliament gave the following Anſwer to the Meſſage: That there would be no Occaſion to burden the People with the Expence of this War, for that the King might get Money enough from his Miniſters for that Purpoſe, who were grown immenſely rich; and adviſed the King, by all Means, to take it from them, and ſpare the People. And in another Parliament in the ſame Reign, (for Parliaments were then Annual) it was enacted, That the common People ſhould be wholly exempt from paying any Tax towards the Maintenance of the War, but that all Monies raiſed for that Purpoſe ſhould be laid upon Dukes, Earls, Barons, Arch-Biſhops, Biſhops, mitred Abbots, rich Cuntas, Knights and Eſquires.

I am afraid that the Knights and Eſquires at preſent are as little able to pay towards the War as the common People; I muſt except ſuch as have the good Fortune to enjoy the Favour of our moſt excellent Miniſter, who, it muſt be confeſs'd, bear no Share in the Miſery of the Times: But notwithſtanding the Face of Poverty that now overſpreads the Land, there is ſtill, I ſay, a ſufficient Stock left for carrying on a War for ſome Years: The preſent immenſe Civil Liſt enables the Crown to contribute largely towards it.—Poor Queen *Anne*, who had no Revenues from any Dominions abroad, and whoſe Civil Liſt yielded but little more than half what the preſent produces, gave 100,000*l.* in one Year, ſaying, ſhe would ſhare with her Subjects in the Burden of the War.

In the Reign of King *William*, the Civil Liſt happening to produce more than was intended to be given, and more than was neceſſary for ſup-

porting the Dignity of the Crown, for it amounted to near 700,000*l.* in one Year, the Parliament not thinking it conſiſtent with the Truſt repoſed in them by the People, to leave a Revenue in the Hands of the Crown, which, whenever there A ſhould be a weak or a wicked Adminiſtration, would certainly be employ'd to poiſon that Fountain from whence our Liberties flow, took 100,000*l.* a Year from it.

Notwithſtanding that the preſent Civil Liſt is ſo much larger than B that of any of our former Kings, there will be no Occaſion for an Act of Reſumption, when all the World ſees it beſtow'd not in corrupting thoſe who ſhould be our Friends at home, but in defending us againſt our Enemies abroad.

We will grant, that the Savings of the preſent Civil Liſt will neither be employ'd to undermine our Liberties at home, nor to purchaſe Dominions abroad; that may be an Expence, but never can be of Uſe to *Great Britain*: The Miniſters Character for Virtue and Integrity is our great Protection in this Caſe; but the Danger lies here, that future Princes will expect as large a Revenue, and if their Miniſters ſhould happen not to be Perſons of quite ſo much Honour as the preſent, the Conſequences may be fatal.

Beſides what the Crown may be able to contribute, there is another large Fund for the War; I mean the vaſt Wealth in the Hands of the Placemen: It hath been a glorious Time with them for many Years, the Wealth of the Nation hath been flowing into their Coffers, they may well ſay, the Nation is rich, for they feel no Share of its Poverty. I think the Placemen may look upon themſelves in ſome Senſe as the Proprietors of all the Lands in *England*, and conſider the Owners only as their Stewards; the Manufacturer may work, the Farmer may plough and ſow, and the Landlord may receive Rent when he can get it; but how much of this goes to the Uſe of their own Families?—Others may labour in the Hive, but it is the Placemen that devour all the Honey.—Such are the Emoluments of Salary, and the Sweets of Perquiſite, that we have ſeen in another Reign the petty Clerks of Offices turning the Gentleman of Fortune out of his Borough, and he that was born to Servitude hath become a Legiſlator;—ſo much better is it to receive Taxes than to pay them.

Now is the Time for them to convince us, that Placemen are not dangerous to the Conſtitution; for ſure they will not expect to riot in C Luxury and Corruption, while the very Vitals of the People are waſting and exhauſting in Taxes to pay the Intereſt of Debts, and to ſupport the War. It is fit to put them in mind of one Thing, that the Salaries of the Civil Employments in D this Kingdom alone, amount to more than thoſe of *France*, *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Holland*, put together, tho' the Revenues of one of thoſe Countries amount to more than ours; and well they may, for they have double the Number of People to E pay them.

I have been inform'd, that the bare Salaries of the Treaſury and Exchequer Offices amount to 90,000*l.* *per Annum*,—an immenſe Sum! and that a Scheme was offer'd to a certain Gentleman ſome Years ago, F for doing the whole Buſineſs for 8, or at moſt for 10,000*l.* *per Annum*; but, as great a Blunderer as he is eſteem'd, he knew better Things than to encourage ſuch Schemes.

The Salaries in the Cuſtoms, Exciſes, and all the other Offices, are G proportionably extravagant.—It is a ſtrange Thing to ſay, but it is true, that the bare Management of the ſeveral Branches of the Revenue, is

a greater Burden upon the People now, that is to ſay, it amounts to more yearly than the whole Revenue did about an Age ſince.

It is to be hoped, that all uſeleſs Salaries will immediately be thrown into the publick Stock; the Placemen are in a long Arrears, they are vaſt Debtors to their Country. In ſuch a Time of Diſtreſs, while the exhauſted Gentry and Commonalty are paying Thouſands to the Publick, they will not, they cannot have the Aſſurance to draw Thouſands from it: Let them therefore eaſe their Country in the Expences of this War, otherwiſe the People may be under a Neceſſity of turning over a new Leaf with them.

As the Plenty they enjoy amidſt the Peoples Diſtreſs, hath been drawn from the Publick; the Publick in its Neceſſity hath a very good Right to expect large Contributions from them; the leaſt that can be expected is, that all of them (except thoſe of the lower Rank) will remit their Salaries during the Continuance of the preſent War: Perhaps it might be the beſt Expedient that could be found out for putting a ſpeedy End to it: But be that as it may, it is certainly an Act of common Juſtice.—Many wiſe Men think the Conſtitution may be in Danger, from their Encreaſe, as well as from their engroſſing too large a Share of the Wealth that is left in the Kingdom. Let them do ſomething to ſhew they have no Mind to be burdenſome; let them prevent a Neceſſity for Acts of Enquiry and Reſumption: If thoſe Things once begin, it may be worſe than the Suſpenſion of two or three Years Salary.

Craftſman, Dec. 13. N° 754.

A Dialogue between Mr. Robert Jobb, *a* Placeman, *and* George Manſion, *Eſq; a* Weſt-Country Gentleman.

Jobb. HAH! my worty Neighbour, Mr. *Manſion*, I am glad to ſee you. We have not met here in Town theſe many Years, I'll warrant, you are come up to place Part of your old Hoards upon *ſome Security*, which you would not truſt to the Judgment of a *Country Lawyer*. You Gentlemen live ſnug at your *Family Seats*, and grow rich without Envy.

Manſion. Indeed, Mr. *Jobb*, you are very wide of the Mark. I don't pretend to plead *Poverty*, myſelf; (Thanks to my Anceſtors, and *my own neceſſary Frugality!*) but as to the Generality of *Country Gentlemen*, few of my Acquaintance are able to bring the Year about. *Tenants* run ſo much in Arrear, that no Man knows how to proportion his Expences. *Wealth* and *Loſs of Manufactures* are utter Strangers, and never ſeen in the ſame Company.

J. Ever ſince I have known the World, People have been complaining; for none of us love to tell our *Gains*.

M. You indeed, Mr. *Jobb*, may have ſome Reaſon to conceal your *Gains*; becauſe, if they were to be publickly enquir'd into and examin'd, they would appear too exorbitant to be ſuffer'd, by any *People*, who are call'd *free*. But Gentlemen, who ſerved their Country, and at the ſame Time enrich'd themſelves, would have no Reaſon to conceal *their Profits*. Why ſhould People be fond of *complaining*, without Cauſe, when due Regard hath been very ſeldom paid to their *juſt Complaints*, and *notorious Injuries*? However, I don't ſpeak from *verbal Complaints* only, but from the *full Demonſtrations of Neceſſity*, to which I ſee Multitudes of poor People in my Neighbourhood, (Men, Women and Children) who have been employ'd in the *Woollen Manufactury*, are now reduced, in ſuch a Manner as to be almoſt deſtitute of the *Neceſſaries of Life*.

J. I know the *Manufacturers* in

the West have assembled in a riotous Manner, on Account of *Wages*; but I apprehend this was occasion'd either by *Luxury*, which is become too general among the *common People*, and puts them upon living above what *their Wages* can honestly afford; or from a Combination of the *Clothiers*, who, to increase their *own Gains*, endeavour to keep down the *Manufacturer's Wages*.

M. I know, *Sir*, very well, and all the World knows, to whom we are obliged for our *Luxury*; *Placemen*, and *Paper Credit*. But let it descend ever so low, I think the Want of it would not make any People so mad as to venture their Necks; tho' they might be tempted to it by *Scarcity* and *Necessity*. Besides, where can be the *Luxury* of living idle, for *Want of Employment*, and being reduced to the scanty Provision of a *Parish Maintenance*? As to the Combination of *Clothiers*, were it true, it would only be a Proof of the declining State of *our Manufactures*; for if there were a quick Demand, it would not be in the Power of the *Clothier* to keep the Wages of his *Workmen* under a reasonable Price; for in a *large Manufacture*, the Profit from Hand to Hand may be easily known, and *Gain* would break thro' *all Combinations*. But the Case is very different, when *Half of the Manufacturers* cannot get Employment; for then there is too much Room for *Combinations*.

J. If the Decay of our *Woollen Manufactury* is owing to the *French* underselling us at *foreign Markets*, the only Remedy in my Knowledge is to prevent the *Wool* of *England* and *Ireland* being run to *France*, by which she is enabled to destroy *our Trade* with *our own Materials*. As great Enemies as you *Country Gentlemen* think us *Placemen* to be, you will find a ready Concurrence in us to promote any Scheme——

M.—For making *penal Laws*, or introducing *Excises*. The exporting of *Wool* is already *Felony*. Can you be more severe? The most effectual Way to keep your *Wool* at home is to lessen the Expences of the *Manufacturer*; for whilst *France* can underwork you, she will always be able to give more for your *Wool* than your *own Manufacturers* can afford; and *Profit* will always tempt Men to run any Hazard. The *Cheapness of Corn*, for some Years together, tho' it lay very hard upon the *Farmer*, was a Relief to the *Manufacturer*. But now a Dearth of Provisions is added to the heavy Burthen of *Excises*, which had before inhanced the *common Necessaries* and *Conveniencies of Life*, as well as the Materials of *Workmanship*, to an extravagant Price, we must expect, if not soon relieved, that our Calamities will grow dreadful to us.

J. This ought to have been consider'd, before the *War* was begun; and you know very well, Mr. *Mansion*, who are the *Persons*, that precipitated *this War*.

M. I shall not enter into the Justification of a *War*, which the *three Branches of the Legislature* so vigorously resolved; and, what is more, hath been seconded and applauded, in the highest Degree, by the general Voice of the *People*, for the Good of whom *all Parts of the Legislature* were constituted.

J. The more justifiable and necessary a *War* is, the more patiently ought we to bear *Taxes*. A *War* cannot be carry'd on, without *Interruption of Trade*, and *publick Expence*. But no sooner are we engaged, than there is a Clamour that we are *ruin'd*, our *Trade* is gone, and our *Taxes* are insupportable.

M. Because *Loss of Trade* and *heavy Taxes* are the only Sign we yet have of War, the glorious Atchievements of Admiral *Vernon* excepted. The *War* must be supported; and no Doubt is expensive; but there may be Oeconomy; nay,

there ought to be the greateſt Oeconomy in Time of *War*; and more Care ought to be taken to raiſe the *neceſſary Aids* with leſs Expence and Burthen to the Nation, when our *Commerce* is interrupted, than if it were open.

J. Dear Mr. *Manſion*, is it reaſonable to expect that *Taxes* ſhould be leſſen'd in Time of *War?* I may venture to ſay there is no *Precedent* of it in Hiſtory.

M. I am afraid, indeed, there are more *Precedents* in Hiſtory againſt *Liberty* and *publick Oeconomy* than in favour of them. But ſurely a Change of *Taxes* is not very uncommon. The *Revolution* began with it. However, my Scheme, tho' *Precedents* may be againſt me, is to take off all or moſt of the *heavy Duties upon Conſumptions*, without ſubſtituting *any other Taxes* in their Room; at leaſt, not till it is ſeen what Savings can be made in the Collection and Diſtribution of the *publick Money*, by the Reduction of *ſome Places*, and leſſening the Salary of *others*; to which I make no Doubt we may add the *Bounty of the Crown*, by giving up a conſiderable Part of the *preſent immenſe Civil Liſt*; of which I am ſure there are ſome *Precedents*.

J. Hold, Mr. *Manſion*.—You are talking of *high Matters*, and what ought not to be lightly treated.—If the *Crown* ſhould be ſo bountiful as to grant any Aid towards the Support of the *War*, out of a *Civil Liſt* beſtow'd by *Parliament*, and confirm'd *for Life*, it ought not to be look'd upon as a *Demand of Right*, but to be received——

M. With the moſt humble Gratitude; and as far as I can ſpread my poor Influence in my Neighbourhood, that Conſtruction ſhall be put upon it.

J. But as to the other Part of your Scheme, concerning the Reduction of *Places* and *Salaries*, you are in Effect endeavouring to rob the *Crown* of its moſt valuable Jewel. Take away the Influence of *Places*, and you would ſoon ſee nothing but *Anarchy* and *Confuſion*.

M. On the contrary, you would ſee and hear nothing but *Joy* and *Reverence*.—Mr. *Jobb*, Mr. *Jobb*, the Nation is quite tired with being rid by *Placemen*.—They tell you ſo.—Almoſt every Man in *England* hath ſet his Hand to it, and the other Hand was upon his Heart.—Would you have the People patiently bear the Yoke and Burthen of their *Taxes*, convince them that your *Yoke is eaſy*, and *your Burthen is light*; or, in plain *Engliſh*, convince them that what hath been done is for the *publick Good*. You are forced to engage in a *War*, with the ſame Number of *Taxes*, which near 30 Years ago forced you to make *Peace*, and very near the *ſame Debt*. Is it not highly reaſonable that *thoſe*, who have had the lucrative Benefit of *Peace*, in *Places*, and *Penſions*, ſhould contribute largely towards the Expence of a *War?*—But how can we depend upon the *War*'s being better conducted than the *Peace* hath been, as to the *military Execution* of it? We have now been in War about 18 *Months*; during which Time *greater naval Armaments* have been equipp'd than ever were made either in this, or any other Nation. I ſay, notwithſtanding all theſe Preparations, hath any Thing material and truly national been done, excepting by *ſix Ships only?*—As to our *political Management*, with Regard to *Embargoes*, Prohibitions to export *Corn*, and *other Neceſſaries of Life*, the publick Accounts in our News Papers are ſufficient.

J. I hope, Mr. *Manſion*, you approve of the *general Embargo*, which hath been lately laid upon the Contractors in *Ireland*, to prevent the *French* being ſupply'd with Proviſions from *our Markets*.

M. Embargoes muſt always be pre-

judicial

judicial to the *Trade of a Country*, tho' in many Cases they may be absolutely necessary; as, for Instance, at present, when *Provisions of all Kinds* are so excessively dear; for if a *plentiful Year* would give us Leave to spare, I don't see why the Money might not be as well received by *us* as by our *Neighbours*. But *Embargoes* of this Sort being intended to keep down the Price of *Provisions*. Care should be taken to lay on the *Embargo* before the *victualling Contracts* are made.

J. I see you are candid enough to put the most favourable Construction upon the Actions of *Placemen*. But you have often mention'd *Decay of Trade* and *Loss of Trade*. You cannot surely think that a Nation in *War* can enjoy the Benefits of *Peace*. The more flourishing our *Trade* is, the more obnoxious will our *Merchant-Vessels* be to the Seizures of *our Enemy*. The Capture of our *Ships* is therefore a Proof of our *Trade*.

M. No, Mr. *Jobb*, it is rather a Proof of what I shall forbear to name. It is the Consequence of different Management. Whilst our *great Armaments* lay basking the whole Summer upon our *own Lands*, the *Spaniards*, with a few of their *small Craft*, have been kidnapping our Ships upon *our very Coasts*; from whence will naturally arise this Question.—If we had any 20 *Gun Ships*, in what Part of our Seas were they station'd? If we had no *such Ships*, what was the Reason? *This War* did not come upon us suddenly, and without Warning. *St. Sebastian's* and *England* stood five Years ago in the very same Places they are in at present. I think you are a Piece of a *Sportsman*, Mr. *Jobb*; but you would laugh at a Man who kept a Pack of *Buck-Hounds* to hunt *Mice*.

J. Had *our Fleets* sail'd, a *Spanish Ship* would not have been seen upon the Ocean. But *Winds* and *Waves* will not be controul'd by Men. Our Intentions were good.

M. What was intended to be done, few Persons know: *What might have been done*, every Man is at Liberty to conjecture; and *what hath been done* is visible to the whole World. As to the *first*, if *any Scheme* was laid, not knowing what it was, I can say no more to it than that it proved abortive; with this Addition, that the *Spanish Schemes* succeeded. The *French* and *Spanish* Fleets got the Start of us above *six Weeks*. If, instead of relying upon the Chance of *Winds*, which often favour'd us, we had seasonably supply'd our *true English Admiral* with *Ships*, *Men*, *Provisions*, and *naval Stores*, in all Probability the *War* would have been honourably finish'd before now; or a Foundation laid in *America* to support the Expence.

J. Pray, Mr. *Manson*, let us see the Operation of the *Armament* under the Command of Lord *Cathcart* and Sir *Chaloner Ogle*, before we make any rash and severe Censures.

M. What Instructions *those two brave and honourable Gentlemen* may have, I don't pretend to know; but I hope we shall soon have the agreeable News that they arrived soon enough to assist Admiral *Vernon*, and protect our *American Islands* from the Insults of *France* and *Spain*, if *their Fleets* should be really united, and as powerful as *their treacherous Agents here* pretend. Have we not Reason from *Authority* to suspect that *France* threatens to interfere, if we don't obey her Dictates? Hath she not declar'd, that she will support *Spain*; and that *her Fleets* are sent to *America* with that Intent? Can we hope, after this, that even *his pacifick Eminency* hath instructed *these Fleets* not to act till the *English Admirals* shall be able to join, and undertake some important Enterprize?

prize? Is it not more reaſonable to believe, from all publick Accounts, that the *French* and *Spaniſh* Fleets had Orders to attack *ours* ſeparately, when they had a probable Chance of deſtroying them?—But Thanks to God, and his Majeſty's wiſe Reſolution, they are in a fair Way of being diſappointed, and catching a *Tartar*.—Upon the whole, may we not conclude, that the *French Fleet* hath Inſtructions to act offenſively, as ſoon as they arrive in *America*, unleſs the *good Cardinal* is perſuaded that *our Forces* have no Orders to act with Vigour; or elſe, to what Purpoſe have been *theſe Menaces*, and with what View could the *French Fleet* ſail?—But I find the Time of meeting ſome People upon Buſineſs is come, to which I always love to be punctual.—I ſhall therefore, at preſent, take my Leave of you with this ſhort Remark.

People muſt be ſatisfy'd of the Wiſdom, Frugality, and Integrity of an *Adminiſtration*, in order to make them bear, without Murmuring, a burdenſome Load of *Taxes*, and the Calamities of a *War*, tho' ever ſo juſtly engaged in; for *War* muſt doubly weaken any Nation, if feebly carry'd on, or imprudently conducted; and *Taxes* may be ſo unſkilfully placed, or ſo expenſively collected, as to raiſe great Sums upon the *People*, and yield but little to the *Publick*. People will never be eaſy, without being ſatisfy'd that *whatever Forces* are raiſed in a Nation, are not raiſed for *Parade*, or a *worſe Reaſon*, but for *actual Service againſt the Enemies of their Country*. In ſhort, it muſt be *Execution*, not *Preparations only*, that will pleaſe them. With this Encouragement, there are no Dangers or Extremities, which *Engliſhmen* will not with Courage, Patience, and Pleaſure undergo.—Mr. *Jobb*, your Servant; and I'll tell you more of my Mind at another Opportunity.

Univerſal Spectator, N° 635.

Innocence betray'd, or a Warning to the Fair Sex, in the Caſe of Leucippe, *as related by herſelf.*

LEucippe (for that ſhall be my Name) was born at *Oxford*. My Father was a Citizen of good Reputation in that Place, but had the Misfortune to bury my Mother, when I, his only Child, was arriv'd at the Age of 14. I ſoon fancied myſelf very happy, in being made, as I was, the Miſtreſs of the Houſe. But that Satisfaction vaniſh'd in a ſhort Time; for my Father alſo was, within two Years after, taken from me by ſudden Death, and left me in Money and Effects, a ſmall Eſtate of 1000*l.* This Portion, little as it was, added to my Beauty, drew the Eyes of ſeveral deſerving Men (that thought of ſettling in a Country Parſonage) upon me. But I, forſooth, liked nothing which I had ſeen from my Infancy; but having read Plays and Romances, my Imagination was full of Gaieties, that prevented my entertaining ſo moderate Deſires, as being the Partner and Wife of a Scholar.

There came down to *Oxford*, about that Time, a Man of the Town, by way of Retirement from it: He was well made, well behav'd, and (which was then above all with me) well dreſs'd. He was ſoon admir'd for a fine Gentleman among the young People of both Sexes, who had never ſeen ſuch as he mimick'd in his ſecond-hand Deportment. To be ſhort, this fine Man condeſcended to take moſt Notice of me, and I very gratefully fell in Love with him; but we call'd our Regard for each other, Friendſhip. Friendſhip, that moſt ſpecious Word, which never yet ended well between a young Man and a young Woman. In the Midſt of

of this friendly Paſſion, or paſſionate Friendſhip, my flaming Beau was arreſted and clap'd into Gaol by Creditors from *London*. I brought him my All, half of it procured him his Liberty; and in great Generoſity he immediately took me into his Arms, call'd me his Wife, and pretended to let me into his true Hiſtory; own'd to me that he had run out, and had much diſoblig'd an excellent Mother, a Lady of great Wealth, becauſe he would not take up and marry; but I, however unequal in Fortune, ſhould be the happy Woman; and he would the very next Day carry me to Town, and preſent me to his Mother and Relations, who would be highly pleas'd with his Reſolution of abandoning a looſe ſingle Life.

He wrote up Letters to prepare for our Reception, and accordingly we arriv'd at his pretended Lady Mother's, who was a notorious, accompliſh'd Bawd in thoſe Days: I ſhall never forget her ſolemn Gravity, when ſhe approach'd me on the Top of the Stairs, at the Head of her well inſtructed, ſkilful Maidens. I trembling at my Ruſticity before ſuch fine Ladies, kneel'd with my precious Conſort, and receiv'd the Bleſſing of the Baldam. It is the Manner of thoſe Houſes to give each other the Names and Titles of ſuch Women of Beauty and Quality, as they reſemble in Air, Shape, and Stature; and upon Novices and Foreigners they impoſe 'em as the real Perſons: But I remember there was my Lady Ducheſs of ſuch a Place, a charming Huſſey; then the Counteſs of elſewhere; then my Lady Dowager of a third Town: Then a ſuperannuated Volunteer, an old Bully, who was call'd Sir *John*, and his Bawdry Conſort, one after another, reign'd to ſalute me. Theſe Civilities over, I ſtood in the utmoſt Diſtreſs how to behave, when my good Mother would beg Leave to have me apart, where I receiv'd a Lecture indeed, but ſhe bid me however not be afraid: My Son, ſaid ſhe, is a Gentleman of a tender Temper; and ſmil'd. To be ſhort, A I can't tell, whether it was the Ducheſs, the Counteſs, or which of them; but I, that Evening, pledg'd one of thoſe great Ladies in a Cup, which I have often lamented was not Poiſon. I wak'd in the Morning and found myſelf alone; and B being aſham'd to enquire whether I was marry'd laſt Night, twenty Thouſand different Thoughts came into my Head: I was immediately told by a Covey of theſe Huſſeys, who were to attend the Buſineſs, that the Bridegroom would be with C me immediately, but never ſaw him from that Hour to this; and what Heaven covers, what Earth bears, what Air feeds the Villain, who thus deceiv'd, robb'd and deſtroy'd me, I know not. Me, a Stranger, helpleſs as I was, they kept in D a continual Round of Jollities, of Fiddles, new Gallants: The Mother of the Family threaten'd, flatter'd, and at laſt adviſ'd me to make the moſt of my Beauty, for it was now all my Portion: But ſhe would have the Charity, ſince I E had no Friends, to find me ſome, and allow me the greater Share of the Income from my Charms; but bid me not ſpoil my Eyes or Features with being a Fool, and crying for what I could never recover. I very well remember, the firſt calm F Hour I enjoy'd after my Undoing, I took a ſenſible Pleaſure in the Reflection, that all my Relations were dead, and they could not know of my Shame: But the unwilling Part I had in the Evil, the Innocence of my own Mind, and the aban- G don'd Life, which is full of Pleaſures, tho' not half ſo full as of Sorrows, made me at laſt take Comfort; and I, in Proceſs of Time,

became, from an Inability to bear my own Reflections, the moſt abandon'd, but the moſt celebrated Wanton of the Town. I call myſelf a Wanton; but tho' I was the Slave and Inſtrument of Delight to others, I very ſeldom, or ever, had a Moment of ſincere Satisfaction; for the Pleaſures of a looſe Life carry but half the Will with them; and the Diffidence, the Want of Reſpect, and the Conſciouſneſs that neither has any Value for the other, pollute the Enjoyment, and pall the Gratification, into ſecret, but mutual Shame and Contempt.

Having had an uncommon Education, by converſing with many Gentlemen of Wit and Learning, who had no Deſign upon me, but were Friends to my Father, my Reflections upon the Adventures that I met with, were more deep and quick than perhaps are uſual with ſuch Wretches as myſelf. But Years and Experience have added to the Abhorrence I have ever had for the Practice which my Neceſſities obliged me to, during the Vigour of my Life. And I have this Comfort, that I never loſt the Love of Virtue; but, contrary to the deprav'd Inclination of others who have fallen like me, inſtead of being inſtrumental to the Deſtruction of Innocents, I have ever endeavour'd to preſerve all I could from the Contagion; and ſhall go on in that way of Atonement.

I'll teach the too believing to beware,
And lead the guiltleſs footſtep from the ſnare.

Common Senſe, Dec. 13. N° 201.

A Certain Perſon has been dreſs'd up, within theſe few Years, as a *Sejanus*, a *Pallas*, a *Gaviſton*, a *Spenſer*, and a *Wolſey*: But, as if too much Honour had been done him, even under thoſe Names, a facetious Author has now degraded him into a Player, and attack'd him at once in the Characters of *Colley Cibber*, Comedian, and *Æſopus* the Tragedian.

I confeſs, I read ſome Pages in the Pamphlet, entitled, *The Laureat; Or, the Right Side of* Colley Cibber, *Eſq*; &c. diverted with the Author's pleaſant and genteel Raillery, before I ſuſpected any Thing farther was intended than to make the Publick merry at the Expence of an abſurd wrong-headed Character; — by Degrees the Lineaments of another Perſon began to appear, at laſt his whole Figure, ſo plain, that I forgot *Cibber* and *Æſopus*.

The Author, artfully enough, has collected Anecdotes, and made Obſervations that may be applied to both; — the Cap, I ſay, fits two Perſons, and the Publick may appoint which they pleaſe to wear it.

After mentioning ſeveral Expreſſions which convinced him who was really meant, he goes on as follows.

I ſhall draw together ſome of thoſe Paſſages which are diſperſed thro' the Work, and form the Character of the Hero of this Romance.

The Author ſays, and He was a *Charlatan*, a *Perſona Dramatis*, a *Mountebank*; that he was delighted with being thought a bad Man; that he was proud of being proud, and was pleaſed with his own Vanity, and valued himſelf not a little for being a loud Laugher.

That he was told long ago that he was too full of himſelf to regard any Body elſe, and that he uſed to tell Stories himſelf of his indulging the Vengeance of a vicious Man's Heart.

That under the Contempt of Mankind, no Man was ever better pleas'd with himſelf; that when he had tired every Body elſe, his Vanity held out; but notwithſtanding his high Conceit of himſelf, neither the Town nor his Maſter loved him; — that theſe Parts of which he boaſts were diſcover'd by none but himſelf.

himſelf, and very few others, whom, for that Reaſon, he calls wiſe Men, and who were, for their own Sakes, wiſe enough to make a Secret of it."

Such is the Character of *Colley*, who, as my Author ſays, tho' hated by the reſt of the World, was always fond of *Colley*.——Let us now examine in what Manner our Author exhibits the ſame Perſon to us, in the Character of *Æſopus* the Tragedian.

He tells us, "He was born at *Corinth*; that, as he increas'd in Years, a fortunate Bronze imbelliſh'd his Features, and, e'er he was yet 17, gave evident Tokens that he would never ſuffer in his worldly Affairs thro' an Exceſs of Modeſty.

When we conſider (ſays he) this young Gentleman, now adrift in the World, with a mean Education, little Habits, and a bad Acquaintance, without Money, or viſible Merit of any Kind, but what the bounteous Gods had beſtow'd upon him in the Inflexibility of his Muſcles, waiting till Time and Accident ſhould open a Way for him to Wealth and Glory; we cannot help looking upon him as a ſurprizing and an exalted Genius, and this he ſoon appear'd to be; for he improv'd every Day; and became in very little Time a tolerable Buffoon, and had learnt to pleaſe as the Company he was to matter deſired to be pleas'd;—he could be noiſy or inſolent, ſaucy or well-bred, obſcene or modeſt, the joker or the Jeſt, the Pleaſure or contempt of the Company, juſt as he found they required it."

If the courteous Reader is at any loſs to find out the Perſon whom this Character will fit, let him read on, and he will find the following Reflections, which may clear up his Doubts.

"He was in his Nature timid and irreſolute, or inſolent and overbearing, juſt as Diſtreſs or Succeſs happen'd, ſo that he incurr'd a general Odium by * ſquab Expreſſions ſpoken *mal a propos*.——When the Audience were diſpleaſed with his Action upon a certain Occaſion, he ſtood on Tiptoe with a *ſanſprendre* Air, and ſaid, † I'll ſtand you all.—The Audience was offended, and he was counted an aſſuming, or, to uſe a coarſer Phraſe, a very impudent Fellow.—Fuſtian, Bombaſt, and Obſcurity was the common Stage Language in his Time.

His Works he conſtantly reviv'd, brought them on again and again, and crowded them on the Stage, ‡ in Oppoſition to the Suffrages of the whole People.—He was ſo undaunted, with Relation to his own Parts, that he never would alter or part with a Line at the Interceſſion of any Friend in the World.

He was in an Office which muſt neceſſarily make a Perſon of his Complexion envied and hated:—But if it created him Enemies, it gratified his Pride.—This Office was formerly entruſted to Perſons of Diſtinction and Parts, *&c.*"

I preſume this wants no Key.

Daily Gazetteer, Dec. 18.

THE Nation ſeems at preſent in the Condition of a young Heir, on one Side beſet with Pickthanks and Paraſites, and attended on the other by true Friends and candid Counſellors. From the former nothing is heard but Satyr, Ridicule and Laughing, while in the mean time they profeſs they are perſuaded the Publick is betray'd, plunder'd, and on the point of being undone. The latter, without diſcouraging us by ſuch harſh Expreſſions, modeſtly repreſent the Dan-

* *Sturdy Beggars*, — Enſe recidendum, *&c.*

† *Or, I'll take all upon myſelf.*

‡ Vide *all the Preliminaries, Treaties, Patchifications, and Conventions, made by a Miniſter whoſe Name we have forgot.*

ger we are in, propoſe to us the proper Methods to extricate ourſelves, and beſeech us only to be ſerious and attentive.

If ever there was a War entered into on national Motives, this is it; and therefore ſuch as are for carrying it on properly, that it may end ſucceſsfully, ought to merit the Nation's Eſteem. Yet ſuch is the Aſſurance of ſome Men, and the Perverſeneſs of others, that nothing can anſwer their Clamours, or quiet their Diſcontents. The providing and putting to Sea ſuch a Navy as this Nation never had before, in the beſt Order, and the moſt compleat Condition, paſſes with them for nothing, nay for a Crime; becauſe they cannot ſail without Winds, or beat Enemies that do not appear. But perhaps they are not properly commanded. Quite the contrary; this is the ſole Thing in which our Malecontents have ſhewn ſome Modeſty. They admit that *Vernon* is a Hero; that *Haddock* wants neither Capacity nor Courage; and as to *Cathcart* and *Ogle*, they are Men whoſe Merit Malice is afraid to touch, and of whom Envy itſelf can ſpeak no Evil: Yet the Miniſtry who fitted out theſe Fleets, and made Choice of theſe Men to command them, are a lukewarm Miniſtry, no Friends to the War.

Of late, the Murmurs of the Party have run ſtronger againſt the Army than the Navy, but with as little Reaſon.—We have been told by unqueſtionable Authority, that we are at preſent in Danger of having a more formidable Power than *Spain* upon our Hands; whence the Neceſſity is evident, of our being put into ſuch a Condition, as that, while we glorioufly carry on the War abroad, we may have nothing to apprehend at home. That we are fully provided for the former, I have already ſhewn; nor do the Malecontents ſeem longer inclined to diſpute it. No, they place all their Hopes in oppoſing all the Meaſures neceſſary for taking the ſame Care of the latter. What theſe are, the Experience of former Times, and the Prudence of the wiſeſt Men amongſt us have ſufficiently declared, *viz.* a ſtrong Fleet on our Coaſts, and a competent Number of regular Troops. The former is already taken care of, and we are told that ſuch an Admiral is to command, as is ſuperior to all Objections; a Man never baffled by any Thing but Providence, and who never miſſed of Victory, when he contended with another Enemy than the Weather.

Craftſman, Dec. 20. N° 755.

An APOLOGY *for the* Engliſh *Language.*

Mr. D'Anvers,

I Should be ſorry to incur the Suſpicion of *Popery*, or to give the well-affected Friends of the *Adminiſtration* any Grounds to believe me a Favourer of the *Peace of Utrecht*. But if, without drawing ſuch ſevere Cenſures upon myſelf, I might be allow'd to ſay ſomething civil of *Louis* XIV. I would obſerve how uſefully his Generoſity and Labour were apply'd to the Service of his Country, in bringing *his own national Language* to ſo great a Reputation, as to become the common Dialect of the learned and polite Part of the World. The Knowledge of *different Languages* is ſaid to be very uſeful in the *miniſterial Occupation*; ſince, by opening Ways to Converſation, it enlarges Intelligence. How great then muſt be the Advantages to Men of Capacity and Eloquence, to have the Buſineſs, Pleaſures, and ordinary Converſation of all Courts, where they reſide, carry'd on in their *Mother-Tongue?*

The *great Prince* I have mention'd, fail'd in his Scheme of *univerſal Monarchy*;

narchy; but, in this Particular, he hath left a Badge of it behind him, which is worn by all the Courts in *Europe*.

Buſineſs, in former Times, before the ſterling Mark was ſtamp'd upon the *French Tongue*, was carry'd on in one of the *dead Languages*; I mean *Latin*: For, excepting Doctor *Butts*, who was Phyſician and Counſellor to *Henry* VIII. I don't ſuſpect any other, ſince the *Druids*, capable of negotiating in *Greek*.

This Method was undoubtedly equitable on *both Sides*, as there could be no national Advantage; for *every Miniſter* might, by Application, equally qualify himſelf in the Knowledge of *that Language*. I think all the Princes of *Europe*, as well as the late *Auſtrian* Family, ought to aſſert their Right of having *Treaties* written in *Latin*, or inſerting a ſaving Proteſt againſt any *other Language*, that it may not be brought into Precedent; and I preſume there is full as good a Foundation for an Article of Impeachment againſt a *Miniſter*, who ſhould ſign a Treaty in the *French* Language, without ſuch a Proteſt, as there was againſt *Wolſey*, for ſtamping a *Cardinal's Hat* upon the Reverſe of *Harry's Groat*.—But as to the *negotiating Part*, I never heard of but *one eminent Miniſter*, who hath had Reſolution enough to withſtand the Contamination of the *French* Tongue; and I hope he hath as ſteadily reſiſted the Allurements of *French* Gold.

This profound Politician is not an *itinerant*, but a *domeſtick Miniſter*; and, having great Sway in the Court of the Kingdom, wherein he was born, hath come into a Sort of Compromiſe with the *foreign Reſidentiaries*. He knows juſt enough of *French* to underſtand what is ſaid in it, and delivers his own Sentiments in a Gibberidge of his own compoſing, but with ſo near a Reſemblance to *Latin*, that whoever is a Maſter of it may give a ſhrewd Gueſs at what he means. Some People look upon this as a great Refinement in Politicks, ſince it furniſhes a *Miniſter* with ſcreening any Blunders he may commit, ſhould he make a timely Diſcovery of them, as likewiſe to carry on deep and myſterious Purpoſes; for he need never ſpeak ſo plain as not to leave himſelf an Opportunity for farther Explanation; and his Scull muſt be very thick, indeed, if he cannot interpret a *Language* to his own Purpoſe, which nobody can ſpeak but himſelf.

It is no new Thing, for *Prime Miniſters* to ſpeak in a *Language of their own*, tho' perhaps none hath been ſo eminent in this Reſpect as the *Politician* I have hinted at.—It is founded upon theſe Politicks that even *Popes*, who are but the *Prime-Miniſters* of Idolatry and Superſtition, have lock'd up the ſacred Writ in a *Language unknown to the Vulgar*; and to the ſame miniſterial Craft were owing the myſterious Oracles of the *Pagans*.

Tho' I cannot too highly commend *this profound Politician*, who hath ſcorn'd to pollute himſelf by too great a Knowledge of the *French Tongue*, yet I cannot carry my Compliments ſo far as to approve his having a Language peculiar to himſelf. Why ſhould not *Miniſters* ſpeak as intelligibly as the reſt of their Countrymen? From ſuch pernicious Practices, no doubt, have ſprung the Ambaſſadorial Functions of *Preliminaries*, *Congreſſes*, *Conventions*, *Interpretations*, *Explanations*, *References*, *Mediations*, &c. Whereas, could the *Premiers of their reſpective Courts* have been reduced to a ſingle Affirmative, or Negative, in any *known Language*, perhaps ninety-nine Parts in an Hundred of *theſe Negotiations* might have been ſpared.

I need not ſay any Thing more to prove, that it is for the univerſal Benefit of Mankind, to have all

publick Buſineſs between Kingdom and Kingdom tranſacted in *one general Language*, which all *Treaties* ſhould be written in, and *Miniſters* ſhould negotiate in.

But it is neceſſary to conſider, whether *this univerſal Language* ought to be one of the *dead*, or *living Languages*; which, I think, when we conſider how infinite are the Changes and Actions of Mankind, will be ſoon determined in Favour of a *living Language*; becauſe a *dead Language* will be found too ſtable and circumſcribed to comprehend the mutable Affairs of *ſuch fluctuating Animals*.

It will eaſily be diſcover'd, *what Language* I would wiſh to introduce, for carrying on this great Scheme of Buſineſs. I ſhall therefore frankly own, without being actuated by a *national Partiality*, that I think the *Engliſh* is the moſt preferable Language, in all Reſpects, to any other, amongſt the *living* or the *dead*. It is more conciſe than the *Latin*, more expreſſive than the *French*, more maſculine than the *Italian*, leſs guttural than the *Welch*, and more tuneable than the *Iriſh*. Beſides, it is the Language of a *free People*, and therefore not to be look'd upon as dangerous. It is the Language of a *Nation*, which hath always boaſted of being the *Arbiter of Europe*; and therefore not to be dreaded, as if it had any ambitious Views of *univerſal Monarchy*; not to mention that the Genius of the People having a great Tendency to *Treaty-making*, we may without Vanity preſume that *our Language* is by this Time very well adapted to ſuch *Negotiations*.

The Opportunities we have loſt, for propagating *our Language* on the Continent, are more to be lamented, ſince perhaps the ſame, or ſo great, may never again be offer'd. Had this been our Policy, during the War of Q. *Anne*, how eaſily might we have made the *Frenchmen* eat their own Words, and obliged them to ſpeak plain *Engliſh*? Will any body imagine, that the King of *Denmark*, or *Sweden*, the Prince of *Heſſe*, or the Duke of *Wolfenbuttle*, would have refuſed to contract for their Subſidies in *Engliſh*? or that the proud Monarch of *Spain* would not have very gladly ſtipulated for the Introduction of *Spaniſh* Forces into *Italy*, at our Expence, (which laid the Foundation of making his Son, Don *Carlos*, King of the *Two Sicilies*) in *any Language*? Or can it be ſuppoſed, that the *French Miniſters* would have refuſed the Treaty of *Hanover*, tho' it had been drawn up in as good *Engliſh* as ever was written? Or would the once ſuperb Court of *Vienna*, had it been aſſiſted by a Squadron in the *Mediterranean*, or 10,000 *Engliſhmen* on the *Rhine*, upon aſking the Favour, have diſputed in *what Language* they were granted?

But our Negligence in this Affair may be dated much farther back, than any Period of Time I have yet mention'd.—When the *ebb'd Money* was call'd in, and recoin'd, had it then been our good Fortune to have *Engliſh*, inſtead of *Latin Inſcriptions* ſtruck upon the Dye, might we not have expected, that in a few Years the *loweſt Sovereign in Germany* would have been a compleat Maſter of *many* Engliſh *Words*? and, by *thoſe Specimens*, might they not have taken ſuch an Inclination to our *Language*, that it would have been as current at this Time, upon the Continent, as *our Coin*?

But alas! theſe Advantages are irretrievably loſt!—*Our Arms* may never again prove ſo ſucceſsful; *our Bounty*, I am afraid, never be ſo extenſive; and *our Neceſſities* may poſſibly put us in mind of making *Treaties* more to our Advantage.

The only Proſpect we have of accompliſhing *this great Work* de-

pends,

pends, in my Opinion, upon the Succeſs of *our Paper Credit*; which, could we give a true *Engliſh* Account of it, and convince our *Neighbours* that it can be as readily circulated *abroad* as it hath been *at home*, we might teach *Foreigners* to ſpeak *Engliſh*, and get *our Inſcriptions* in *that heatheniſh Tongue* back again.

I am, Sir,
Your old Friend,
M. BRITON.

Common Senſe, Dec. 20. N° 202.

Obſervations on the FALL *of two great Miniſters abroad.*

THE World hath lately ſeen the Fall of two great Miniſters, one in *Turky*, another in *Muſcovy*: One of theſe was given up to the Diſlike and Diſaffection of the People; the other fell merely by the Diſpleaſure of the Empreſs his Miſtreſs.

By the firſt, we ſee what Regard is paid to the Inclinations of the People in that Government, which is counted the moſt arbitrary in the World. By the laſt, is ſhewn, upon what a ſandy Foundation their Greatneſs is built, who place their Security in Court Favour.

A Grand Vizier is a Creature of moſt prodigious, moſt enormous Power. The *Turks* are religiouſly attach'd to the Race of *Ottoman*, and it is the Superſtition which prevails amongſt them, of being govern'd by none but thoſe of that Blood, that has hinder'd their great Empire from falling to Pieces; but notwithſtanding the Force of Superſtition, it is found, that as often as the reigning Sultan is deaf to the Voice of his People, and ſacrifices the publick Intereſt to the Humour of preſerving ſome Favourite or Miniſter, Vengeance enters the Seraglio, and the Muſſulmen think it no Breach of the Doctrine of the *Alcoran* to dethrone the reigning Emperor, to clap him into a Dungeon, and to place a Brother or Nephew upon his Throne.

This happen'd about 14 Years ago, and probably would have happen'd now, if the preſent Emperor, warn'd by the Fate of his Predeceſſor, had not prudently given up his Favourite before Things came to that Extremity.

The publick Prejudice which fell upon this Miniſter was owing to the late Treaties made with the Emperor and with *Ruſſia*, by which the *Turks* certainly gain'd many ſignal Advantages; but ſtill the Treaties were not ſuch as might be expected from the Succeſs of their Arms; and for this he fell. (ſee p. 408.)

He was not charg'd with multiplying Treaty upon Treaty, every one more diſhonourable and ſcandalous than the other; nor with a long Series of blundering Counſels and rapacious Meaſures; if that had been the Caſe, he would have been taken off long ago.—He was undone for making one Convention, tho' in many Reſpects honourable and advantageous, yet not ſo good as might be expected; and Reaſon enough: For certainly he that gives a Proof of his Incapacity to do the Buſineſs of his Country with foreign States, ought to be remov'd from a Poſt where his Ignorance may be the Cauſe of ſuch infinite Miſchief and Diſgrace.

There are ſeveral Circumſtances relating to the Fall of this Man, worthy of Notice.

The Succeſs of that War, which gave the *Turks* a Right to expect ſuch high Conditions, was owing to his Valour and Conduct; yet he gave himſelf no haughty Airs on that Account.

He was not guilty of Folly or Aſſurance, to launch out into bombaſtick and extravagant Encomiums upon the Treaties themſelves, or the unparallel'd Inſolence to tell the People, he would make the next

Treaty

Treaty in Spight of their Teeth; that he had ſecured the back Stairs of the Seraglio, and that he defy'd them all.

Had his Impudence and Folly roſe to ſuch an Extravagance, tho' common Charity might have entitled him to a Place in *Bedlam*, I am afraid the People would have applied a ſhorter Cure to his Madneſs. Had he (I ſay) behaved with Inſolence under the publick Diſpleaſure, or had the Sultan reſolv'd to protect him, it would have ended in his Death; but his Modeſty ſaved him, and they were content with his bare Removal.

We may learn, by the different Fates of theſe two Miniſters, (the Vizier and *Wolinſki*) how much more Moderation the People ſometimes ſhew in their Anger, than a Prince.

The Grand Vizier was remov'd indeed from making more bad Treaties; that was all his Puniſhment, and perhaps Puniſhment enough, had he been ſeiz'd with a Madneſs for negotiating like ſome others: But *Wolinſki* was put to Death, beſides ſome ſtrange Cruelties executed upon ſeveral of his Friends. (See p. 355.)

Let us ſee what were *Wolinſki*'s Crimes: In order to which we ſhall go no farther than the Memorial publiſh'd by the Court of *Ruſſia*, to juſtify their Proceedings on that Occaſion.

It is there ſet forth, that, notwithſtanding the Reſpect which in all Countries is due to the Palace of the Prince, *Wolinſki* had the Inſolence to violate that Sanctuary, by beating his own Secretary, and then turning him out of the Palace. —Good Gods! what a Trifle would this appear in the Catalogue of ſome Mens Sins? So trifling, that, I believe, their greateſt Enemies would be aſhamed to mention it. *Wolinſki* turn'd his own Secretary out of the Palace; that is, his own Servant. Others have turn'd the Servants of the Crown, the Servants of the State out of the Palace; they have baniſh'd the Valiant, the Honeſt, the Wiſe, and the Noble from thence; nay, they have done infinitely worſe, for they have brought ſuch Tools into the Palace as would be a Diſgrace not only to a Court, but to any Society of an inferior Order.—Beſides, the Secretary went to Court with a Complaint or Accuſation againſt his Maſter. It was Time to turn him out, and Self-defence obliged *Wolinſki* to take this Step. Another that was more guilty, would have taken Care to have placed ſuch Perſons about his Miſtreſs, as ſhould not have ſuffer'd any Man to come into the Palace with a Complaint.

Wolinſki ſaid, *Let others act as they would, he would act to pleaſe himſelf.* —I confeſs it is impudent enough for a Servant of the Crown to ſay, he would act to pleaſe himſelf; for that implies, that he will have Regard neither to Juſtice, Honour, or the publick Intereſt: But I have heard of another, that has gone much farther; that has had the Inſolence to declare, that he would ſuffer no Man to act according to his own Judgment or Conſcience, and that the Greateſt that would not ſubmit to be his Slave, ſhould be turn'd out of the Palace.

Wolinſki ſaid, it was his Maxim, *when any Thing was to be got, to take with both Hands, nay to pull with his Teeth.*—This is the right miniſterial Stile, too gallant, too eloquent for ſuch a northern Climate; and I ſuſpect that *Wolinſki* borrow'd it from the South.

He put Perſons into Employments no way qualified for them, Perſons that were a Diſgrace to the Empire, and had no Title to any Favour from the Empreſs.—I don't find that he is charg'd with perſuading his Miſtreſs that all the Subjects were diſaffected

to

to her Government, except those his own Tools. But his putting People of no Talents into great Employments was bad enough.

Wolinski is charg'd with Ingratitude, for that *his Family being of the poorest and lowest Order of Nobility, he ow'd his Fortune to the Favour of the Empress.*—Tho' Ingratitude, which is the basest of all Crimes, is not punishable by the Laws of Nations, arbitrary Power could never recommend itself better than by punishing Ingratitude; but there is an Ingratitude of a baser and a more flagitious Kind, than that with which *Wolinski* is charg'd: We all owe our Country a Duty as to a Parent; but he that receives from it infinitely more than a Child's Portion, and yet endeavours to distress and impoverish it, is such an ungrateful Monster as every Man should endeavour to destroy.

He is accused of paying Persons out of the publick Money, to be his Servants.—If I understand this right, it means, that he form'd a Party, or hired a Gang of Placemen at the publick Charge, to support him either against the Prince, or his Country, or both. If this be true, I give him up, and own, it was Time to hang him.

I shall take Notice of a remarkable Saying of his, and then conclude. He was often heard to say, that *he should either be a very great Man, or die upon a Gibbet.* It was just as he foretold.

May every Man who is really guilty of the Crimes laid to *Wolinski*'s Charge, meet with *Wolinski*'s Fate.

Universal Spectator, Dec. 20. N° 637.

Of CONVERSATION.

THE *Qualifications* for *Conversation* are for the generality rather *acquir'd* than *natural*: 'Tis true, an eloquent Expression, and a graceful Gesture, (which are the Gifts of *Nature*) conduce very much to procure Esteem, yet they are not the *Essence* of Conversation; but a just and easy Way of thinking, and a modest Behaviour, are almost in every body's Power to acquire, and are productive of as good Effects.

It is not always a great deal of *Learning* that makes a Man an *agreeable Companion*, but on the contrary it frequently spoils one, and is apt to give Men an Air of *Pedantry*. 'Tis owing to this, that we so often see those who have devoted themselves to a studious Way of Life, become regardless of every Thing besides their favourite Sciences.

The only Method of extending the Mind, and acquiring a just Knowledge of Things, is by *Reading* and *Conversation*; these supply the Soul with Materials to work upon: Without these a Man's Knowledge must be extremely confin'd, and the few Notions he has much confus'd. I know nothing that would tend more to the removing these Inconveniencies than a general Acquaintance with *History*, ancient and modern; and with one who has a *Taste* of the *polite Arts*, the Works of our most celebrated *Poets* will furnish the Mind with a thousand pleasing Hints and beautiful Images.

Altho' such a *superficial Knowledge* as this I am describing, will not make one capable of reasoning closely on particular Subjects, yet it may enable him to make many pertinent *Remarks* and useful *Hints*.

Nor are the Advantages less that arise from the *Conversation* of *ingenious* and *well-bred Persons*; for by this we become acquainted with the *Passions* and *Humours* of Mankind, and attain that easy Behaviour which gives a Lustre to every Thing we say.

'Tis a very judicious Observation of the Duke *de Rochefoucault*, *That we never appear ridiculous from our*

real,

real, *but from our* affected *Characters*; for this Reaſon a Man ſhould always conſider his *own Genius*, and never let his Vanity get the better of his Judgment: He who is not a *Scholar* or a *Wit*, may yet be a Man of *Senſe*; and even if he is not, while he contents himſelf with ſeeming what he really is, if he does not procure to himſelf *Applauſe*, he will at leaſt avoid the Imputation of *Conceitedneſs* and *Impertinence*.

As to the *Subjects* for *Converſation*, a Man's own *Diſcretion*, and the *Diſpoſition*, *Age*, *Sex*, &c. of his Company ſhould govern his Choice. *Religion* and *Party Matters* ſeem the moſt *unfit* of any; the *firſt* is too *ſublime* and *ſerious* for mix'd Company, and few have *Temper* enough to manage the other with *Decency*: This is owing wholly to the *Prejudices* of *Education*, which produce ſtrange Effects on all Minds, and hinder us from judging impartially of Things in which we are ever ſo little intereſted. This muſt certainly be a ſtrong Argument for treating theſe Subjects, whenever they happen to be introduced, with the greateſt *Coolneſs* and *Moderation*.

I know nothing that contributes more to the *enlivening* of *Converſation*, than a graceful Manner of relating a *Story*: With how much Pleaſure do we liſten to the Repetition of a diverting Tale! Nor is this Part of Converſation leſs difficult than *engaging*: Moſt People are apt to imagine themſelves ſufficiently qualified for it, without conſidering how much it requires for one to acquit himſelf handſomely. In order to do this, it is abſolutely neceſſary that he be Maſter of a *Volubility* of *Expreſſion*, a great deal of *Humour*, and a juſt *Delivery*: 'Tis almoſt incredible how much theſe laſt tend to the embelliſhing our Diſcourſe, and even making ourſelves underſtood. A wrong Caſt of the *Countenance*, *Tone* of the *Voice*, or the laying an *improper Emphaſis* upon particular Words, will oftentimes rob a *Tale* of half its Spirit, and may ſometimes render it even unintelligible.

Another *Caution* of no leſs Conſequence than any I have mention'd, is, that we treat our Companions with a becoming *Complaiſance*. Almoſt every Thing we do in the Company of others, ſhou'd be attended with ſome Sign of *Reſpect* to thoſe preſent; but it requires ſome Share of Addreſs to do this, and at the ſame Time avoid an Extreme almoſt as diſagreeable, as having no Manners at all, I mean that of having *too much*. No *Converſation* in the World is ſo *inſipid* as that of People of this Turn of Mind; they are *too well-bred*, forſooth, to ſhew they have Opinions of their *own*; they had rather one ſhou'd palm the moſt glaring Abſurdities upon them for Truth, than riſque the Reputation of their good *Manners*, by contradicting you.

With Regard to our *Stile* and the *Choice* of our *Words*, we ſhould be careful to ſhun all *uncouth* or *uncommon* Expreſſions; the Rule in *Poetry*, that the plaineſt and moſt ſimple Language is the beſt, holds equally good in *Converſation*: *Forced Conceits* and *trifling Witticiſms* are Signs of a *vulgar Taſte*, as looſe *double Entendres*, are of a *vicious one*.

The Air of the *Countenance*, and *Diſpoſition* of the *Features*, are of no ſmall Conſequence in determining People's Opinion of us; for this Reaſon all voluntary Diſtortions of the Features, or what is commonly meant by the Word *Grimace*, ſhould be exploded.

The laſt Thing I ſhall caution againſt is *Vanity*: We are all of us but too apt to give into this Error, and therefore we ſhou'd uſe all the Care in the World to correct it. Mr. *Addiſon* was ſo ſenſible of this, that he

he used to say, *It was impossible for a Man to say any Thing in Praise of himself with a good Grace*; and if so, how ridiculous must the Conversation be of People who are continually larding their Discourse with impertinent Egotisms, and tedious Stories of *themselves!* There is this Difference betwixt *Vanity* and most other Faults, that hardly any one will pardon it; if we are too talkative, People will call it *Gaiety*; if too *ceremonious*, 'twill be term'd *good Breeding*, &c. But there is a certain *Jealousy* always subsisting in Company of a Person who pretends to be *wiser*, or *wittier* than his Fellows, that all, nay even those who are neither one nor tother, immediately become his Enemies: On the contrary, a *modest Person* has all the World for his *Friend*, and by seeming *less* than others, he becomes *greater*.

Common Sense, Dec. 27. N° 203.

Observations on Punch's *Letter.* (See p. 444.)

WE have lately been so ingaged with Placemen, as not to be at Leisure to pay that early Regard to Mr. *Punch*, as ought to be shewn to an Adversary of so distinguish'd a Character, who is likely to be the great Ornament of the M——l Party.

I allow that every Gentleman is at Liberty to give his Opinion of publick Affairs, provided it be done with Candour; but when a Man enters into a Quarrel like a Bravo, and falls upon another for no other Reason but because he is hired to do so, I think, by the Law of Arms, he is not intitled to Quarter.

Since this Gentleman hath set out with such a Declaration, I conceive I have a Right to enquire, who he is that takes these Liberties, and to ask, what Right he hath to meddle in our Political Disputes; for I am credibly inform'd, that he is a Foreigner, and a Subject of the King of *Denmark*; that he sprung up, and was bred upon a barren Mountain in *Norway*; that he is, in fine, no more than the Slip of a Fir-Tree; but were he made of Cedar or Mahogony, I don't think that should give him a Right to abuse any free-born *Englishman*, upon his own Ground, unless he can prove that he was naturaliz'd.

I am sensible, that whether he be made of Timber, or of Pasteboard, is of no Consequence to the Publick, provided he is an honest Man. But when a Writer sets out with a Resolution of turning a Controversy of the greatest Importance, into personal Abuse against one to whom he is an entire Stranger, I take the Liberty to tell him, that he is not to expect the same Treatment, as if he was made of *English* Oak.

It makes me laugh to hear such a Heathen talk of his Religion; he does not so much as know what the Inside of a Church is made of; I question whether he was ever christen'd: I am sure he has made a Jest of all Religions in the World. I have myself seen him in the Habit of a Dissenting Preacher, a Quaker, and a Jesuit; with no other Design but to turn them into Ridicule. When he was in *Portugal*, the Inquisition had like to have laid hold of him for dancing naked; for which at the next *Auto da Fe* he would certainly have been burnt for a *Jew* if he had not made his Escape. After so signal a Delivery, instead of mending his Life, he was no sooner arriv'd in *England*, but he became the greatest Libertine amongst all the low Rakes of the Town, for which, as he owns, he has often been put into the Stocks: I don't wonder at it, for I have seen him so drunk that he has been roll'd Home in a Wheelbarrow.

He talks much of his kicking half the World; but, in my Opinion, there is little to be fear'd from the Courage of one whom I have seen frighten'd out of his Wits at the Sight of a Pig: Nor do I think there is more to be apprehended from his Wit, than from his Valour. I will allow there is something comick in his muscles; for I have observ'd, when he hath set the whole Audience in a Roar, the Jest has lain all in his Grimaces; and if he will lend me his Nose and his Chin, I will undertake to be as witty as he.

As to his Expectation of being employ'd in Affairs abroad, or rais'd to some Dignity at home, it is no Business of mine; I shall never be his Rival that Way, for I would not live among S——, my generous Spirit will not suffer me to turn myself into a Faquin. I presume Mr. *Punch* knows that a Faquin is one who passes for a Man upon a Muster Day, and is counted as such where Things are to be carried by Numbers; but is distinguish'd in the World only as the Utensil of a Man in Power.

Since I have taken Notice of *Punch*'s Faults, it is fit I should do Justice to his good Qualities; far be it from me to deny my Gentleman his just Merit upon the Account of his being my Enemy. I own I once thought him above Corruption, and believ'd him to have more Regard to his Character, and a better Taste than to herd with such Company. I find I was mistaken; but that shall not hinder me from acknowledging, that he has as good Parts as any of the Faction with which he is at present engaged; and I must allow, he will make as good a Figure in Writing, or in Business, as the best of them.

Notwithstanding what I have said of his Parts, if he quits the Merits of the Cause to run into Scurrility, I shall treat him with the same Contempt I treat the *Grubstreet*; I shall only give him a Lash when he comes in my Way, and take no farther Notice of him.

The CONSOLATION.

I.

WHY, *Cælia*, ſhould we blame our ſtars, that they
Our loves or interrupt, or ſeparate;
Or cruelly combine their partial ſway,
To make our mutual joys the leſs compleat?
Our ſtars themſelves knowchange as well as we,
And ſudden clouds their ſpangled glories hide; [we ſee,
Yet ſoon thoſe clouds withdraw, and then
Again they triumph, and reſume their pride:
The ſame viciſſitude all nature ſhares,
Dies and revives, looks gay or gloomy like the ſtars.

II.

Tho' winter froſts deform the beſt retreat
Of rural innocence and artleſs love;
And drive the turtle from his conſtant mate,
Alone to wander thro' the leafleſs grove;
Yet ſoon as genial ſpring renews the ſhade,
Beneath the wonted bower the lover tells
His mighty anguiſh to the liſt'ning maid,
While ſhe in bluſhes all her flame reveals.
The turtle mourns his ſolitude no more,
But woos his mate, and bills as cloſely as before.

III.

While am'rous *Thames* thro' many a winding wooes
The briny *Thetis* to his oozy bed,
The conſcious goddeſs owns his faithful vows,
And in his boſom folds her dewy head;
But at the moon's command flies far away,
Severe her laws the rigid planet keeps,
And the unwilling lovers muſt obey,
The goddeſs murmurs, and the river weeps;
Till at her gracious nod they run amain,
And looſe their blending ſtreams in boundleſs joys again.

IV.

Then think not, *Cælia*, pleaſure is no more,
Nor of our preſent hapleſs lot complain;
Another change will our paſt joys reſtore,
And we ſhall live to meet, and love again.
As well may pious ſaints bemoan their fate,
When they are ſummon'd to reſign their breath,
And leave the pleaſures of a mortal ſtate,
To wander in the dreary vale of death:
But oh, bleſt change! when once the pilgrims proxe [love!
The muſic of the ſpheres, and taſte ſeraphic

The following Copy of Verſes, is by the ſame ingenious Hand, who writ thoſe on a young Lady inoculating, *and a* Fly painted on Spectacles. <see p. 502.>

JUggins had all the various powers of art,
To build the paſty, or to ſhape the tart.
Th' embroider'd lids, in their full pride compleat,
Cou'd ſtand unhurt amidſt ſurrounding heat;
While mimic fruits emboſs the cruſty ſide,
Or pigmy heroes round the paſty ride.
Now from the paſte he calls the kneaded dome;
Leſs ſafe, leſs beautiful, thy walls, O *Rome!*
Thy goodly columns felt a *Nero's* fire,
And ſadly by unhoſtile flames expire:
His imag'ry a happier lot partakes,
Improves by fire, and ſtrengthens as it bakes.
Here lord *Æneas* with his ſhatter'd fleet,
'Midſt all the frowns of adverſe fortune great,
No longer may the trembling prey purſue,
But in a *paſty* guards thoſe deer he ſlew.
Or if gay *Hymen's* joys demand thy art,
What myſtic figures crown the rich deſart!
A thouſand little *loves* their heaven forſake,
And join to form the *matrimonial* cake.
Each with ſome bleſſing loads his little wings,
And pleaſures in the ſhape of ſweet-meats brings.
So the ſmall hero ſtood, obſequious, by,
As his great mother did the pudding tye.
Such golden beauties in thy cuſtards ſhine,
That from a thouſand we diſtinguiſh thine!
Small art there needs to make them tremble ſo,
By *Juggins* * touch'd, who wou'd not tremble too? [win,
What praiſe thy lovely *Chriſtmas* pyes might
That grace the ſilver-imitating tin!
Such the ſoft *quaker* might vouchſafe to taſte,
And wiſh the *Chriſtmas* wou'd for ever laſt.
Or if the *pudding*, made with nicer care,
Roaſts in the belly of the larded hare,
Ye powers! what various taſtes together throng!
By mingling pleaſe, and dwell upon the tongue!
So *Jove* himſelf, with thread and needle few'd
Deep in his heavenly thigh, the palate-pleaſing god.
Sir-loin, in all the pomp of knighthood dreſs'd,
With marbled fat, and genial gravy bleſs'd;
Improv'd by thee, obtains immortal praiſe,
And *Daphne* crowns her favourite *knight* with bays.
Thou, like *Timotheus*, hadſt th' engaging art,
To ſooth the paſſions, and command the heart!
While thy rich *ſoops* diſdainful prudes approve,
They grow leſs coy, and ſoften into love.
Thy generous *ſauces* edge the poet's ſong,
And thy firm *jellies* make the *hero* ſtrong;
Fir'd with new rage, he mounts the glitt'ring car,
And hot as *pepper* ruſhes to the war.
When fancy ſinks amidſt her anxious throws,
Thy healing *caudle* can the ſoul compoſe;
No longer thro' the woods may *Henry* rove,
Thy *pudding* ſoon can ſettle wand'ring love!
Too great thy knowledge! too exact thy ſkill! [thee ſtill!
Hadſt thou been † *Champ*, we had enjoy'd

* *Alluſion to his being a* Catchpole.

† *Cook of* Magdalen-College, Oxon.

But *Jove* ſoon call'd thee to the bleſs'd abodes
With equal ſkill to dreſs the feaſts of gods.

The DEDICATION. *By* J. DINSDALE, *Author of the Ode*, That noble Actions are the moſt laſting Monument. (*See p.* 556.)

HAIL, godlike virtue! to thy fame
I dedicate my lays;
May I diſſolve in love of thee,
And reach the ſtars with praiſe!
O might my humble voice to ſuch
A noble pitch but riſe,
I'd ſtrain in elogy my ſoul,
And charm both earth and ſkies.
No noble, gen'rous, patriot deed
Shou'd paſs by me unſung;
But ev'ry vice be cloth'd with ſhame,
And chain'd the flatt'ring tongue.
In fame's full blaze whom ſhall the muſe
Surround with rays divine?
Titus, who lov'd, who bleſs'd mankind,
Shall godlike ever ſhine.
The world ſeems round good *Titus* ſtill
To pour its grateful moan,
While thoſe are hated, or forgot,
Who made their country groan.
Next, brave *Fabricius* juſtly ſhines,
By honeſty made great,
Content, in ſpite of foreign bribes,
With a ſmall rural ſeat.
Rome noblier conquer'd in that man,
Than ſtain'd with *Gallic* blood;
Rome ſunk in duſt by her proud arms,
But by his virtue ſtood.
When *England* ſuch bleſt heroes boaſts,
The muſe her voice ſhall raiſe,
And with the ſubject fir'd, attempt
To equal *Roman* praiſe.
Exult, my muſe! ſee *Vernon* tread
The path thoſe heroes trod:
Behold him greatly imitate
The nobleſt demi-god.
Hark! *Britiſh* thunder ſhakes the ſhores
Once more of haughty *Spain*;
See *Porto-Bello* ſmoke, and walls
With ruin hide the plain!
Ah muſe! forbear thy worthleſs praiſe,
And ſtop preſumptuous hope;
For heroes acts demand the pen
Of *Addiſon*, or *P—pe*.
Elſe might the poet here produce
Of heroes a bright train,
Who'll ſtill ſupport the *Britiſh* cauſe,
And humble *F—ce* and *Spain*.

The City Mouſe *and the* Country Mouſe.
A FABLE.

ONCE on a time a city mouſe, 'tis ſaid,
A viſit to his friend i'th' country made;
One feaſted always on delicious fare,
The other led his life with toil and care.
The country mouſe was frugal of the main,
But yet his gueſt did nobly entertain:
Vetches and oats he brought to pleaſe his taſte,
And nibbl'd bacon crown'd the rural feaſt;
Whilſt he himſelf contentedly did feed
On ſordid tares and ſteril cockleweed.
The courtier then to th' peaſant ſaid; 'My friend, [to ſpend?
'How can you chuſe 'mongſt rocks your time
'Had not you rather ſee the pleaſant town,
'Than dwell in dreary, deſart woods alone?
'Come, go with me, ſince both the great and ſmall
'To greedy death an equal victim fall:
'Live while you can in wantonneſs and play,
'And paſs in luxury each jocund day.'—
Such words began the country mouſe to move,
And from his quiet cell to th' city drove.
But ſilver *Phœbe*, ſeated in her noon,
Thro' night's dark ſhades with beauteous luſtre ſhone;
When now a ſpacious palace firſt receiv'd
The weary travellers, juſt to town arriv'd.
At laſt they went into a kingly room,
Adorn'd with purple from the *Tyrian* loom,
Where late a ſumptuous banquet had been made,
And various relicks were confuſ'dly laid.
The courtier in his turn now entertains,
And ſerves up dainties with unweary'd pains;
Whilſt his glad gueſt luxuriouſly does eat,
Rejoicing at the happy change of fate.
But ſee! th' uncertainty of human things,
Well is it ſaid, that pleaſures have their ſtings;
The creaking doors aſſault their trembling ears,
And fill their little breaſts with pannic fears;
The maſtiffs bark, the lofty room reſounds,
Reſponſive echo ev'ry noiſe rebounds;
Th' affrighted mice in wild confuſion run,
And th' unexpected danger wiſh to ſhun.
The peaſant then began his friend t' accoſt,
'Is this the eligible life you boaſt?
'If it be ſo, then I will bid farewell,
'And live on acorns in my ſecret cell,
'Where golden peace and plenty ever dwell.'

MILTON's *Addreſs to* LIGHT, *or the fifty-five firſt Lines of the third Book of* Paradiſe Loſt, *attempted in* Latin *Verſe*.

SALVE ô! ſeu cœli venias primæva propago,
Sive cœternis radiis, Lux ſancta, nitebas
Æternum comitata patrem; te carmine parvo
Sit mihi fas impune loqui? quando ipſe Jehovah
Inter inacceſſos divinæ lucis honores
Æternam ſervat, cœli lux maxima, ſedem;
Te circumindutus; ſeu magni, Diva, parentis
Effulgens dici jubar, ætherеumve vocari
Flumen ames potius; cui fas veſtigia nulli

Retrò immensa sequi, fontemque aperire latentem.
Quum nondum cœli moles operosa globusque,
Solis erat, vastique immania fabrica mundi,
Tu fueras; jussuque Dei, ceu vestis, aquarum
Nigrantes super indûxti te, lucida, campos.
Te demum audenti, Stygiis ereptus ab undis,
Te repeto pennâ, quamvis mora longa per umbras,
Per tristes sine sole domos, mediasque tenebras,
Errantem tenuit, dum Noctis inania regna,
Æternumque Chaos, cecini; non carmine quali
Orphéo resonâsse ferunt à pollice chordas.
Jam, Musâ monstrante viam, devectus ad umbras,
Jam revocare gradum, superasque evadere ad auras,
(Durum iter!) aggressus, te nunc sine fraude reviso,
Vitalemque iterum vescor, tua dona, calorem.
Tu tamen haud iterum nostris, lux alma, resulges,
Conspicienda oculis; frustra huc se volvit & illuc,
Te quærens, acies, nec scit gaudere repertâ:
Tam densa heu! charos tenebris extinxerit orbes
Gutta serena mihi, aut nubes obducta tuenti
Mortales hebetat, radiis impervia, visus.
Non ideo liquidos, Musarum habitacula, fontes,
Umbriferumque nemus (sacri nam carminis ingens
Raptat amor) collesve peto minus aptus apricos.
At te præcipuè, mihi chara ante omnia, Zion,
Quæque sacros tibi lympha pedes trepidante susurro
Deproperata lavat, viridesque inspergere gestit
Flore novo ripas, per amica silentia noctis
Lustro, nec interdum casu percussus eodem
(O! mihi si laudem Uranie dignetur eandem)
Non mentem Thamyrisque subit, & magnus Homerus,
(Nobile par vatum) vel Phineus, Tiresiasque,
Cæci ambo, sed & ambo oracula pandere docti.
Tum comitem sese facilis dat Musa per umbras,
Et mihi dulce melos meditanti profluit ultro.
Qualis in umbroso latitans Philomela recessu
Flet noctem, & variis sylvam modulatibus implet,
Infandum si quâ possit lenire dolorem.
Sic, anno redeunte, suis & quæque refertur
Tempestas vicibus; tamen haud mihi clara diei
Lux redit; haud spargit roseos Aurora colores,
Vel mihi sera rubens accendit lumina Vesper.
Non armenta mihi, aut jucundos veris honores,
Æstivâmve rosam fas est, hominisve tueri
Ora, Dei vultum simulantia: sed mihi nubes,
Æterræque obstant tenebræ; — ne quid mihi prosit
Almi patrius, ne nec celetur, pulsa videri.
Tantò omnes animo, lux o! divina, tenebras
Eripias magis; hic oculos, hic insere; fortes
Huc radios immitte, ac toti infundere menti.
Sic sanctas penetrare domos, sic pandere possim
Quæ longè humanos fugiunt abscondita sensus.

On seeing some Lines from Mr. POPE's Essay on Man, *beautifully transcrib'd by an eminent Writing Master.* By the Author of the *Diversions of* Denby's, *and the* Italian Sonnet. (See p. 552, and 555.)

THO' POPE's fam'd numbers shine, from native fire;
Each list'ning muse exulting round his lyre:
Tho' they're the same with homely types impress;
Or, in rough scrolls, still more obscurely dress;
Yet when their charms we thus portray'd descry,
With sweeter force they catch th' admiring eye:
Embellish'd, here, with all the penman's art,
They gain a quicker passage to the heart.
So *Phœbus* still is *Phœbus*, tho' in clouds
(Long hid from mortals) he his beauties shrouds;
But when he bursts forth in his robes of light,
Mankind, enraptur'd, hail the glorious sight;
Bask in his beams with joy unfelt before;
And what they feel, and what they see, adore.

To the ingenious Mr. GUNN. *On his late Musical Entertainments, at* Birmingham *.

GREAT, little *Gunn!*—(for justly may we call
Thee *great*, indeed, tho' but of stature small;
Since, tho' in length not much above a span,
At *music*, thou'rt a *great* and glorious man:)
I say —(with explanation to have done,)
Loud, little, light, well-executing *Gunn*,
Full oft had I, before, in pleasing sort,
At distance, heard thy wond'rous, brave *report*;
But, on my longing, late advance more near,
What *sounds* did, then, *salute* my list'ning ear!
How was my soul with heav'nly rapture seiz'd!
How were we all, beyond expression, pleas'd!
And, first,—how fain wou'd I, in fitting lays,
Thy noble *instrumental anthem* praise!
That sweet, celestial song, at church perform'd!
How were our hearts, with true devotion warm'd!
And our transported souls, how rais'd!—as, *Rapt up*, with *Paul's*, unto *the supreme heav'n*,
When, in *God's house* †, so lofty, long, and wide,
Where so belov'd a *rector* § does preside,
Such various *hands* and *voices* did combine,
And, in the charming *chorus*, all conjoin,
To this magnificent, this glorious place,
Which such well-suited decorations grace,
In zealous manner, what a num'rous throng
Approach'd to hear the holy, heav'nly song!

* *On Tuesday, the 28th of* October, 1740.
A—sbd—n V—se.

† *The new Church.*

§ Mr.

The gall'ries, iles, and ſeats, on ev'ry hand,
Contain'd as many, as cou'd ſit, or ſtand:
But not a ſoul, (I faithfully believe,)
That cou'd, unpleas'd, the ſacred ſtructure leave.
All, all, indeed, might mourn the pleaſure paſt;
And ſigh, to think, it ſhou'd no longer laſt:
But not one auditor his thanks forbear,
For thoſe great things, he came that day to hear.
Without complaint, yea pleas'd (as I may ſay,)
The prejudic'd and peeviſh went away.
Thus, the ſweet ſound of *David*'s heav'nly lyre
Cou'd force the *evil ſpirit* to retire;
And, for a while, make frantic *Saul* confeſs,
How ſoon his *well-ſkill'd hand* the *fiend* cou'd diſpoſſeſs.
At night, a curious *concert* entertains
The beauteous, glitt'ring nymphs, and gentle ſwains.
What *ſolo's*, *ſongs*, *concerto's* did, that night,
Attentive ears, alternately, delight!
Whate'er was play'd, each maſterly fine hand,
Praiſe, from the courtly audience, might command,
Applauſe they *merited*, whate'er they play'd,
And, from the *pit*, an echoing *plaudit* had.
Delightful *Dovey!*—how ſhall I define
That dear, ſweet-temper'd, muſical *divine?*
How, how, but thus?—his worth I can't expreſs,
Nor my eſteem; I fairly muſt confeſs.
(Thrice happy *Birmingham!*—O, when waſt thou,
With two *below'd divines*, ſo bleſt, as now?)
Melodious *Lyndon* *,—ſuffer me to ſay,
That I as dearly love to hear thee *play*.
(Great wrongs, I own, my loving friend perplex:
And me, poor me! the like misfortunes vex.
But, when put *out of tune*, by lawleſs foes,
May we, with *muſic*, mitigate our woes:
May we, ſtill, imitate the bleſt above;
And, 'ſtead of ſighing, *ſing*,—and of lamenting, *love*.)
Thee too, O peerleſs *Parry*, let me praiſe,
And tell, how much thy finger-ends amaze
Our raviſht ears, when once they've but begun,
Allo'er thy rare, unrivall'd *harp*, to run.
How, how, O heav'ns! are choice *concerto's* grac'd,
And fav'rite *overtures*, whene'er thou play'ſt!
With what nice judgment, vary'd and improv'd,
In evry part, each *leſſon* beſt belov'd!
(Did but thy *life*, with equal *grace* abound,—
But where, alas! is true perfection found?
Yet, pity 'tis, but *ſur* wou'd more forbear,
With *rakiſh* fools, to play the *fot*, and *ſwear*.)
But why ſhou'd I proceed?—'tis all in vain:
The praiſe, that's due, this paper can't contain.
Each curious *hand*, I never can rehearſe,
Within th' intended limits of my verſe.
But *reſt* I can't, as yet:—dear, little *Gunn!*
Of thee, juſt one word more; and I have done.
Whene'er thou play'ſt the *prima violino*,
Who'd give a ſtraw for ſuch as *Seneſino?*
Thy charming *ſolo's*, on the *violoncello*,
As clearly prove that thou'rt a clever fellow.
To crown my joys, on further pleaſure bent,
Thy *organ-harpſichord* to hear I went.
I went,—I heard,—and was at once o'ercome
With *muſic's* charms:—and then prepar'd for home.
In ſhort, O glorious *Gunn!*——
Of all the *Guns*, that *Birmingham* † can boaſt,
(As thou, by each day's *execution* ſhow'ſt,)
Thou, thou, (by all it needs muſt be confeſt,)
The choiceſt art, the rareſt, and the beſt.
Perhaps, the *Critics* of this *courteous* age,
Who poiſon ſpit, forſooth! at *ev'ry* page,
For this *poor piece*, me *blunderbuſs* may call:
But I'm *ſincere*; and let that——*ſerve for all.*
Tho' yelping *curs* precipitately *bark*,
A *bungler* has been known to *hit* the *mark*.
Let then, tho' *carpers* ſhou'd theſe lines aſſault,
My *good intent* atone for ev'ry fault.
I hope, (at leaſt,) in this *addreſs* of mine,
The *belles* and *beaux* of *Birmingham* will join,
And own, dear *Gunn!* thy ſweet performances *divine.*
O!—wou'd our *guns* at *ſea* as well *perform!*—
Soon ſhou'd we take the *Spaniſh forts* by *ſtorm*.
For *Britain's* benefit, a *concert* there
Wou'd *ſweetly ſound*, in each good *Britiſh* ear:
'Twou'd make the *Don* quite chill, and *Monſieur* mad;
And the rejoicing hearts of all true *patriots* glad.

Nov. 5, 1740. R. D.

Our Correſpondent will excuſe us for omitting a few Lines, as we wou'd avoid, as much as poſſible, reflecting on any Party, or any Perſon; for which Reaſon we have alſo left out one Note.

On Admiral VERNON's *taking* Porto Bello.

WHEN great *Eliza* grac'd the *Engliſh* throne,
Her conqu'ring ſubjects travers'd ev'ry zone;
No froſt could fright them, by no heat diſmay'd,
All climes they viſit, in each clime obey'd;
But moſt *Spain's Indies* exerciſe their arms,
For greateſt dangers have the greateſt charms.
There, with ſmall forces, *Drake* acquir'd a name,
For ever dear to *Britons* and to fame.
Nombre de dios, then the *Spaniſh* mart,
Thrice felt of *Britiſh* rage the cruel ſmart;
For,

* *The judicious Organiſt of* Wolverhampton.

† *Very juſtly fam'd for that Kind of ſpurious Machines; as well as a vaſt Variety of other ingenious Performances, in Iron and Steel, ſo prodigiouſly admir'd, not only at Home, but in foreign Parts.*

For, warm with juſt revenge, the ſailors flew
Who durſt oppoſe, and all the town o'erthrew.
The *Spaniſh* monarch, vex'd at this diſgrace,
Bids them forſake this old, unlucky place,
To people that fair port, which has no fellow,
And thence derives its name of *Porto-Bello.*
But vain, alas! its ſituation ſtrong,
Its various forts, and all the warlike throng
Of boaſting blades, and guns of mighty ſize,
The *Britons* once provok'd will theſe deſpiſe:
With *ſix ſhips only*, *Vernon* thither ſteers,
The *Spaniards* ſoon reſume their former fears:
Vernon, like *Drake*, a ſeaman rough and bold,
Took the new town, as he had ſack'd the old.
Be wiſe, ye dons, and pacify that foe,
Who may deſtroy *Madrid* and *Mexico.*

The DREAM.

Vigilantis vota, dormientis ſomnia.

THE twinkling ſtars had ſpangled all the ſkies,
And peaceful ſlumbers ſeal'd my wearied eyes;
When lo, a lovely youth approach'd my bed,
Whoſe ſhining temples were with laurels ſpread:
The wanton locks, which o'er his ſhoulders flew,
Diſpers'd their odours in a fragrant dew:
A flowing garment did his limbs ſurround,
Which careleſs hung, and graceful ſwept the ground:
In his left arm a golden lyre was hung,
Which ſtraight he touch'd, and thus melodious ſung.
"Ariſe, *Philander*, wake thy infant muſe,
And try what thoughts true beauty can infuſe,
Where every feature in her face you'll find
Sweet as her words, and ſprightly as her mind;
Still entertaining, negligent of air,
Manners refin'd, obliging as ſhe's fair;
Engaging temper, innocently ſweet,
Void of all female frauds and mean deceit.
Nature gave all the charms ſhe cou'd confer,
And robb'd from others to beſtow on her.
Deſcription fails! come, gentle youth, he cries,
What words can't paint, ſhall bleſs thy longing eyes."
This ſaid, I roſe, and ſwift as thought we flew,
Where *ſylvan* ſcenes bright open'd to our view;
Where warbling notes awake the chearful dawn,
And fragrant beauties paint th'enamell'd lawn:
When thus my guide, "See yonder gay alcove,
There bend thy ſteps, and fill thy ſoul with love."
This ſaid, he diſappeared.—And gladly I
This dictate with officious haſte obey.
The grott I enter'd, where, on roſes laid,
I *Delia* ſaw in all her charms array'd.
Here all the beauties that the world could boaſt,
In this more beauteous object had been loſt:
Here all the charms that *Phœbus* ſang before,
I found enhanc'd by various graces more.
Amaz'd I ſtood, and view'd the heavenly fair,
Now fir'd by love, and now depreſs'd by fear,
Love whiſpers ſoftly, ſteal a balmy kiſs;
Fear bids me ſtop, and diſappoints my bliſs.
But fear gave way, and I with eager haſte
Flew to ſurround that dear deluſive waiſt:
See! ſee! ſhe's gone, thus all my joys were croſs'd,
And flatt'ring tranſports in a moment loſt.
Ixion thus a goddeſs would embrace,
But claſp'd an empty phantom in her place.

PHILANDER.

On Miſs POLLY M——L's *Singing.*

THE *Syrens* once defeated, vainly charm'd
Ty'd to the maſt *Ulyſſes* ſail'd unharm'd:
Had *Polly*'s voice entic'd his liſt'ning ear,
Ulyſſes then had ſtopt, and wou'd have dy'd to hear.
When *Polly* ſings, we ſeek th' inchanting ſound,
And bleſs the notes, which do ſo ſweetly wound:
What muſick needs muſt dwell upon that tongue,
Whoſe ſpeech is tuneful as another's ſong!
Such harmony, ſuch wit, a face ſo fair,
So many pointed arrows, who can bear?
The ſlave that from her wit or beauty flies,
If ſhe but reach him with her voice, he dies.
Like ſoldiers, ſo in battle we ſucceed,
One peril 'ſcaping, by another bleed:
In vain the dart or glitt'ring ſword we ſhun,
Condemn'd to periſh by the ſlaughtering gun.

DAMON.

A Petition to FORTUNE, *by an Adventurer in the* BRIDGE-LOTTERY.

O THOU, or *fortune* call'd, or *chance*,
On whom depends each bleſt event;
Since to thy altars crowds advance,
And ev'ry knee to thee is bent;
Crown thou my wiſhes with ſucceſs,
And liſten to a mortal's vow;
If e'er my hopes thou mean to bleſs,
Oh do it, goddeſs, do it now!
Yet not like miſers, covet I
The prize, amaſſing endleſs ſtore,
Only to lay it idly by,
'Midſt wealth emphatically poor.
Leſs wou'd I, fond of pompous ſhow,
And pride, miſcall'd magnificence,
Vaſt ſums away like *Villars* throw,
With all the madneſs of expence.
No, goddeſs, love inſpires my pray'r,
And when for wealth I ſue to thee,
'Tis to endow that very fair,
Thyſelf muſt favour, could'ſt thou be.
Thus pleaded I—when to deſtroy
My hopes, the prize to *Euclio* fell,
Too rich to want, too old t'enjoy—
Oh, *fortune*, was this quite ſo well!

The Tranſlation of the Latin *Poem, On a Country Chriſtning, ſhall be inſerted in our next.*

THE

Monthly Chronologer.

Extract of a Letter from Irwin, *(about* 60 *Miles S. W. from* Edinburgh*) dated* November 29.

FRIDAY last at Noon we had here a heavy Rain, which ended in a Fall of large Hail, so that every body betook themselves to Shelter. This was follow'd by a sudden and most dreadful Flash of Fire and Crack of Thunder, such as neither we, nor our Fore-fathers have seen or heard of: The Lightning gave no Warning but accompanied the Thunder, which was short and quick; but the Noise as great and frightful as if all the Ordnance on Earth had been at one Instant discharged. The Whole seem'd to break upon our Tolbooth and Steeple, which are much shatter'd. The Town-Clock was broke to Pieces, the Work either calcin'd or melted. The strong Door of the Prison was burst up (notwithstanding its large Iron Bars) wherein were five Prisoners. A Lad of 14, was kill'd as he stood at a Window, and every Stitch of his Clothes consumed; his Brother, aged 12, knock'd down near him, so that his Life is despair'd of; another Brother of theirs struck blind; their Aunt had all her Clothes burnt to Ashes on one Side, and even her Skin flay'd off, worse than could have been done by any blistering Plaister: Not one Bone of any of them was broke, tho' every Hair was sing'd; and the sulphurous Stench about them was intolerable. Several were thrown down in the Streets and in their Shops, and much hurt. Two Sailors coming from the Key say, that a large Pillar of Fire met them in the Face, which brought them on their Knees. Mr. *Cunningham* says, it appear'd to him as a most voluminous Pillar of Fire, proceeding quick as from the Mouth of a Cannon; and that he thought, from the uncommon Smoke over the Tolbooth, the same had been all on Fire; he was tumbled down and his Foot much hurt. The People had scarce recover'd their Senses, when two other Cracks of Thunder gave fresh Grounds of Terror; but these last, tho' most terrible and uncommon, were nothing to the first. Great hewn Stones were carry'd violently out of the Steeple to Baillie *Nisbet*'s House, where they left Impressions. The Manner in which the States were carry'd off from several Houses is surprising.

The latter End of last Month an Embargo was laid on all Ships in the Ports of *Great Britain*, laden, or to be laden, with Corn, Grain, Starch, Rice, Beef, Pork, or any Provisions of Victuals, to be exported to Foreign Parts. This Embargo was in Consequence of an Address from the House of Lords, and another from the House of Commons.

From *Dublin* we were inform'd, That *Sunday, Nov.* 30. being the Anniversary of the Birth of that great and glorious Patriot, the Rev. Dr. *SWIFT*, D. S. P. D. who then entered into the 74th Year of his Age, the Morning was ushered in with ringing of Bells, *&c.* but the other Rejoicings were put off till next Day, when the same was observed with the utmost Demonstrations of Joy, by ringing of Bells, firing of Guns, Bonfires and Illuminations. Several Persons of Distinction waited on the Dean at the Deanry-House, to congratulate him on the happy Occasion, that gave to that his Native Country, so great a Lover of it.

SATURDAY, *Dec.* 6.

An Order of Council was publish'd, exempting Ships laden, or to be laden, with Rice and Fish, from the late Embargo.

Bristol, Dec. 6. Came in the *Vernon* Privateer, and two Days before, a rich Prize she had taken off the *Grand Canaries*, which proves to be a *Dutchman*, laden with Ammunition for the *Spaniards*; she has also on board thirty Cables and Anchors, and a rich Cargo of Silks, Cambricks, Lawns, *&c.* reckon'd in the Whole worth between 18 and 20,000*l.*

SUNDAY, 7.

Was celebrated the Anniversary of the Birth of the Princess *Louisa*, who then enter'd into the 17*th* Year of her Age.

MONDAY, 8.

Began the Drawing of the Bridge-Lottery, at *Stationers-Hall*.

Extract of a Letter from on Board the Rose *Man of War, at* Falmouth, Dec. 8.

The 23d in the Evening, some Days after we had taken the *Spanish* Privateer, *(see p.* 558.*)* we sail'd from *Torbay*; on the 24th the Wind was boisterous, that our Ship roll'd prodigiously, the Sea every Moment breaking over us. The 25th, the Storm increased, and we drove without Sails, at the Mercy of Wind and Weather, our Ship almost cover'd with the Water. The 26th, the Storm abated nothing; but settled a little on the 27th. On the 28th a more dreadful Storm arose, in which one of the Ships under our Convoy had four Men wash'd over-board; we lost Sight of that Ship, and fear she perish'd for want of Hands. On the 29th the Storm rather

ther increaſed, with Thunder and Lightning, when we miſs'd another of the Ships under our Convoy. The 30th was a little more favourable; but from the 1ſt of *December* to the 3d, it blew the moſt violently ever known; in that Time we loſt Sight of all the other Ships under our Convoy, among which was our Store-Ship. The Tempeſt continuing, we endeavour'd to make *Cork* in *Ireland*, but contrary Winds oblig'd us to ſtand away for *Falmouth*, Seas beating over us all the Way, where we arrived on the 5th. The oldeſt and moſt experienc'd Seamen on board ſay they never knew ſuch a Storm.

TUESDAY, 9.

An Ambaſſador arriv'd in Town from the Queen of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and Archdutcheſs of *Auſtria*, to notify to the *Britiſh* Court her Majeſty's Acceſſion to thoſe Dominions.

The Seſſions ended at the *Old Bailey*, when the following Perſons received Sentence of Death, viz. *John Renſburg*, for robbing *Richard Hall* on the Highway:—*Joſeph Huddle*, for robbing *Thomas Cain* on the Highway:—*Daniel Jackſon*, for the Murder of his Wife:—*Thomas Coates*, and *Thomas Naſh*, for breaking open and robbing the Houſe of *Hugh Diney*:—*Richard Quail*, for a Street Robery:—And, *Robert Legroſe*, for breaking open and robbing the Houſe of *John Clack*.

The Governors and Guardians of the Hoſpital for the Maintenance and Education of expoſed and deſerted young Children, have hired the Houſe in *Hatton-Garden* where the late Sir *Fiſher Tench*, Bart. laſt liv'd, and will, with all Expedition, fit it to receive and maintain as many ſuch young Children therein as they can, until they ſhall be able to build a proper Hoſpital.

Hancock, whoſe Sentence, after an Order for Execution, was reſpited, is to be tranſported for 14 Years; and *White*, who was to have been executed with him, and *Dewil*, who after hanging came to Life again, are to be tranſported for Life. (*See p.* 560.)

MONDAY, 15.

Daniel Jackſon, under Sentence of Death for the Murder of his Wife, died in *Newgate* of the Wounds he gave himſelf in his Body. The Coroners Jury brought in their Verdict Lunacy. The Sheriffs had ſeiz'd on his Eſtate in *Holborn*, and likewiſe on the Effects of the ſaid *Jackſon*, late of *Cold-Bath-Fields*.

TUESDAY, 16.

One *Obrion*, an Attorney, ſtood in the Pillory at *Charing-Croſs*, purſuant to his Sentence, for forging Certificates of Officers Widows that had been dead a conſiderable Time, in order to receive their Penſions at the *War-Office*. He was afterwards carry'd back to *Newgate*, where he is to remain a Year, to find Security for his good Behaviour, and to pay a Fine of five Pounds.

THURSDAY, 18.

His Majeſty went to the Houſe of Peers, and gave the Royal Aſſent to the Land-Tax Bill (4*s.* in the Pound) and to a Bill for naturalizing *John de Peſters*, Eſq; after which the Lords adjourn'd to *Jan.* 7. and the Commons alſo to the ſame Day.

A remarkable Cauſe was tried, before the L. C. Juſtice *Lee*, between Mr. *Charlewood*, Teller of the Bank, Plaintiff, and Mr. *Wilby* of St. *Paul's Church-yard*, Toyman, Defendant. The Caſe was this, a Perſon in a Clergyman's Habit came in a Chariot to the Defendant's Shop, the 11th of laſt *June*, and bought Plate to the Value of 69*l.* 5*s.* and paid for it with a Bank Bill of 70*l.* for which he receiv'd Change; but having ſome Suſpicion, from a Gentleman in the Shop perceiving he had on a white Waiſtcoat and Breeches under a Caſſock, immediately upon his getting into the Chariot, the Defendant order'd his Servant to dog him, and not quit Sight of the Chariot till he hous'd him; in the Interim he ſent a Servant to the Bank with the Bill, in order to have it examin'd, and Anſwer was made it was good; upon which the Perſon return'd, and was deſir'd to go again and receive the Money; accordingly he return'd to the Bank, and received the Money of the Plaintiff, Mr. *Charlewood*: Soon after Mr. *Wildey*'s Servant return'd, and brought Word the Clergyman had put up his Horſes, and went into the lower Flaſk at *Hampſtead*; but the Defendant being ſatisfied with the Validity of the Bill, by the Anſwer and Payment of the Bank, deſiſted from a farther Search after the Clergyman; and heard nothing farther till three Days after, when ſeveral Clerks of the Bank came to the Defendant, and declar'd it to be a forg'd Note, and demanded the Money back again, upon the Refuſal of which this Action was brought, and after a Trial which laſted four Hours, the Jury brought in a Verdict *for the Plaintiff*. How far this will affect the Circulation of Bank Notes, Time will determine; but Traders will certainly be very cautious for the future how they take them.

SATURDAY, 20.

Mr. *Pine*, Engraver, and Monſieur *Roque*, Surveyor, had the Honour to ſhew his Royal Highneſs the Prince of *Wales*, a new Plan of *London*, ſurvey'd and drawn by M. *Roque*, at the Sight of which his Royal Highneſs was pleaſed to expreſs great Satisfaction, and honour'd the Work by his Subſcription.

The Weather was very ſevere for about a Fortnight, a great deal of Snow fell, and the Froſt was very intenſe; the Locks of the South-Weſt Part of the Bridge were choak'd up, and the *Thames* almoſt froze over; ſo that People began to apprehend another ſevere Winter: But, happily, after a great Fall of Snow on *Sunday* Night, the 21ſt Inſtant, a thorough

thorough Thaw ſucceeded on *Monday* Morning.

It was adviſed from *Virginia*, That the Forces raiſed in *Maſſachuſet's Bay*, *Connecticut*, *Rhode-Iſland*, and *New-York*, were joined off the Capes of that Dominion by thoſe raiſed in *Maryland*, *New-Jerſey*, and *Penſylvania*, and were ſailed from thence the 3d of *October*, under Convoy of his Majeſty's Ship the *Hector*, Sir *Yelverton Peyton*, and the *Wolf* Sloop, for the *Iſland* of *Jamaica*, to be ready to join the Forces under Lord *Cathcart*.

We had Accounts from *Antigua* and the other *Leeward* Iſlands, that a terrible Hurricane happen'd there about the End of *Auguſt*, which drove ſeveral Ships on Shore, and did a great deal of Damage.

WEDNESDAY, 24.

This Day his Majeſty was pleas'd to prick down the following Sheriffs for the Year enſuing, *viz.* For *Berks*, Benjamin Griffin Eſq;—*Bucks*, Will. Perry, Eſq;—*Cambr.* and *Hunt.* Cheſtern Peru, Eſq;—*Cheſh.* Will. Cheſhire, Eſq;—*Cumb.* Montague Farrar, Eſq;—*Derbyſh.* Hen. Cavendiſh, Eſq;—*Devon.* Rich. Beavis, Eſq;—*Dorſet.* Sydenham Williams, Eſq;—*Eſſex*, Joſh. Baker, Eſq;—*Glouc.* Will. Holbrow, Eſq;—*Hertf.* Rob. Hadſley, Eſq;—*Heref.* Edm. Eekley, Eſq;—*Kent*, John Lidgbird, Eſq;—*Leic.* Peter Wyche, Eſq;—*Linc.* Sir Hen. Nelthorp, Bart.—*Monm.* Fran. Jenkins, Eſq;—*Norf.* James Mackrell, Eq;—*Northamp.* Hen. Sayer, Eſq;—*Northumb.* John Strother Kerr, Eſq;—*Nottingham*, Thomas Langford, Eſq;—*Oxford*, John Duncombe, Eſq;—*Rutl.* Kenelm Johnſon, Eſq;—*Shrop.* Tho. Eyton, Eſq;—*Somerſet.* John Prowſe, Eſq;—*Southamp.* Rumney Diggle, Eſq;—*Staff.* John Dolphin, Eſq;—*Surrey*, Benj. Hayes, Eſq;—*Suſſ.* John Nicoll, Eſq;—*Warw.* Will. Wright, Eſq;—*Wilt.* Anthony Guy, Eſq;—*Worceſt.* Gilbert Wheeler, Eſq;—*Yorkſh.* Sir Lionell Pilkington, Bart.—For *South-Wales*: *Brecon*, Jeffrey Jeffreys, Eſq;—*Glam.* Rowland Dawkins, Eſq;—*Radnor*, Edward Price, Eſq;—For *North-Wales*: *Angl.* Rice Williams, Eſq;—*Carn.* John Owen, Eſq;—*Denb.* Will. Myddelton, Eſq;—*Flint*, Henry Lloyd, Eſq;—*Merion.* Robert Wynne, Eſq;—*Montg.* Corbet Owen, Eſq;

SATURDAY, 27.

A Proclamation was publiſh'd for a General Faſt on the 4th Day of *February* next.

A General BILL *of all the Chriſtnings and Burials, from the* 11*th of* Dec. 1739, *to the* 16*th of* Dec. 1740.

Chriſtned		Buried	
Males	7833	Males	14985
Females	7398	Females	15826
In all	15231	In all	30811

Increaſed in the Burials this Year 5379.

Died Under 2 Years of Age			10765
Between	2	and 5	2862
	5	and 10	1235
	10	and 20	947
	20	and 30	2205
	30	and 40	2783
	40	and 50	2866
	50	and 60	2585
	60	and 70	1977
	70	and 80	1716
	80	and 90	758
	90	and 100	100

A Hundred 2. A Hundred and One 2. A Hundred and Two 2. A Hundred and Three 1. A Hundred and Four 1. A Hundred and Five 1. A Hundred and Six 1. A Hundred and Seven 2.

MARRIAGES *and* BIRTHS.

B*Ellingham Boyle*, Eſq; in *Ireland*, to Miſs *Hoadly*, only Child of his Grace the Archbiſhop of *Dublin*.—*Edward Jeffreys*, Eſq; Son of *Nicholas Jeffreys* of *Bedford Row*, Eſq; to Miſs *Morice*, an Heireſs of about 30,000*l.* Fortune.—*Richard Lee*, Eſq; an Alderman of *Drogheda* in *Ireland*, to Miſs *Singleton*, Niece to the L. C. Juſtice *Singleton*, a 20,000*l.* Fortune.—*Hillerſdon Frank*, of *Heath* in *Bedfordſhire*, Eſq; to Miſs *Kitty Trimnell*, Daughter of Dr. *Trimnell*, Archdeacon of *Leiceſter*.—Mr. *Stafford Crane*, an eminent Surgeon, to Miſs *Freke*, Daughter of Mr. *Freke*, ſenior Surgeon of St. *Bartholomew's-Hoſpital*.—Rev. Mr. *Ridding*, Rector of *Wonſtone* in *Hants*, to Miſs *Child*, Niece to the Lord Biſhop of *Winchеſter*.—Mr. *Coombes*, a wholeſale Ironmonger in *Wood-ſtreet*, to Miſs *Hill*, Daughter of the late Mr. *Humphry Hill*, a *Weſt-India* Merchant.—Mr. *Jeddrell* of *Chancery-Lane*, to Miſs *Cradock* of *Conduit-ſtreet*.—*Chа. Browne*, Eſq; of *Bay Hill*, near *Tunbridge-Wells*, to Miſs *Mittell*, a 15,000*l.* Fortune.—Mr. *Richard Boſworth*, eldeſt Son of the Chamberlain of this City, to Miſs *Johnſon*.—*Valentine Knightly*, of *Fawſley* in *Northamptonſhire*, Eſq; to Miſs *Dummer*.—*George North*, Eſq; of the Middle *Temple*, to Miſs *Hannah Kent*.—*Felton Harvey*, Eſq; youngeſt Son of the Earl of *Briſtol*, to the Widow of *Charles Pitfield*, Eſq; and Daughter to *Solomon Aſhley*, Eſq;—The Lady of the Rt. Hon. *Stephen Poyntz*, Eſq; deliver'd of a Son.—Counteſs of *Winchelſea* and *Nottingham*, of a Daughter.—The Lady of the Hon. *John Chicheſter*, Eſq; of a Son.

DEATHS.

J*AMES Herbert*, of *Kingſey* in *Bucks*, Eſq; Memb. of Parl. for the City of *Oxford*.—*William Hucks*, Eſq; Memb. for *Wallingford* in *Berks*, and Brewer to his Majeſty's Houſhold.—Mr. *Hodges*, Deputy of *Dowgate* Ward.—Major *Legg*, Firſt Major of the 3d Reg. of Foot Guards.—Rev. *Owen Hughes*, D. D. Chancellor

Chancellor of *Bangor*.—*Kenneth Dalrymple*, Eſq; a near Relation to the Earl of *Stair*, and formerly a Commiſſioner of the Forfeited Eſtates in *Scotland*.—Mrs. *Grimſtead*, Wife of Mr. *Grimſtead*, an eminent Toyman in St. *Paul's Church-Yard*.—Rt. Hon. *Richard Boyle*, Viſc. *Shannon*, Baron *Boyle*, Field Marſhal of all his Majeſty's Forces, General and Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's Forces in *Ireland*, Col. and Capt. of the 4th Troop of Horſe Guards.—Rev. Dr. *Morrice*, Chaplain to the Earl of *Uxbridge*, Rector of *Thorpe* by *Newark*, and Lecturer of St. *Bartholomew*, near the *Exchange*.—Mrs. *Lumbarr*, Mother to the Lady of the Rt. Hon. *Horatio Walpole*, Eſq;—Mr. *Cuthbert Heron*, a young Gentleman, and next Heir to Sir *Cuthbert Heron* Bart.—Rev. Dr. *Daniel Waterland*, Canon of *Windſor*, Archdeacon of *Middleſex*, Chancellor of *York*, Maſter of *Magdalen College*, *Cambridge*, and Vicar of *Twickenham* in *Middleſex*.—*Thomas Ekings*, Eſq; for many Years a Juſtice of Peace at *Northampton*.—*Richard Machen*, Eſq; formerly Marſhal of the *King's Bench*.—Rev. Mr. *Thomas Browning*, Rector of St. *Mary Magdalen Bermondſey*.

Eccleſiaſtical PREFERMENTS.

MR. *Chamberlaine* preſented to the Rectory of *Gedney* in *Lincolnſhire*.—Mr. *Rick*, to the Vicarage of *Winterton* in the ſame County.—*Charles Bedford*, M. A. to the Vicarage of *Morwell* in *Cornwall*.—Mr. *Pinckney*, Minor Canon of St. *Paul's*, appointed one of the Choir of his Majeſty's Chapel, in the Room of Mr. *Pottle*, deceas'd.—*Richard Hartley*, M. A. preſented to the Vicarage of *Kingley* in *Yorkſhire*.

PROMOTIONS *Civil and Military*.

MR. *Naiſborough* appointed Deputy Clerk of the Crown, in the Room of Mr. *Mann*, deceas'd.—Mr. Serjeant *Wills* ſucceeds Sir *Tho. Abney* as Attorney-General of the Duchy of *Lancaſter*; and *Sydney Stafford Smythe*, Eſq; as Judge of the *Marſhalſea*, &c.—*Thomas Morris*, Eſq; made Adjutant in Lieut. Gen. *Tyrrell's* Reg. of Foot, *Andrew Booth*, Eſq; Captain, and *William O Farell*, Eſq; Enſign.—*George Mure*, Eſq; made Capt. Lieut. in the Royal Reg. of *North-Britiſh* Dragoons, and *James Erſkine*, Eſq; Lieutenant.—Earl of *Holderneſs* made Lord Lieut. of the *North* Riding of the County of *York*.—*Thomas Knight*, Eſq; made a Gentleman Penſioner, in the Room of *Gregory Weſtcombe*, Eſq; deceas'd.—*George North*, Eſq; choſen Clerk to the Company of *Merchant-Taylors*.—*George Caſwall*, Eſq; made Inſpector of Out-Port Collectors Accounts within *England* and *Wales* and Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*.—*George Tucker*, Eſq; made Secretary and Proveſt Marſhal General of the Iſlands of *Bermuda*, or *Summer-Iſlands*, in *America*.—*William Rawlinſon Earle*, Eſq; made Clerk of the Ordnance, in the Room of *Leonard Smelt*, Eſq; deceas'd.—Mr. *Lever* appointed, by the Dean and Chapter, High Bailiff of *Weſtminſter*, in the Room of *David Patten*, Eſq; who reſign'd; and Mr. *Gooſtry* appointed Deputy High Bailiff.—Capt. *Robinſon* made Capt. of the *Tyger*, a 4th Rate, of 50 Guns; and Lieut. *Abraham Gould*, Capt. of the *Deptford* Store-Ship, in his Room.

New Members.

Randle Wilbraham, Eſq; for *Newcaſtle-Under-Line*.—*Hitch Young*, Eſq; for *Steyning* in *Suſſex*.—*Richard Lifter*, Eſq; for the County of *Salop*.—*Arthur Moore*, Eſq; for *Banbury* in *Oxfordſhire*.—*John Smelt*, Eſq; for *Northallerton* in *Yorkſhire*.—*George Prouſe*, Eſq; for *Somerſetſhire*.—*William Stroud*, Eſq; for *Reading*, *Berks*.—*John Baſſet*, Eſq; for *Barſtaple*.—*Thomas Watſon*, Eſq; for *Berwick*.

Perſons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

WILL. *Cowper*, of *Uxbridge*, Apothecary.—*James Dejovas*, of *Tunbridge* in *Kent*, Mercer.—*David Price*, of *Crutched-Fryars*, Wine-cooper.—*John Judge*, of *Ingateſtone*, *Eſſex*, Innholder.—*George Heath*, of *St. Andrew's*, *Holborn*, Brazier.—*Tho. Taylor*, late of *St. Leonard*, *Shoreditch*, Innholder.—*Tho. Ratcliffe*, late of *Manchester*, Linendraper.—*John Hewitt*, late of *Morpeth* in *Northumberland*, Maltſter and Brewer.—*Th. Richards*, of *Norwich*, Vintner and Innholder.—*Daniel Hanks*, late of *Goodman's-Fields*, Silk Thrower.

Abſtract of the *London* WEEKLY BILL, from *Nov.* 25 to *Dec.* 23.

Chriſtned	Males	542	1055
	Females	513	
Buried	Males	982	1962
	Females	980	
Died under 2 Years old			626
Between 2 and 5			189
5	10		96
10	20		55
20	30		137
30	40		197
40	50		210
50	60		161
60	70		119
70	80		100
80	90		43
90 and upwards			9
			1962

Hay 66 to 72*s*. a Load.

IN our laſt we gave an Account of the Death of the *Czarina*, and the Advancement of the Duke of *Courland* to the ſole Regency of that vaſt Empire, during the Minority of the young Emperor, and in Excluſion of the Emperor's Father and Mother. The Regent accordingly entered immediately upon the Exerciſe of the Government, without any ſeeming Oppoſition or Diſcontent, except what was ſhewn by the Father and Mother, who could not diſſemble entirely their Diſpleaſure at the Affront that had been put upon them by the laſt Will of the late *Czarina*, which the Duke, it ſeems, had the abſolute modelling of. The Populace, as uſual, uſhered in this new Government with great Joy and Acclamations; and the Regent with ſeveral popular Regulations and Speeches; but ſee the Fickleneſs of human Grandeur, eſpecially that which is built upon Injuſtice, and the ſole Favour of Princes! The Duke of *Brunſwick*, Conſort to the Princeſs *Anne*, and Father of the young Emperor, having thrown up all his Employments, and the Regent having arreſted ſix *Ruſſian* Lords, who, he thought, were conſpiring with the Duke againſt him, it occaſioned ſeveral ſecret Conferences to be held at the Princeſs *Anne*'s on the 7th and 8th of laſt Month, between the Duke, the Princeſs *Anne*, Count *Munich*, Count *Oſterman*, and ſome others of their moſt particular Confidents, at which it was reſolved, to arreſt the Regent, in the Name of the young Emperor, and diveſt him of the Regency. For this Purpoſe, an Order was ſigned by all preſent, in the Name of the young Emperor, and on the 9th, between 3 and 4 in the Morning, Count *Munich*, accompanied by his Adjutant General, and General *Uſchakoff*, went with a ſtrong Detachment of the Guards, to the Summer Palace where the Duke Regent reſided. They immediately ſecured the Guard, threatening to kill whoever ſhould dare to reſiſt. Then Count *Munich* cauſed, in the Name of the Emperor, the Apartment of the Regent, who was in Bed, to be opened, having firſt ſecured all the Avenues about the Palace. The Noiſe having awakened the Regent, he leap'd out of Bed in his Shirt, and got hold of his Sword. At this Inſtant Count *Munich* entered, and ſaid, *I arreſt your Highneſs on the Part of the Emperor, and here is my Order.* The Duke defended himſelf as long as he could with his Sword; and after being diſarmed, he ſtill ſtruggled with ſo much Force, that his Shirt was torn all to Pieces, and it was yet with ſome Trouble before the Guards could make themſelves abſolute Maſters of him. His Ducheſs, on her Part, did not make leſs Reſiſtance, who, with a Sabre ſhe had got hold of, deſperately wounded one of the Guards, before they could wrench it from her. Count *Guſtavus Biron*, the Regent's Brother, taking his Sword in one Hand, and a Piſtol in the other, endeavoured to eſcape through the Garden, but he was intercepted, taken and diſarmed, by the Guards poſted to ſecure that Avenue. After the Regent and his Ducheſs were dreſſed, they were conducted, with their Family, to the Winter Palace, where the Emperor and Imperial Family were, and from thence they were carried in four covered Waggons to the Fortreſs of *Schluſſelbourg*. Immediately afterwards a general Diſcharge of the Artillery was made, the Princeſs *Anne*, Mother of the Emperor, was declared Regent of the Empire, and a ſolemn *Te Deum* was ſung, upon the happy Delivery of the Emperor and Royal Family from a Man whoſe Ambition has made it almoſt abſolutely neceſſary for him to deſtroy them; for after he had got himſelf declared ſole Regent by the Will of the late *Czarina*, he had certainly but two Ways to take, one of which was, to recommend himſelf to the Father and Mother of the infant Emperor, by reſigning his Regency to them; and the other was, to cut them both off as ſoon as poſſible: The former, his Ambition, it ſeems, prevented him to take; and in the latter, he was probably prevented by this ſudden, well-concerted, and providential Revolution. Next Day a Declaration, ſigned by the whole Synod, the Miniſtry, and the Generals of the Army, was printed and publiſhed in the Emperor's Name, which ſet forth the Crimes of the Regent, and the Reaſons for diveſting him of the Regency; and the Populace rejoiced as much at his Downfal, as they did at his Elevation. The Duke of *Brunſwick* has ſince been declared Generaliſſimo of the Forces, and Lieutenant Colonel of the Horſe-Guards, Count *Munich* Prime Miniſter, Count *Oſterman* High Admiral, the Knees *Tſcherkaſkoy* Grand Chancellor, the Count *Gallowkin* Vice Chancellor and Miniſter of the Cabinet, and the Prince of *Heſſe-Hombourg* Lieutenant Colonel of the *Iſmailouſki* Guards, in the Room of General *Guſtavus Biron*. As we have yet heard of no Oppoſition to this Revolution, it ſeems now to be fully eſtabliſhed; and may be of great Conſequence in oppoſing the Views of *France*, during the preſent unſettled State of *Germany*.

From *Vienna* we hear, that the Queen of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and Arch ducheſs of *Auſtria*, &c. has declared the Duke of *Tuſcany*, her Huſband, to be her Aſſociate in the Regency of her Dominions; and that ſhe is daily receiving Aſſurances from moſt of the Princes of the Empire, and from ſeveral Potentates of *Europe*, that they will make good their Guaranty of the *pragmatick* Sanction.

We have no Accounts of the War between this Nation and *Spain* that are worth communicating.

The

HISTORICAL.

1. THE Lives of the Profeſſors of *Greſham* College. By *John Ward*, F. R. S. Printed for the Author, price 1*l.* 5*s.*

2. Examen; or, an Enquiry into the Credit and Veracity of a pretended complete Hiſtory. By the Hon. *Roger North*, Eſq; Printed for *F. Gyles*, 4to, price 18*s.*

3. A Geographical and Hiſtorical Deſcription of the principal Objects of the preſent War in the *Weſt-Indies*. Printed for *T. Gardner*, price 2*s.* 6*d.* ſew'd.

4. The Memoirs of *Anna Maria de Moras*, Counteſs of *Corbon*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

5. A new Journal of the Rev. Mr. *Whitefield*. Printed for *J. Hutton*, price 8*d.*

6. The Curioſities of the *Tower* of *London*. By the Author of the Gigantick Hiſtory. Printed for *T. Boreman*, price 4*d.*

* 7. The *Scotch* Compendium. The 4th Edition enlarged. Printed for *C. Hitch*, price 7*s.* 6*d.*

LAW, POLITICAL.

8. Rules, Orders and Notices in the Court of *King's-Bench*, from King *James* I. to 1740. Printed for Meſſ. *Stevens*, *Worrall*, *Ward*, *Wood* and *Waller*, 8vo, pr. 4*s.* ſew'd.

9. Notes of Caſes in Points of Practice. Printed for *J. Sbuckburgh*, 8vo, price 4*s.* 6*d.*

10. Anti-Machiavel; or, an Examination of *Machiavel's* Prince. Printed for *T. Woodward*, 8vo, price 5*s.*

11. The preſent State of the Revenues and Forces, by Sea and Land, of *France* and *Spain*, compar'd with thoſe of *Great Britain*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s.*

12. A true Copy of *Oliver Cromwell's* Manifeſto againſt *Spain*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s.*

13. Have at you all. By the Author of, Yes they are. Printed for *T. Cooper*, pr. 6*d.*

14. The Great Man's Anſwer to, Are theſe Things ſo? Printed for *T. Cooper*, pr. 1*s.*

15. What Things? An impartial Inquiry, *&c.* Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d.*

16. *Great Britain's* Memorial; or, a Collection of the Freeholders Inſtructions, *&c.* Printed for *J. Watſon*, price 1*s.*

17. *Vernon's* Glory. Part II. Printed for *W. Webb*, price 6*d.*

18. The wicked Life of *Haman*; a Sermon preach'd at *Edinburgh*. By Mr. *Webſter*. Sold by *W. Webb*, price 6*d.*

19. Important Conſiderations on the true Nature of Government. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

20. P. Virgilii Maronis Opera. For the Uſe of Schools. By *John Stirling*, M. A. Printed for *T. Aſtley*, pr. 6*s.*

21. A Methodical Syſtem of univerſal Law. By *G. Turnbull*, L. L. D. In 2 Vols. 8vo. Printed for *J. Noon*, pr. 10*s.* 6*d.*

22. Los Diez Libros de Fortuna de Amour. Printed for *H. Chapelle*. In 2 Vols. pr. 12*s.*

23. The Poſthumous Works of the late Mr. *Henry Grove*, of *Taunton*, in 4 Volumes, in 8vo. The Subſcription Books are deliver'd by *J. Wilſon*, price one Guinea in Sheets.

24. A Reply to the Rev. Mr. *Bowman's* Letter to the Inhabitants of *Dewſbury*, pr. 6*d.*

25. A farther Account of *Welch* Charity-Schools. price 6*d.* Both printed for *J. Hutton*.

26. Three Miſcellaneous Diſſertations. Printed for *R. Dodſley*, price 3*s.*

27. An Anſwer to the Conſequences on Trade. Sold by *T. Cooper*, price 6*d.*

28. The right Side of *C. Cibber*, Eſq; Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

29. A Narrative of *William Duel* hang'd at *Tyburn*; and reviv'd. Printed for *J. Roberts*, price 6*d.*

30. A Journey to the World in the Moon. Printed for *C. Corbet*, price 1*s.*

31. The Caſe of Mr. *Bartholomew Greenwood*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 1*s.*

PHYSICAL.

* 32. A Treatiſe on the Small-Pox. By *Theo. Lobb*, M. D. The 2d Edition, with Additions. Printed for *T. Woodward* and *C. Davis*, 8vo, price 6*s.*

33. Eſſays on ſeveral curious Subjects in ſpeculative and mixt Mathematicks. By *T. Simſon*. Printed for *J. Nourſe*, 4to, price 6*s.* ſew'd.

34. An Account of ſome Experiments on Mrs. *Stephens's* Medicines. By Dr. *Hales*. Printed for *T. Woodward*, price 1*s.*

35. A compleat extemporaneous Diſpenſatory. Printed for *J. Carter*, 8vo, pr. 5*s.* 6*d.*

POETICAL.

36. Johannis Miltoni Paradiſus Amiſſus Latine redditus. Interprete J. Trapp, S.T.P. Vol. I. complectens ſex priores Libros. Impenſis L. Gilliver, J. Wood, & C. Woodward, 4to, price 10*s.* ſew'd.

37. An Ode to the D. of *Argyle*, and one to the E. of *Marchmont*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d.*

38. A Poem on the glorious Atchievments of Admiral *Vernon*. Printed for *T. Cooper*, pr. 6*d.*

39. An Epiſtle from Lord *L——l* to Lord *C——d*. By Mr. *P.* Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d.*

40. Truth. A Poem to the Lord *Harrington*. Sold by *C. Corbet*, price 6*d.*

41. The Oddity. A Poem. Printed for *J. Robins*, price 6*d.*

SERMON.

* 42. A Sermon preach'd at St. *Paul's*, *London*. By Dr. *John Collett*, formerly Dean of the ſaid Church. Printed for *T. Cooper*, price 6*d.*

THEOLOGICAL.

43. A new New-Year's Gift. Printed for *J. Hodges* and *J. Brindley*, price 1*s.*

44. A ſerious and friendly Addreſs from a Miniſter in the Country to his Pariſhioners. Sold by *J. Wilford*, 12mo, price 1*s.* 6*d.*

1738.

Scipio Africanus, Lord Noel Somerſet.
Aſinius Pollio, Lord Polwarth, now Earl of Marchmont.
L. Æmilius Mamercinus, Mr. Ald. Perry.
C. Duillius, Sir Charles Wager.
P. Valerius Publicola, Walter Plummer, Eſq;
M. Craſſus, Edw. Montague Wortley, Eſq;
L. Caſſius Longinus, Lord Hinton.
P. Ventidius, Earl of Weſtmorland.
L. Porcius, Duke of Portland.
M. Giganius Macerinus, Lord Gower.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus, Duke of Newcaſtle.
L. Piſo, Earl of Cheſterfield.
C. Mucius Scævola, Earl of Scarborough.
M. Agrippa, Lord Carteret.
C. Helvius, Lord Harvey.
Q. Fabius Maximus, Lord Bathurſt.
L. Æmilius Paullus, Duke of Argyle.
L. Junius Brutus, Samuel Sandys, Eſq;
M. Tullius Cicero, Sir Robert Walpole.
M. Cato, Wm. Pulteney, Eſq;
M. Valerius Corvus, Sir John Barnard.
Servilius Priſcus, Henry Pelham, Eſq;
M. Furius Camillus, Sir Wm. Wyndham.
L. Quintius Capitolinus, John Talbot, Eſq;
L. Valerius Flaccus, Sir Wm. Yonge.
L. Quintius Cincinnatus, Wm. Shippen, Eſq;
Mecænas, George Lyttleton, Eſq;
C. Plinius Cæcilius, Lord Chancellor.
Pomponius Atticus, Horace Walpole, Eſq;
Julius Florus, Wm. Pitt, Eſq;

1739.

L. Porcius, Duke of Portland.
L. Piſo, Earl of Cheſterfield.
C. Mucius Scævola, Earl of Scarborough.
M. Agrippa, Lord Carteret.
C. Helvius, Lord Harvey.
Q. Fabius Maximus, Lord Bathurſt.
L. Æmilius Paullus, Duke of Argyle.
L. Junius Brutus, Samuel Sandys, Eſq;
M. Tullius Cicero, Sir Robert Walpole.
M. Cato, Wm. Pulteney, Eſq;
M. Valerius Corvus, Sir John Barnard.
Servilius Priſcus, Henry Pelham, Eſq;
M. Furius Camillus, Sir Wm. Wyndham.
L. Quintius Capitolinus, John Talbot, Eſq;
L. Valerius Flaccus, Sir Wm. Yonge.
Mecænas, George Lyttleton, Eſq;
C. Plinius Cæcilius, Lord Chancellor.
Pomponius Atticus, Horace Walpole, Eſq;
Julius Florus, Wm. Pitt, Eſq;
C. Cicerejus, Earl of Cholmondly.
L. Icilius, Earl of Iſla.
C. Calpurnius Piſo, J. Campbell of Pembrokeſhire, Eſq;
P. Sempronius Tuditanus, Sir Tho. Saunderſon, now Earl of Scarborough.
L. Hortenſius, John Howe, Eſq;
T. Manlius Torquatus, Col. Mordaunt.
P. Villius Tappulus, Mr. Ald. Willimot.

1740.

L. Æmilius Mamercinus, Mr. Ald. Perry.
C. Duillius, Sir Charles Wager.
L. Caſſius Longinus, Lord Hinton.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus, Duke of Newcaſtle.
L. Piſo, Earl of Cheſterfield.
C. Mucius Scævola, Earl of Scarborough.
M. Agrippa, Lord Carteret.
C. Helvius, Lord Harvey.
Q. Fabius Maximus, Lord Bathurſt.
L. Æmilius Paullus, Duke of Argyle.
L. Junius Brutus, Samuel Sandys, Eſq;
M. Tullius Cicero, Sir Robert Walpole.
M. Cato, Wm. Pulteney, Eſq;
M. Valerius Corvus, Sir John Barnard.
Servilius Priſcus, Henry Pelham, Eſq;
M. Furius Camillus, Sir Wm. Wyndham.
L. Valerius Flaccus, Sir Wm. Yonge.
Mecænas, George Lyttleton, Eſq;
C. Plinius Cæcilius, Lord Chancellor.
Pomponius Atticus, Horace Walpole, Eſq;
C. Cicerejus, Earl of Cholmondly.
L. Icilius, Earl of Iſla.
C. Calpurnius Piſo, J. Campbell of Pembrokeſhire, Eſq;
L. Hortenſius, John Howe, Eſq;
A. Poſthumius, Duke of Bedford.
T. Quintius, Lord Talbot.
C. Claudius Nero, Earl of Winchelſea.
M. Bœbius Tampbilus, Lord Baltimore.
C. Herennius, Edw. Hoper, Eſq;
Aulus Gabinius, Philip Gibbon, Eſq;
Cn. Fulvius, Henry Fox, Eſq;
Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus, Joſ. Danvers, Eſq;
Q. Horatius Barbatus, Earl of Halifax.
L. Duronius, Lord Delawar.
C. Oppius, Lord Onſlow.
A. Sempronius Atratinus, John Selwyn, jun. Eſq;
C. Sulpicius, Edw. Southwell, Eſq;
C. Triarius, Robert Tracy, Eſq;
L. Gegarius, Lord Gage.
Q. Cicero, Lord Walpole.
Sp. Carvilius, Earl of Carliſle.

APPENDIX

TO THE

LONDON MAGAZINE.

MDCCXL.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, continued from Page 581.

In the Debate begun in our laſt, the next that ſpoke was T. Quintius, *the Purport of whoſe Speech was thus:*

My Lords,

COULD any Oppoſition to a Meaſure, abſolutely neceſſary for the Preſervation of the Conſtitution, have ſurprized me, I ſhould have been amazed at the Reception given to the Bill now under our Conſideration.

The Commons, ſenſible of the Prevalence of Corruption, and well knowing the inevitable Deſtruction attendant upon any Government infected with that political Contagion, have ſent your Lordſhips a Bill for ſecuring their own Integrity, and to prevent the dreadful Effects, an Evil ſo ſubtle and formidable might ſoon occaſion, if not entirely eradicated. Nor is the Bill founded upon *Utopian* and chimerical Schemes of publick Virtue; but ſo extremely requiſite, that you have already in the Statute Books two Laws calculated to obtain the ſame End: Notwithſtanding which, it is ſtill poſſible for Miniſterial Craft, working upon abandoned Proſtitution, to evade and render them ineffectual.

If you believe the Commons really intended, by their paſſing this Bill, to ſupport their own Honour, and to preſerve their own Houſe uncontaminated by ſecret Corruption, may they not with Reaſon reſent your defeating ſo upright a Deſign? May not it occaſion a Breach of that Harmony, which we ought to endeavour to promote between the two great legiſlative Branches? And will not the whole Nation eſpouſe their Cauſe, and warmly join in their honeſt Indignation?

On the other hand, were it poſſible to ſuppoſe, they meant nothing by this Bill, but to delude their Conſtituents, by an Appearance of Zeal againſt that malignant Influence, which may make thoſe that were choſen as the Guardians, become the Subverters of the Liberty of their Country, would it be conſiſtent with your Dignity, with your Duty to God and Man, to be acceſſory to the abominable Craft? No, my Lords, this Houſe can never ſink ſo infamouſly low, as to cooperate in ſo mean, ſo contemptible, ſo profligate a Jobb: You may be yourſelves deceived, but you are incapable of deceiving.

A private Penſion is a Breach of Truſt; and if you refuſe your Aſſent to this Bill, you in ſome Meaſure give a Sanction to the Infringment of thoſe Laws it is intended to enforce.

The noble Lord's Argument drawn from the four Journals, he ordered to be read, concludes nothing, but that it was, at thoſe Times, the Senſe of the Houſe to reject Bills of the ſame Nature. But, my Lords, there are many Lords now preſent, who did not ſit in this Houſe at any one of the Periods referr'd to; and the Commons, after having been four Times defeated, offering this Bill to your Lordſhips, is a Proof of their Opinion of the abſolute Neceſſity of ſuch a Law.

It was obſerved by the noble Lord, that the Time is improper: Far otherwiſe is my Opinion; for at an Hour when the Situation of Affairs obliges the Parliament to impoſe heavy Burdens upon a Nation, already labouring under the ſevere Preſſure of an enormous Debt, are we not directed by Juſtice and Prudence to give them the utmoſt Proofs in our Power, of the Integrity of thoſe Perſons, by whom the oppreſſive Taxes muſt neceſſarily be impos'd.

The noble Lord hath ſaid, paſſing this Bill would be a Slur upon the Commons. Surely it cannot be eſteemed in that Light, as they begin it themſelves; for if by the Bill's paſſing their own Aſſembly, the Slur be not caſt, the enacting ſo upright a Bill, cannot reaſonably be judged ſo. A Parliament in the 2d of *Henry* VIIIth paſs'd an Act to annihilate all the Debts the King had contracted upon Loans. The Reaſon given by Hiſtorians is, that it was filled by his Majeſty's Servants, with whom Juſtice had not ſo much Weight, as Complaiſance to the Crown.

The Numbers of Placemen in that Parliament are not ſpecified; but, I believe, they did not amount to near three hundred in both Houſes, nor is there Mention made of a ſingle Penſioner. The Parliament ſtigmatized by the Name of penſioned Parliament, propoſed an expurgatory Oath, to clear themſelves from that Aſperſion, containing many Particulars, one of which was, That each Member ſhould ſwear, he had never given his Vote in Parliament, for any Reward or Promiſe whatſoever. I ſincerely wiſh that, to gratify the People, the ſame, or ſuch another Oath, ſhould now be taken; and as the Oath propoſed by this Bill will, I think, be rather more effectual, therefore I am for the Bill's being committed, and hope it will be paſſed into a Law.

The next Speech I ſhall give you upon this Queſtion, was that made by M. Horatius Barbatus, *which was to this Effect,* viz.

My Lords,

UNFIT as I am to offer my Thoughts to your Lordſhips, I ſhall undertake the Talk with Pleaſure, whenever my Duty calls me to it. I was in Hopes, however, that I ſhould have had no Occaſion

caſion of troubling your Lordſhips to Day: I was in Hopes, that this Bill, calculated for the Independency of Parliament, after having received the unanimous Sanction of the Houſe of Commons, would not have met with an harder Fate within theſe Walls. I muſt confeſs, I am in the greateſt Difficulty, my Lords, how to reconcile the Oppoſition it finds, with the warm Zeal for the Freedom of Parliament, and the tender Regard to the Conſtitution of it, which your Lordſhips have ſhewn upon ſo many other Occaſions. I am ſtill more at a Loſs, my Lords, when I conſider the Weakneſs of Argument, and Shadow of Reaſon, upon which ſuch an Oppoſition is founded.

Every Friend to the Revolution muſt be zealous for fully obtaining thoſe noble Ends propoſed by it; but this, my Lords, can never be, till the Independency of Parliament is ſecured. To gain this eſſential Point muſt be the Wiſh of every honeſt Heart; and tho' many Difficulties may occur, before the great Scheme be complete, yet every Step we take againſt the undue Influence of Power, ſtill farther removes from us that fatal Danger, by which this Country may one Day fall. We have leſs to fear, my Lords, from a foreign Power abroad, than from a miniſterial Power at home. This the Houſe of Commons is ſenſible of; and fearing they have not ſufficient Security for the Independency of their Members, deſire your Lordſhips Concurrence, to ſtrengthen it, and to enforce thoſe Laws, already in Being, againſt thoſe notable Friends to Liberty, called Penſioners: And ſhall we, my Lords, fruſtrate the good Deſign? Shall we refuſe them the Security they aſk? and ſhall not the ſame Reaſons that weighed with our Anceſtors to enact Laws, weigh with us for the Enforcement of them? Were they not, my Lords, I ſhould be apt to believe what I have often with Concern heard, when I was abroad, That the *Engliſh* have the beſt Body of Laws now extant in the World, but want the Execution of them.

One Objection, my Lords, that has been made to the Bill by the noble Lord who ſpoke firſt is, That it would multiply Oaths. If Oaths are ever neceſſary, it is upon ſuch ſolemn Occaſions as theſe, when a Man enters upon the great Truſt repoſed in him by his Conſtituents. We ſwear to our King: This is an Oath to our Country. Many Men, my Lords, will break their Words, who dare not violate their Oath; and Fear has often an Effect, when Conſcience has none. I can eaſily believe, my Lords, that there will be many wicked Men in future Times, who wou'd betray their Truſt, evade the Acts of Parliament, and receive their Penſion, if they cou'd avoid the Penalty due to Perjury.——They wou'd hazard their Expulſion, ſo they eſcaped the Pillory.

Another Reaſon, my Lords, that pleads ſtrongly with me for this Oath of Purgation, is the Difficulty a Houſe of Commons is like to meet with, in the Diſcovery of their proſtituted Members. If a future Miniſter ſhould follow the generous Example of ſome of his Predeceſſors, all Papers, all neceſſary Informations would be denied, and Corruption be as ſecret as it is deſtructive. Is it to be imagined, that a Man vile enough, unlawfully to receive a Penſion, would be alſo weak enough to avow it himſelf? Knavery and Cunning are too often joined, to expect it. Is it to be ſuppoſed, that a corrupting Miniſter will ever confeſs, where he unwarrantably extends his Bounty?

It has alſo been ſaid by the noble Lord, that paſſing this Bill would prove a Suſpicion of the Govern-

ment. A free People, my Lords, muſt always be ſuſpicious; and Liberty muſt ever be upon its Guard. Many, perhaps, my Lords, think, they have juſt Grounds for Suſpicion, when a Multiplicity of Places, a numerous ſtanding Army, an Increaſe of Taxes, and an immenſe Civil Liſt, have, during ſo many Years of Peace, born hard upon the Subject. As to myſelf, my Lords, I am diſpoſed to be much more candid in my Opinion; and I wiſh I could perſuade myſelf, that as ſuch infinite Sums of Money paſs thro' other Channels, there was but little left for the worthy Penſioners; but, I fear the Caſe is different: I fear, my Lords, 'tis too eaſily to be proved, that if his Majeſty's Civil Liſt was exonerated of all unneceſſary Penſions, he might afford (as Queen *Anne* did, out of a much leſs Civil Liſt) 100,000*l. per Annum*, for the Support of the preſent War. Thus every loyal Heart, unbrib'd, unpenſioned, would be zealous in his Majeſty's Service; and his Throne would be ſtrengthened (if poſſible) more than it is at preſent upon that only true Baſis of Royal Power, the Affections of his People. I have ever been, my Lords, and I ever ſhall be, an Enemy to Corruption; but of all the Variety of Corruption, ſurely Penſioners, if there are any ſuch in an Houſe of Commons, are the loweſt Sect. They have no Title, no Pretence, to the Salary they receive. All their Merit is their Vote; and what is a Diſgrace when the Conſideration of it is loſt. They neither ſerve their Country, nor truly ſerve their King. They are the humble Servants to a Miniſter, whoſe Orders they obſequiouſly obey, whatever be his Conduct with regard to his Maſter's Intereſt. Placemen may be honeſt, but Penſioners in the Houſe of Commons never can. They violate the Laws of their Country, when they are firſt hired; and when they enter upon their Pay, they commence Enemies to the Publick. Thoſe who are brib'd, my Lords, are far leſs guilty than ſuch Penſioners. Some Author I've read, makes this Diſtinction between a Penſion and a Bribe: A Bribe, he ſays, is given for a particular Jobb, a Penſion is a conſtant, continual Bribe. The Jobbers are only a Sort of Day-labourers; but Penſioners are domeſtick Servants, hired to go thro' all the dirty Buſineſs of the Houſe. As they receive a Miniſter's Wages, I wiſh they had alſo worn his Livery; and thus the Diſcovery of them had been eaſily made, without perplexing your Lordſhips with this Bill. The *Jews* of *Rome*, my Lords, becauſe it is apprehended, ſo great a Number of them may ſome Time endanger the State, as a Mark of their Religion, are obliged to wear a Piece of yellow Linen upon their Hats. I wiſh, my Lords, we had ſome ſuch Inſtitution for the unlawful Penſioners; for, as many of the *Jews* chuſe rather to quit the City, than bear about this Mark of Infamy, ſo I flatter myſelf, we ſhould have got rid of a conſiderable Number of our Penſioners, as ſoon as their virtuous Characters were known by their yellow Caps.

I am ſure, my Lords, I need trouble your Lordſhips no more to prove the dangerous Conſequences that may accrue to the Publick, from the Violation of our Laws, againſt theſe Hirelings. Whether this Bill will be effectual, whether it will entirely ſtop this Channel of Corruption, I'll not pretend to ſay; but ſomething muſt be done: Let us not refuſe a good Thing, becauſe it is not the beſt; or be averſe to remedying Part of the Evil, becauſe we cannot get rid of the Whole. The Freedom of Parliament has never been loſt, or recovered, but

by

by Degrees; and, if your Lordſhips have a Mind to amend and ſtrengthen this Bill, let it be referred to a Committee appointed for that Purpoſe. Any Thing, my Lords, rather than reject the Bill with Contempt, as if the Independency of Parliament were a Point not worthy this Aſſembly's Conſideration. My Lords, it is moſt particularly our Care; and tho' ſome paltry venal Writers of theſe Days, have endeavoured to palliate and juſtify the Guilt of Corruption, nay, even to prove it neceſſary for the carrying on of Government, yet, I am perſuaded, that Syſtems ſo inconſiſtent with our Conſtitution, have ever been abhorred by your Lordſhips.

However publick Virtue hath been derided: However the honeſt Support of our Country's Cauſe has been miſconſtrued Reſentment, Spleen, Malice, and Diſaffection, yet Patriotiſm is a Virtue that, I hope, will always recommend itſelf to Parliaments, ſince Parliaments can only ſubſiſt by it. To give the World a Proof that ſuch Virtue is ſtill amongſt us, let us give our Concurrence to this Bill; and thus ſhall we put it out of the Power of future Malice to ſay, that the invidious Taſk of throwing out this Bill was, with Succeſs, laid upon us, and that we ſubmitted ourſelves to the unpopular Burden, too heavy for the Commons.

The next that ſpoke was L. Caſſius Longinus, *whoſe Speech was in Subſtance thus:*

My Lords,

HOwever unpopular, however invidious it may appear, to oppoſe this Bill, yet, I think myſelf in Duty obliged to take the Taſk upon me; becauſe, I think it a moſt unneceſſary Innovation of our Conſtitution; and an Innovation that will certainly be of the moſt fatal Conſequence to the Morals of the People. It has often been the Fate of this Houſe, my Lords, to withſtand unreaſonable Prejudices that have been artfully raiſed among the People; and the more general or violent ſuch Prejudices may grow, the more zealous ought we to be for preventing the dangerous Effects they may produce, either in the Nation or upon our happy Conſtitution. For this Reaſon, ſo far from yielding to any popular Outcry on account of its being general, I ſhall always be for examining cooly into its Foundation, and where I can find no ſolid Foundation, I ſhall never be for rearing a new Fabrick, or any Addition to the old.

I know, my Lords, a great Outcry has of late been moſt artfully raiſed againſt Corruption; and, I believe, there are many well-meaning Men who think there is ſome Ground for it; becauſe it is natural for Mankind to indulge their own Vanity and Self-conceit, by imagining that thoſe who differ from them, eſpecially in Politicks, are governed by any other Motive rather than that of Reaſon; and as Corruption is the moſt obvious Motive that can be imputed to thoſe that approve of the Meaſures of a Court, therefore thoſe that diſapprove, of courſe ſuppoſe, that moſt of their Antagoniſts are influenced by Corruption. But this to me is no Proof, nor ſo much as a Preſumption. It is from Court Meaſures alone that I am to judge; and if thoſe Meaſures have been ſuch as I thought reaſonable, I cannot ſuppoſe, Charity will not allow me to ſuppoſe, that any Gentleman in either Houſe of Parliament was, from corrupt Motives, induced to approve of them.

This, my Lords, is my Way of judging: I hope it will be allowed to be a reaſonable Way of judging; and if it is, I am ſure it muſt be allowed

allowed by a great Majority of this Houſe, that there is at preſent no ſolid Ground for the Outcry that has been lately raiſed againſt Corruption. I ſhall agree with the noble Lords who appear ſo zealous for this Bill, that our Conſtitution may hereafter, and by ſome Changes in the Situation of our Affairs, come to be in Danger from Corruption; but, if we were to think of providing againſt every poſſible or diſtant Danger that might be ſuggeſted by a gloomy and fertile Imagination, we ſhould never be a Moment at Reſt, nor our Conſtitution a Twelve-month the ſame. The noble Lord who ſpoke laſt has allowed, that the Liberties of a Country were never loſt, but by Degrees; therefore he muſt allow, that our Liberties cannot at once be ſwallowed up by Corruption. It muſt come upon us by Degrees; and of all Dangers to which our Conſtitution can be expoſed, that of Corruption muſt make the moſt ſlow and gradual Approaches. We have already many Fences againſt it, Fences which, in our preſent Situation, I think inſurmountable; but, if I ſhould hereafter find myſelf miſtaken, I ſhall be as ready as any Lord in this Houſe to add new Fences, and to repair the old, in as ſtrong and effectual a Manner as poſſible. This we ſhall have ſufficient Time to do, becauſe we cannot but perceive the Approach of ſo dangerous an Enemy, by the Effect it muſt have upon one or other Houſe of Parliament; for if we ſhould find the Parliament approving of publick Meaſures that are in themſelves either weak or wicked, we muſt then ſuppoſe, that Corruption has begun to break through our former Fences, and then, indeed, it will be Time to think of providing ſome new Defence.

The preſent Bill, therefore, can appear neceſſary to none but thoſe who think, that the Parliament has of late approved of ſome weak or wicked Meaſures of Government; and as I am far from thinking ſo, I cannot agree to the committing or paſſing of this Bill, eſpecially as I am of Opinion, that it would have a moſt fatal Effect upon the Morals of the People. I believe, it will be allowed, that there is nothing of more dangerous Conſequence to the Happineſs of Society, than a general Contempt of Perjury among the lower Sort of People; and we know how ready the lower Sort are to follow thoſe Examples that are, or which they ſuppoſe to be ſet them by thoſe of ſuperior Rank. I am far from ſuppoſing, that any Gentleman of the other Houſe has a ſecret Penſion from the Crown, and far leſs ſhall I ſuppoſe, that if any one of them had, he would ſolemnly declare upon Oath, he had no ſuch Thing; but, my Lords, it is impoſſible for any Gentleman to guard abſolutely againſt the Reproach of malicious Tongues, or to prevent that Reproach being believed by a great many. There are now, there will always be ſome Gentlemen in the other Houſe, reproached with having private Penſions from the Crown; and this Reproach will always be believed by many without Doors. If this Bill ſhould paſs into a Law, every Gentleman ſo ſuſpected muſt ſwear, that he has no ſuch Penſion. Would his Swearing ſo remove the Reproach? No, my Lords, it would add to it a new Reproach of a much more heinous Nature; for many without Doors would believe, he ſwore falſely; and many of the meaner Sort, being confirmed in this Belief, would, from the Example ſuppoſed to be ſet them by a Gentleman of ſuch Rank and Figure in his Country, begin to loſe that Veneration every Man ought to have for an Oath; by which Means Perjury might at laſt become contemptible

tible among the Vulgar; and this would of courſe lay open the Floodgates of all other Sorts of Wickedneſs.

From this Conſideration, my Lords, if our Liberties were now in Danger from Corruption, if ſome new Remedy were neceſſary for putting a Stop to that Evil, I ſhould nevertheleſs be againſt this Bill; becauſe the Remedy would bring on a greater Evil than that which it is intended to cure. But as, I think, we are at preſent, whatever may be pretended, in no more Danger from Penſioners in either Houſe of Parliament, than we are from the *Jews* in the City of *London*, I think it as unneceſſary to provide any new Remedy againſt the former, as it would be to put yellow Caps upon the latter; and I believe, the noble Lord himſelf does not think it is neceſſary, or that it would be proper, to put any Mark of Diſtinction upon the *Jews* that reſide in this Kingdom: Nay, I believe, he will grant, that the Danger apprehended at *Rome*, which was the Occaſion of putting a Mark of Diſtinction upon them there, was rather imaginary than real; and that it was ſuggeſted by that ſelfiſh, narrow, perſecuting Spirit, which clapt Tails to the *Hereticks* in *Spain*.

But why, my Lords, ſhould we give ſo much Attention to this Outcry againſt Corruption, and yet wholly diſregard that Outcry againſt Reſentment, Malice, Envy, Diſaffection, and Sedition, which prevails among another Set of People? For as no Man is willing to ſuppoſe, that any Difference from his Opinion proceeds from Reaſon, the Friends of the Adminiſtration are as apt to impute the Oppoſition to theſe Motives, as the Oppoſers are apt to impute an Approbation of the Government's Meaſures to Corruption. For my own Part, I am ſo charitable as to believe, that both Sides are governed by their Reaſon; and therefore, if it ſhould be thought neceſſary to oblige the Members of the other Houſe to ſwear, they had never given their Vote in Parliament for any Reward or Promiſe whatſoever, I ſhould think it neceſſary, at the ſame Time, to oblige them to ſwear, they had never given a Vote in Parliament, out of Reſentment, Malice, Envy, Diſaffection, or Sedition; for, I think the Man, who is under the Government of either of theſe, as far from being a free Agent, as he that is under the Influence of Corruption.

The next that ſtood up was Sp. Carvilius, *whoſe Speech was in Subſtance as follows*, viz.

My Lords,

WHEN one conſiders the Nature of this Bill, it is really amazing to find it meet with any Oppoſition in this Houſe. It is ſo far from being an Innovation with reſpect to our Conſtitution, that it can ſcarcely be ſaid to be a new Law; becauſe the ſole Intention of the Bill is, to amend and enforce Laws that are already in Being, and Laws too which were made to obviate and prevent a Practice that has often been uſed, and that has always been acknowledged to be of dangerous Conſequence to our Conſtitution. To pretend that we are not at preſent in any Danger from the private Penſions that may be given to Members of the other Houſe, muſt appear abſurd to every Man, that conſiders the Nature of Miniſters, or the Nature of Mankind. My Lords, it is a Danger we can never be free from, nor can ever ſufficiently guard againſt, as long as it is in the Power of a Miniſter to give, or of a Member to receive. It is abſolutely neceſſary for a Miniſter to have the Conſent or Approbation of Parliament in almoſt every

Step

Step of his Conduct; therefore, from the very Nature of Miniſters we muſt ſuppoſe, that if he cannot obtain ſuch Conſent or Approbation by his Authority, he will endeavour to obtain it by his Power; and from the Nature of Mankind we muſt ſuppoſe, that among ſuch a Number of Men as are in the other Houſe, the Miniſter will always find ſome of them ready enough to proſtitute their Conſent or Approbation for a conſiderable Bribe or annual Penſion. Thus we muſt always be expoſed to this Danger, and we are now a great deal more expoſed to it than ever we were heretofore; becauſe our Miniſters now have infinitely more to give, and Cuſtom or Example has, I'm afraid, greatly added to the Number of thoſe that are ready to receive.

This, my Lords, the Gentlemen of the other Houſe are fully ſenſible of, and therefore they have endeavoured, by this Bill, to add to the Strength of thoſe Laws, which were made for guarding againſt a Danger, that has greatly increaſed ſince the laſt of them was enacted. By this Bill there is no Alteration made in our Laws or Conſtitution: There is no Man excluded from having a Seat in the other Houſe, but thoſe who, while they ſit there, are guilty of a continued Breach of the Laws of their Country, and would certainly be not only expelled but proſecuted, if their Crime could be diſcovered and proved. By the very Act of Settlement itſelf, my Lords, it was expreſsly enacted, amongſt other Things, That no Perſon having a Penſion from the Crown, ſhould ſerve as Member of the Houſe of Commons; and tho' this Clauſe was in general repealed, by an Act of the *4th* and *5th* of Queen *Anne*, yet it was then again thought ſo reaſonable to exclude Penſioners from having Seats in the other Houſe, that it was of new enacted, That no Perſon having any Penſion from the Crown during Pleaſure, ſhould be capable of being a Member of any future Houſe of Commons; and by an Act of the firſt of the late King, this Incapacity was farther extended to all Perſons having any Penſion from the Crown, for any Term or Number of Years, either in their own Names, or in the Name of any other Perſon in Truſt for them, or for their Benefit. Thus your Lordſhips ſee, that by the Laws now in being all Perſons who have Penſions from the Crown during Pleaſure, or for any Term or Number of Years, are rendered incapable of having Seats in the other Houſe; and by theſe Laws great Penalties are inflicted upon thoſe, who preſume to break through them. But as no Proviſion has been made by either of theſe Laws for diſcovering ſecret Offenders, and as every Man muſt be ſenſible that ſuch Penſions may be given privately, the Gentlemen of the other Houſe have thought it neceſſary, and, I hope, your Lordſhips will think it neceſſary, to provide the beſt Remedy that can be thought of for this Defect, which is the chief, and indeed the ſole Intention of this Bill.

I cannot help, therefore, being aſtoniſhed at its being pretended, that this Bill will occaſion any Alteration or Innovation in our Conſtitution; and there is nothing convinces me more of the Neceſſity there is for paſſing it, than the Circumſtances of the noble Lords who, I find, oppoſe it. To the Honour of the Adminiſtration in the firſt Year of the late King, I muſt obſerve, that the Law paſt at that Time, for excluding Penſioners from the other Houſe, was introduced by a Secretary of State, and approved by moſt of thoſe in the Adminiſtration; and it was prudent and right in them to do ſo. A Miniſter that has no Intention to make Uſe of Bribery

Bribery and Corruption, has no Occaſion to oppoſe any Bill that can be thought of for preventing ſuch infamous and illegal Practices; and therefore, when I find ſuch a Bill oppoſed by thoſe who are the known Friends of a Miniſter, it will always be a prevailing Argument with me, not only to think that there is a preſent and preſſing Neceſſity for ſuch a Bill, but alſo to think that the Bill propoſed will be in ſome Meaſure effectual. Whether the Bill now before us will be altogether effectual, is what I ſhall not pretend to determine; but I am convinced, both from the Nature of it, and from the Oppoſition it meets with, that it will have ſome Effect. It will at leaſt raiſe the Price of Proſtitutes, becauſe the more Riſk a Man runs, the higher Wages he will of courſe expect; and the higher you raiſe the Price of thoſe who are liable to be corrupted, the more difficult will every future Miniſter find it to corrupt; ſo that at laſt you may render the Practice impoſſible, notwithſtanding the many and great Boons our Miniſters have now to beſtow; and then they muſt think of gaining the Conſent or Approbation of Parliament by their Authority in Perſuading, and not by their Power in Corrupting.

But ſuppoſe it were your Lordſhips Opinion, that this Bill would be altogether ineffectual, can this be a Reaſon for not committing it? If the Intention of the Bill, if the Principle upon which it is founded, be right, the Imperfection of it is no Reaſon againſt committing it; becauſe in the Committee you may alter and amend it, ſo as to remove every Imperfection; therefore, I muſt think, that the noble Lords who oppoſe committing it, diſapprove of the Principle upon which it is founded, and, indeed, moſt of their Arguments ſeem to tend that Way. Such a Bill's having been rejected by this Houſe in former Seſſions, is no Reaſon for our rejecting it in this. Some of the beſt Laws that were ever made, have at firſt met with the unlucky Fate of being rejected. The Triennial Bill was at firſt rejected by this Houſe, and yet the very next Seſſion it was approved of and paſſed by this Houſe; and tho' it was at that Time rejected by the Crown, yet in the next following Seſſion, it met with the Approbation of the three ſeveral Branches of our Legiſlature, and was accordingly paſſed into a Law. That Law, 'tis true, has been ſince repealed, but, nevertheleſs, it has always been deemed by a great Majority of the Nation, to be an excellent Law; and many of thoſe who joined in the Repeal of it, I believe, now heartily repent of their having done ſo. But the very Repeal of that Law is a ſtrong Argument in favour of the Bill now before us; for the longer the Term is, for which the Repreſentatives of the People are choſen, the greater Security ought the People to have, that thoſe Repreſentatives ſhall not, from any ſelfiſh View, betray the Intereſt of their Country in Parliament.

To pretend, my Lords, that we ought never to think of guarding againſt Penſioners in the other Houſe, till we find the Majority of that Houſe approving of ſome weak or wicked Meaſures of Government, is the very ſame with ſaying, that no Man ought to think of repairing his Houſe, till it has tumbled down and overwhelmed him in the Ruins. Will Penſioners ever acknowledge, that they have agreed to any weak or wicked Meaſure? Will a Penſioner ever agree to give up the only Tenure by which he holds his Penſion? And if the Majority of the other Houſe ſhould once come to be penſioned and corrupted, could it be expected, that ſuch a Houſe of Com-

mons would ever concur in passing any Law against pensioning and corrupting? I can freely declare that, in my Opinion, many Things have of late Years met with the Approbation of both Houses of Parliament, that very little deserved it. I believe there are very few Lords in this House, that will now approve of every Thing that has, for these twenty Years past, been approved of by Parliament; and therefore, if every Lord makes this the Standard for his Opinion of this Bill, I have no great Doubt of its meeting with the Fate it deserves. Whether the undeserved Approbation some late Measures have met with in Parliament, was owing to the Number of Pensioners in the other House, I shall not pretend to determine: I shall not even pretend to affirm, that there are at present any Pensioners in that House; but when we see Members obtaining very great and lucrative Posts for their Brothers, Sons, or distant Relations, it cannot but occasion a Suspicion, that they have a Fellow-feeling in the Salary or Perquisites; and this Suspicion is a good Reason for passing this Bill. But suppose there were no such Suspicion: Suppose we were absolutely certain that there are at present no Pensioners in the House of Commons, there is a Possibility, nay a very great Probability, that there will be such, as soon as we have the Misfortune to fall under the Government of a Prince, or Administration of a Minister, whose Projects or Schemes cannot be supported by Reason; for every one must see, that the Laws in being are not sufficient for guarding against the Mischief.

By the Laws now in being, my Lords, it is made criminal for any Man that accepts of a Pension to keep his Seat in the other House; but those Laws have provided no Method for discovering and proving that Crime; and as a Pension may be given, as infamous Pensions are generally given, without allowing any Person to be privy to it but the Corruptor and the Corrupted, if you have a Mind to prevent the Practice as far as lies in your Power, you must put it to the Oath of one of the Parties, which is the Design of this Bill. I shall not say, that this Method will be in every Case effectual: I shall admit, that some Pensioners may be abandoned enough to add Perjury to their Treachery, and to declare upon Oath, they have no Pension, in that very Assembly where they earn their infamous Wages, and perhaps in the very Face of him, who pays them. But what is proposed by this Bill is, my Lords, the utmost you can do: It will be a Sort of Test Act upon Pensioners; and surely those who are so sollicitous about keeping the Dissenters in subjection to a Test Act, cannot refuse to subject those who are suspected of being Pensioners, to the same Method of Purgation.

The Test Act against the Dissenters, my Lords, was never yet thought sufficient for preventing occasional Conformity; and yet, no true Lover of the Church ever thought it ought, for that Reason, to be repealed. The Test designed by this Bill against Pensioners, may not, perhaps, be sufficient for keeping all of them out of the House of Commons; yet, no true Lover of our Constitution can, for that single Reason, think, it ought not to be imposed. It will have some Effect: I believe it will have a very great Effect; because of the Danger a Man must, in this Case, run, by taking a false Oath. The Revenue of a Gentleman, who is no Trader or Gamester, is generally pretty well known; and his yearly Expence may be pretty nearly guessed at by his Neighbours and Servants. This, upon a strict Enquiry, will always

always afford a ſtrong Preſumption againſt him; and, as the Perſon that pays him his Penſion, may afterwards turn Evidence againſt him, he can never be abſolutely ſecure againſt a Conviction, which will, I believe, terrify moſt Men from being guilty of the Crime.

I find ſome Lords are, upon this Occaſion, extremely apprehenſive of corrupting the Morals of the People, by a Multiplicity of new Oaths: I wiſh the ſame Apprehenſions had prevailed, when ſuch an infinite Number of Oaths were contrived, for collecting our Cuſtoms and Exciſes. Moſt of thoſe Oaths are to be taken by Multitudes of People, and in Caſes where there are great Temptations for Perjury: The Oath now propoſed, is to be taken by none but Members of the other Houſe, and the Temptations to Perjury can never be great or frequent, but when our Conſtitution is in the utmoſt Danger. It is therefore ſomething ſtrange, that we ſhould be ſo little apprehenſive of corrupting the Morals of the People by a Multiplicity of Oaths, when we are contriving Methods for preſerving the Revenue of our Sovereign, and ſo very apprehenſive of the like Effect, when we are contriving Methods for preſerving the Conſtitution and Liberties of our Country. A Foreigner, upon conſidering this Behaviour, would be apt to judge, we had very little Concern about the latter, provided we could but enjoy a Share of the former; and, if we ſhould reject this Bill, without much better Reaſons than I have yet heard againſt it, I fear, moſt of our own People will join in forming ſo falſe an Opinion of this honourable and auguſt Aſſembly.

Your Lordſhips muſt be all ſenſible, how prevalent the Jealouſy is at preſent, of there being a great Number of Penſioners in Parliament: The Gentlemen of the other Houſe have endeavoured to allay that Jealouſy, and to vindicate the Honour of their Aſſembly, by ſending us up this Bill. If it ſhould be thrown out here, what will the Nation think? Will it not be generally ſuppoſed, that it is in this Houſe where the Number of Penſioners prevails, and that here the Penſions have their moſt infallible Effect? Or, perhaps it will be ſuppoſed, that there are Penſioners in the other Houſe as well as in this, but that the Penſioners in the other, for the Sake of recommending themſelves to their Conſtituents, had Leave from their Maſters to agree to this Bill, becauſe thoſe Maſters knew, they could depend upon the Number and Submiſſion of their Penſioners in this, for throwing it out. I am very ſenſible, my Lords, there is no real Ground for either of theſe Suppoſitions; but thoſe without Doors, who do not know the Reaſons upon which your Lordſhips proceed, when they find a Bill rejected which makes no Alteration in our Conſtitution, which does not ſo much as make an Alteration in any former Law, which contains nothing but an Enforcement of the Laws in being againſt Penſioners; ſuch Perſons, I ſay, may think, they have Reaſon to make one or other of theſe Suppoſitions; and ſhould not we be extremely cautious of giving the leaſt Shadow of Reaſon for judging ſo unworthily of our Aſſembly?

I do not know, but that ſome of your Lordſhips may be of Opinion, that the Laws now in being, for excluding Penſioners from the other Houſe, are inconvenient, and therefore wiſh they were repealed: If they are ſo, let them be repealed; for we ought not to ſit here, and ſuffer any Laws to remain in Force, that are inconvenient to the Society. But, if they are not inconvenient:

venient: If they are neceſſary for guarding our Conſtitution againſt Corruption, the moſt dangerous, becauſe it is the moſt ſecret Enemy to a free State, they ought to be enforced, they ought to be rendered effectual, by all the Methods that can by the Wit of Man be invented, or by human Power exerciſed. In Caſes of ſuch a ſecret Nature we muſt, we ought to call the divine Power to our Aſſiſtance, by interpoſing the religious Solemnity of an Oath. By interpoſing an Oath, my Lords, in Matters of great Conſequence, and which cannot frequently occur, we ſhall never render the Solemnity familiar and contemptible; and where is there a Matter of greater Conſequence, on this Side the Grave, than the Preſervation of the Conſtitution of our Government, and Liberties of our Country? It is by interpoſing an Oath in trivial Matters, in ſuch as frequently occur and chiefly affect the meaner Sort, that we render the Solemnity familiar and contemptible to the Vulgar; and, I wiſh the Invention of ſome of thoſe who are ſuppoſed to be no Friends to this Bill, had, in this Reſpect, been leſs fruitful.

My Lords, as the Laws now in being, for excluding Penſioners from the other Houſe, muſt, to every Man that conſiders them, appear to be altogether ineffectual, if this Bill be rejected, I ſhall, even in my Time, if I live but a very few Years, expect to ſee the other Houſe full of Penſioners. I ſhall expect to ſee a Miniſter in that Houſe, out of a Wantonneſs of Power, by his ſole ~~—— No M——~~ throw out a Bill of the utmoſt Importance, without deigning to give his Slaves ſo much as one Reaſon for what he obliges them to do. This, indeed, if it ſhould ever happen, I ſhall look upon as a Sign of his Power, but not of his Prudence; and, I may propheſy, that if ever a Miniſter ſhould get ſuch a Power over the other Houſe, his Power in this will be as abſolute, and equally inſolent.

A *Upon this Gentleman's ſitting down,* C. Cicerejus *ſtood up, and ſpoke to this Effect,* viz.

My Lords,

I SHALL always be as ready as any Lord in this Houſe, to enforce the Laws now in being, for excluding Penſioners from having Seats in the Houſe of Commons: I ſhall readily concur in any Method that may be propoſed for that Purpoſe, provided it be ſuch a one as I think conſiſtent with our Conſtitution; but when the Method propoſed, evidently tends to the Overthrow of that Conſtitution, which we all ſhew, and I hope ſincerely, ſo warm a Zeal for preſerving, I hope I ſhall always have Virtue and Reſolution enough, to give it my Negative, let the Conſequence be what it will. If the Laws now in Force, for terrifying a Penſioner from keeping his Seat in the other Houſe, are not ſufficient, I hope ſome Method will be found out, for rendering them ſo, without giving ſuch a Power to the other Houſe, as muſt ſoon overturn our Conſtitution, which, I think, would be the certain Effect of the Bill now before us; for it would ſhew very great Imprudence, as well as great Ignorance of our Conſtitution, if we ſhould expoſe ourſelves to a new Danger, for the Sake of avoiding a Danger of a different Nature, which we are already pretty well, if not effectually, guarded againſt. By the Law of the 4th and 5th of Queen *Anne*, my Lords, mentioned by the noble Lord who ſpoke laſt, it is enacted, That if any Perſon having a Penſion from the Crown during Pleaſure, ſhall ſit or vote

vote in the other House, he shall forfeit 500*l.* to such as shall sue for the same. And by the Act of the 1st of his late Majesty, likewise mentioned by the same noble Lord, it is enacted, That if any Person having a Pension from the Crown, for any Term or Number of Years, either in his own Name, or in the Name of any other Person in Trust for him, or for his Benefit, shall presume to sit or vote in the other House, he shall, in such Case, forfeit 20*l.* for every Day in which he shall so sit or vote there, to him who shall sue for the same.

These Penalties are so high, that in my Opinion, my Lords, no Gentleman of Fortune will run the Risk of incurring them, for the Sake of any Pension the Crown can bestow; and we know, that none but Gentlemen of Fortune can be chosen Members of the other House. For this Reason, notwithstanding the Suspicions that prevail, and are most industriously propagated, without Doors, I cannot think, that there are at present any Pensioners in the other House; and, indeed, from the very Nature of Things, I am convinced of it. No Prince, no Minister, will ever give a Pension, for the Sake of engaging a Man's Vote in Parliament, unless there be an absolute Necessity for so doing; and whilst a Prince, or Minister, desires nothing of Parliament, but what is reasonable, and agreeable to the publick Interest, there can be no such Necessity; for however much some Men may be actuated by Malice or Disaffection, as long as the Administration pursues no Measures, but such as are necessary for securing the Happiness of their Country, I hope they will always find a Majority in both Houses of Parliament, ready to approve of such Measures, without any Pension or Reward. This has, in my Opinion, been the Case, I shall venture to say, ever since the Accession of our present Royal Family: Our Ministers may, perhaps, have thought of some Measures that were disagreeable; but as soon as they found they were so, they have always given them up: And some Things have, perhaps, afterwards appeared not to have been so right; but at the Time they were resolved on, they appeared otherwise; and our Parliaments will, I hope, be always ready to forgive human Frailty, in all Cases where no Neglect or Oversight can be imputed to the Authors or Actors.

This, my Lords, is my Opinion of our late Conduct, and therefore I cannot suppose, that there are at present any Pensioners in the other House, or any Pensioner in the Nation, but such as are entitled to it out of Charity, or such as have merited it by their past Services to the Publick. I shall admit, that a prudent Man will take Care to repair his House before it tumbles about his Ears; but no prudent Man will put himself to the Trouble and Expence of repairing his House, when no Flaw or Defect appears in any Part of it; and if it should ever appear from Experience, that our Laws for excluding Pensioners from the other House, are in any Respect deficient, I hope those who have a Regard for the Liberties of their Country, will take the Alarm, Time enough to get that Defect remedied, before the most [illegible] Minister can secure such an [illegible] Majority of Pensioners in the other House, as to render the Cure impossible; for it is an old Maxim, *Nemo repente fit turpissimus*, and this Maxim may be applied to an Assembly, with as much, if not more Justice, than to any single Man.

But suppose, my Lords, I were convinced, that these Laws had by late Experience been found deficient, I should nevertheless be against the

the Method propoſed by this Bill for removing that Defect; becauſe, I think the Remedy more dangerous than the Diſeaſe. Our Conſtitution, my Lords, and the Happineſs of it, conſiſts in an equal Mixture of the three principal Forms of Government; and therefore, no new Regulation ought to be made, that viſibly tends to deſtroy that Equality, or that Balance, upon which our Conſtitution depends. We have as much Reaſon to avoid every Thing that may tend to the introducing of a Republican Form of Government, which generally ends in an abſolute Tyranny, as we have to avoid thoſe Things that may tend to the introducing of an abſolute Monarchy. In all ſuch Caſes, we ſhould conſider, that we are ſteering between *Scylla* and *Charybdis*; and that by too cautiouſly avoiding the one, we may make a Wreck of our Conſtitution upon the other. For this Reaſon, we ought of all Things to be cautious of veſting any new and diſtinct Powers in the other Houſe; and as this Bill veſts in them a new Power, which they are to exerciſe ſeparately and diſtinctly by themſelves, and without the Concurrence of either of the other two Branches of our Legiſlature, I think it would expoſe us to the Danger of falling under a Republican Form of Government, and conſequently, an abſolute Tyranny, a great deal more than we are at preſent expoſed to the Danger of falling under an abſolute Monarchy.

I know, my Lords, that great Endeavours have of late been uſed, to perſuade the People, that there is a great Number of Penſioners in the other Houſe; and as thoſe of an inferior Rank are naturally ſuſpicious, as well as envious of their Superiors, theſe Endeavours have, I believe, ſucceeded with a great many, ſo as to make them fond of this Bill. As their Penetration is not generally very extenſive, they do not ſee the fatal Conſequences it is attended with; and therefore, they ſuppoſe, that none but thoſe who pay or receive Penſions, can be againſt it. I am, therefore, ſenſible, I undertake a very unpopular Taſk, when I oppoſe this Bill; but I diſdain a ſlaviſh Popularity, as much as I ſhould diſdain a ſlaviſh Submiſſion to the Pleaſure of any Prince or Miniſter. The Favour of the People may, I know, be acquired by humouring their Prejudices, as well as that of a Prince by humouring his Paſſions; but this Sort of Favour is, in neither Caſe, of any long Duration. The People by their Prejudices, as well as the Prince by his Paſſions, generally ſoon lead themſelves into ſome Misfortune; and as ſoon as this happens, the Paraſite, in both Caſes, becomes hateful and contemptible.

For this Reaſon, my Lords, we ought, in no Caſe that comes before us, to give ourſelves any Concern about what the People may think without Doors. We ought to conſider only the Circumſtances of the Caſe, as they appear to us; and when we do this deliberately, and reſolve accordingly, the People without Doors, as ſoon as they have had Time to hear and conſider our Reaſons, will generally approve of our Reſolutions; and will then begin to hate and deſpiſe thoſe, who endeavoured to prepoſſeſs them with a bad Opinion of either Houſe of Parliament.

The next that roſe up was L. Æmilius Paullus, *whoſe Speech was in Subſtance thus:*

My Lords,

WE are now upon a Bill for putting an End to, or at leaſt preventing one Sort of Corruption in the other Houſe; and from the

the Oppoſition the Bill meets with here, and the imaginary Dangers that are ſuggeſted for ſupporting, or rather excuſing that Oppoſition, thoſe who are not perſonally acquainted with the noble Lords, who have ſpoke upon that Side of the Queſtion, would, I think, be apt to ſuppoſe their Opinion to be, either that Corruption is now become a neceſſary Evil, without which the Forms of our Government could not be preſerved, or that it is an Evil of very little Conſequence, and not at all inconſiſtent with the Subſtance of a free Government. Corruption, my Lords, has always hitherto been allowed to be vile, to be dangerous. I have, for my own Part, diſcouraged it in all Stations: I ſhall always diſdain the Obedience, or the paraſitical Sort of Aſſent that is to be gained only by Corruption; and I have always been ſorry, when I obſerved it was not equally diſcouraged by others; for if it were no Way encouraged by thoſe in high Stations, it would never be poſſible for the Mode in any Country to cover that Infamy, which naturally attends the Corrupted; nor would the Quality of the Offender ever atone for the wretched Meanneſs of the Offence.

I need not trouble your Lordſhips with explaining what is, in this Country, meant by a legal Adminiſtration: Every one knows what it is; and every one knows, that it may be eaſily ſupported without Corruption. Miniſters, my Lords, (for according to our Conſtitution, we ought always to have a great many of them) that have nothing in View, but the publick Happineſs, and who have Wiſdom and Diſcernment enough to purſue that ſteadily, may deſpiſe the Aſſiſtance or Approbation of thoſe, who aſſiſt or approve, only becauſe they are paid for ſo doing. Such an Adminiſtration will always have the Majority of the Nation of its Side, and conſequently may, without any corrupt Means, have always a Majority in Parliament. Therefore, a legal and a wiſe Adminiſtration can never ſtand in Need of Corruption, for the Exerciſe of any of its Functions; but an illegal one, an Adminiſtration conſiſting of one ſole and arrogant Miniſter, who will admit of no Partner or Aſſiſtant, but ſuch as implicitly ſubmit to his Direction, can never be ſupported without Corruption: It is againſt Law, and againſt Law it muſt be ſupported. Under ſuch an Adminiſtration, indeed, the Forms of our Government cannot be preſerved, without evading or violating our Laws againſt corrupt Practices; but under ſuch an Adminiſtration, while it laſts, the Subſtance of our Conſtitution muſt be ſuſpended, and we had better be without the Forms; for preſerving the Forms of a free Government will only ſerve to lull and keep the People aſleep, till their Chains are rivetted, and till one ſole Miniſter has ſo firmly eſtabliſhed his Power, that it may be eaſily tranſmitted to, or taken up by another. Many of our Princes, and their ſole Miniſters, have in vain endeavoured to eſtabliſh an arbitrary Government, without the Aſſiſtance or Shew of a Parliament: They have endeavoured to do it by open Force, and by open Force they have been all diſappointed, and the Miniſters often hanged; but by the ſlow and ſilent Approaches of Corruption, eſpecially now the Crown has got ſuch a Variety of Means in its Power, an arbitrary Government, more deſtructive and more expenſive than the other, may be eſtabliſhed by the Authority, and ſupported by the Shadow of a Parliament; for if a Prince, or his ſole Miniſter, ſhould ever have it in his Power to have always a corrupt Majority in each Houſe of Parliament, a *Britiſh* Parliament

liament will be no more than a *Turkish* Divan.

Corruption is therefore, my Lords, of all Dangers, the greateſt our Conſtitution can be expoſed to, and the moſt to be apprehended. Its Approach is imperceptible, but its Blow, if not prevented, is fatal; and you cannot prevent its Blow, unleſs you prevent its Approach. The Laws now in being for excluding Penſioners from having Seats in the other Houſe, were deſigned as a Safe-guard againſt Corruption's entering, in one Shape at leaſt, within the Walls of that Houſe; and when we are conſidering, whether thoſe Laws ought to be enforced, we have no Occaſion for examining into late Meaſures, or for ſuppoſing that any late Practices have been made uſe of for corrupting the Members of either Houſe. We have now as much Reaſon to guard againſt the Approach of Corruption, as we had when thoſe Laws were made; therefore, we are now to conſider only the Laws themſelves, and if they appear to be inſufficient, they ought to be amended, whether any corrupt Practices have lately been made uſe or not. That theſe Laws are inſufficient for the End intended, muſt, I think, plainly appear to every one that peruſes them. There are Penalties, 'tis true, inflicted upon Penſioners that ſhall preſume to ſit or vote in the other Houſe; but it is evident that thoſe Penalties can never be recovered, becauſe the Fact can never be proved. A Penſion or a Bribe may be given in ſuch a Manner, that even he who gives it, can be no direct Witneſs againſt the Receiver; and it is always given in ſuch a ſecret Manner, that the Criminal may have good Reaſon to think, his Crime can never be diſcovered. For this Reaſon, no Penalty you can inflict, will ever have a great Effect; and this makes it neceſſary, in Caſes of Suſpicion, to require an Oath from the Party ſuſpected.

I ſhall not ſay, my Lords, that the Oath required by this Bill will have all the Effect that could be wiſhed. There may be ſome ſo abandoned, as to deſpiſe the religious Ceremony of an Oath; but it will have an Effect upon a great many; and even the moſt abandoned will be ſhy of denying their having a Penſion upon Oath, in the very Face, perhaps, of the Man who pays them their Penſion. Nay, even Prudence itſelf will make Men ſhy of being guilty of Perjury, leſt the Concealment of their Crime ſhould afterwards be imputed to them as a Favour, and made uſe of as a Handle for obliging them to do as much dirty Work afterwards without a Penſion, as they had done before for the Sake of a Penſion. It is an old and a true Proverb, that when I truſt a Man with my Secret, I make him my Maſter. An avaritious, or an extravagant neceſſitous Man may accept of iniquitous Wages from a Miniſter, and yet he would not, perhaps, chuſe to be ſuch an abſolute Slave to that Miniſter, as he muſt be, ſhould he put it in his Power to convict him of Perjury. Therefore, the Oath preſcribed by this Bill, will certainly have a very great Effect; and as the Laws propoſed to be enforced by this Bill, evidently appear to be inſufficient, this Method of enforcing them ought to be choſen, at leaſt till a more effectual one can be thought on.

What the noble Lords mean by preſent Danger, when they ſay we are in no preſent Danger from Corruption, I cannot comprehend. My Lords, it is an Evil we always have been, and always muſt be in Danger of. It has often been practiſed, it always will be practiſed, as often as Ambition in a Prince, or Wicked-

neſs or Weakneſs in a Miniſter, renders it neceſſary for him to have Recourſe to ſuch an infamous Practice. We may ſometimes be ſaid to be in no preſent Danger of an Invaſion, yet would he not be look'd on as a Madman, who ſhould make that an Argument for not repairing our Navy, eſpecially if, upon Inquiry, it ſhould appear to be unfit for Service?

Without finding fault with any late Meaſures, without accuſing any one in the Adminiſtration, I will affirm, my Lords, that we are now in greater Danger from Corruption, than we were either in the 4th and 5th of Queen *Anne*, or in the firſt of his late Majeſty's Reign; for the more Power the Miniſters of the Crown have to corrupt, whether they make uſe of that Power or no, the more Danger we are in from Corruption; and every one knows, that the Miniſters of the Crown have now a much greater Power to corrupt, than they had at either of thoſe Periods. This ſhould make us reſolve in Time, to take all the Methods that can be thought of for guarding againſt the Uſe of that Power; for it is already ſo great, that if we ſhould have the Misfortune to fall under a Prince or Adminiſtration that will make uſe of it, I fear, it would then be impoſſible for us to guard againſt it. On the contrary, if the Means of Corruption, now in the Power of the Crown, ſhould be thought inſufficient for ſecuring a perpetual corrupt Influence over both Houſes of Parliament, ſuch an Adminiſtration would take hold of every Grievance, every War, every Misfortune, the Nation could be expoſed to, for encreaſing thoſe Means, in order to render the Effect infallible; and unleſs a moſt extraordinary Spirit of Virtue, as well as Jealouſy, ſhould begin to exert itſelf, I'm afraid, it would be impoſſible, as the Laws ſtand at preſent, to prevent their Succeſs by any legal or peaceable Method. For this Reaſon, my Lords, I look upon the preſent Queſtion to be a Sort of Trial of Skill, the Fate of which is to determine, whether or no our Conſtitution is hereafter to be deſtroyed by Corruption, and the People reduced to the fatal Neceſſity of endeavouring to reſtore it by the Sword. If this ſhould ever come to be the unlucky Fate of this Nation, thoſe who now oppoſe our making uſe of legal Means for preſerving our Conſtitution, whilſt it is yet in our Power, will have no great Reaſon to rejoice in their paſt Conduct.

Let us conſider, my Lords, the vaſt Sums of Money that are now at the Diſpoſal, or under the Direction of the Crown; the infinite Number of lucrative Poſts, Places, and Employments, moſt of them unknown to our Anceſtors, now depending upon the ſole and arbitrary Pleaſure of the Crown; and the great Variety of penal Laws, by one or other of which the moſt innocent may be made to ſuffer, the moſt Cautious may be entrapped, and from which the moſt Guilty may be ſcreened, by Virtue of that diſpenſing or mitigating Power, which, with reſpect to many of them, is now lodged in the Officers of the Crown. Let us, I ſay, my Lords, conſider theſe Things, and we muſt acknowledge, that the preſent Danger we are in, of having our Parliament converted into a *Turkiſh* Divan, is far from being imaginary; and when we are under ſuch well grounded Apprehenſions, ſhall we rack our Invention for viſionary Dangers, in order to excuſe our agreeing to any Method for guarding againſt a Danger ſo real, and which may, upon the firſt Change of Miniſters or Meaſures, become inevitable and irreſiſtible?

I must confeſs, my Lords, I do not know what the noble Lord means, when he ſays, the Balance of our Conſtitution will be deſtroyed by Means of that ſeparate and diſtinct new Power which, by this Bill, is to be lodged in the other A Houſe. I do not know of any Power that is by this Bill to be lodged in the other Houſe, but the Power of turning a Man out, that ought not, that cannot, by the Laws now in being, ſit or vote there; and this is a ſeparate and diſtinct Power which B that Houſe now enjoys, and which has been always allowed. This Bill can, therefore, make no Alteration in what the noble Lord calls the Balance of our Conſtitution; but if by this Bill, or ſome ſuch Bill, we do not prevent corrupt and merce- C nary Slaves from entering into that Houſe, I can foreſee where the Balance of our Conſtitution will ſoon come to be: It will ſoon come to be lodged in the Pocket of the Prime Miniſter for the Time being; and if our Liberties and Privileges de- D pend upon that Balance, they will then be lodged in the ſame Place, which, in my Opinion, is the worſt Repoſitory they can be lodged in.

I therefore hope your Lordſhips will, by paſſing this Bill, take Care, that no Prime Miniſter ſhall ever be E able to get the Balance of our Conſtitution into his Pocket; but I muſt here obſerve, that what is called the Balance, and, indeed, the Security of our Conſtitution, conſiſts not in the Power which any of the three Branches of our Legiſlature has over F itſelf, or any of its own Members, but in no one of them having a Power over either of the other two. As the three Branches of our Legiſlature are diſtinct, they ought to be independent; at leaſt they ought to have no Dependency, but what proceeds G from the publick Good, and the mutual Happineſs of the three; for if any one of them ſhould ever, by Force or Corruption, get the abſolute Direction or Command of the other two, our Conſtitution will then be undone, tho' the Forms of it might, perhaps, be preſerved, in order to deceive the Vulgar and Ignorant. This is the Misfortune intended to be guarded againſt by this Bill; and it is not of late Years only, that this good Intention has been ſet on Foot. In the End of the late Queen's Reign, there was juſt ſuch another Bill brought into this Houſe, which at that Time met with ſo good a Reception here, that it was thrown out, but by one Vote; and its meeting with that Fate was occaſioned by the Fault of one noble Lord, who, at the Time the Queſtion was put, happened to be in the Court of Requeſts, buying a Pen-knife, with two Proxies in his Pocket.

I ſhall acknowledge, my Lords, that I do not think the Bill now before us ſo perfect as it ought to be; but all its Defects may, I think, be eaſily remedied by proper Clauſes and Amendments in the Committee; and if your Lordſhips go into a Committee upon it, I ſhall contribute the little I can towards making it a perfect Bill: I ſhall probably offer ſome Clauſes, and particularly I think, it will be neceſſary to add one for puniſhing the Corruptor as well as the Corrupted. It is criminal to receive, but much more criminal to give a Bribe, and therefore the latter ought to be more ſeverely puniſhed: The very Attempt ought to be ſeverely puniſhed; and this, perhaps, would be as effectual a Method as any, to prevent the Committing of the Crime; for if it were made penal to offer, directly or indirectly, to give or receive a Bribe, or corrupt Penſion, the Practice would become extremely dangerous, becauſe he that offers cannot be beforehand aſſured, that the other will not, inſtead

ſtead of accepting, become an Evidence againſt him. In ſhort, my Lords, if the Commons were ſerious, when they paſſed and ſent us up this Bill, we ought to aſſiſt them as much as we can in purging their Aſſembly, or at leaſt, in keeping it clean, A from all Corruption. Whether they were ſerious or not, is, indeed, what I ſhall not determine; for I muſt confeſs, I have ſome Suſpicions, when I conſider, that this Bill was paſſed unanimouſly in that very Aſſembly, which ſoon after diſagreed B to a Motion for bringing in a Bill to exclude Placemen from having Seats in their Houſe. There is ſuch an Affinity between a Penſion and a Sine-Cure Place with a good Salary, depending upon the Pleaſure of the Crown, that I am not quick-ſighted C enough to diſcern the Difference; and therefore, I cannot ſee the Reaſon, why any Member of the other Houſe that was ſeriouſly reſolved to exclude Penſioners from that Aſſembly, ſhould diſagree to the bringing in of a Bill for excluding at leaſt ſome Sorts of Placemen. But, my Lords, if the other Houſe, or any Part of it, was not ſerious when they paſſed this Bill, I think, we ſhould make them ſo, by ſending it back with ſuch Additions and Amendments, as they can find no Shadow of Reaſon for diſagreeing to. By this Means, we may get a Bill paſſed into a Law, which will be of infinite Service for ſecuring our Conſtitution, and which we could not, perhaps, have got their Concurrence in, if the Bill had been firſt modelled and brought in here.

[*This* DEBATE *and* JOURNAL *to be continued in our* MAGAZINE *for the Month of* January 1741.]

INDEX to the DEBATES in the POLITICAL CLUB, to the ESSAYS, POLITICKS, Domeſtick and Foreign OCCURRENCES, *&c.* 1740.

A.

ABSOLUTE Power neceſſary ſome where or other 2
Acts paſs'd 151, 240, 612
Adminiſtration ſhould conſiſt of a great Number of Perſons 260 E. What may naturally raiſe a Party againſt the beſt 530
Admirals, Liſt of 247
Advice to the King ſhould be attended with Dignity 427
Æmilius Mamercinus, L. his Speech againſt the Bill relating to the Sugar Colonies 168
Æmilius Paullus, L. his Speech in relation to a Vote of Credit 157. Againſt the Paragraph in the Addreſs, about Heats and Animoſities 275. In favour of the Penſion Bill 630
Affairs, of the preſent State of 233, 492 B, 581
African Slave Trade defended 493
African Trade, an Argument from it, againſt the Bill relating to the Sugar Colonies 170. Anſwer'd 174 A
Agrippa, M. his Speech on his Majeſty's Meſſage relating to the Treaty with *Denmark*, and a Vote of Credit 108. His Speech againſt the Paragraph in the Addreſs, about Heats and Animoſities 204. His Speeches in favour of the Motion, that the ſending his Majeſty's Meſſage of *Feb.* 12. to the Houſe of Commons ſingly, was derogatory to the Privileges of the Houſe of Lords 462, 465, 477
Aldermen, reſolved in Common Council and in the Court of Aldermen, that they have *not* the Power of putting a *Negative* upon the Framing of a Queſtion 557, 558
Ambition in private Life 65
Ambitious, Avaritious and Luxurious 62
America, Debate on the Queſtion, whether a Bill ought to be brought in for encouraging our Trade there, *&c.* 305, *&c.*
Amſterdam, Number of Deaths and Marriages there 48
Anſon, Commodore, ſails with Vice-Admiral *Balchen*, and returns 403. Sails again with Sir *Chaloner Ogle* 456, 457, 508, 509
Archduchess *Maria Tereſa*, delivers'd of a

Princess 91. She succeeds to the Emperor's hereditary Dominions 563
Argyll, Duke of, resigns his Places 241. Arrives at *Edinburgh* 297. His Answer to the Compliments of the Royal Boroughs 350. Addresses to him from several Incorporations of Trade in *Edinburgh* 402, 403. His Answer 403. The Guildry of *Edinburgh*'s Compliments to him 455. His Answer ibid.
Aristocracy, absolute, better than an absolute Monarchy 3
Army, some Thoughts on it 136. The Danger we may be in of being attack'd at home, us'd as an Argument against diminishing it 376, 377. The Largeness of it may very well admit of Draughts to be made out of it for Marines 378
Arts and Sciences, of encouraging them 544
Asiento 151, 191, 196, 403, 405
Athenian and *Spartan* Governments 340
Augustus besieg'd by General *Oglethorpe* 403. Rejoicings in *Spain* for raising the Siege 563
Aulus Gabinius, his Speech in favour of the Bill for encouraging Seamen 357. His Speech in favour of the Motion for addressing his Majesty to raise the Marines by Draughts from the Regiments of Foot 372

B.

BÆBIUS Tamphilus, M. his Speech in favour of the Motion for a Bill for encouraging Seamen, &c. 317
Baldwin, Vice-Admiral, sails 196. He sails with Commodore *Anson*, and returns 403
Bahiet-Merchant taken by a *Spanish* Privateer, and Col. *Braithwaite* murder'd 350, 351
Bank Bill, a remarkable Trial about one 612
Bankrupt's Confession of his own Folly and Misconduct 381
Barber, political Story of 177 G, 178. His Letter to Mr *D'Anvers* 336
Barnard, Sir *John*, chosen President of *Christ*'s Hospital 245
Bavaria, Elector of, disputes the Succession of the Emperor's eldest Daughter 563
Bean, William, Esq; chosen Alderman of *Aldersgate* Ward 558
Bergen and *Juliers*, Affair of 199
Bicke in *Lorrain*, strengthened by the *French* 308
Bill of Mortality. *See* Burials
Bills and Motions brought in or propos'd on the Country Side, and rejected by the other 491 C
Bing, Capt. retakes the *Winter-Galley* 403
Bob Ebert's Hint about Salaries and Perquisites 183
Borough, the Venality of many of our little ones 538
Bouchet, Duke of, his Death 183
Braithwaite, Col. his barbarous Murder 350, 351
Brathy, Mrs. Trial of her and her Daughter for the Murder of their Servant Girl 191, Their Execution 231
Breaches and Disputes between the two Houses 478
Brest Squadron 355. Sails with the *Toulon* Squadron 459. *French* King's Message thereupon 545
Bribery and Corruption began under *Charles* II. 11 D. *See* Corruption
Bridge-Master chosen 299, 301
Britain's *Mistakes in the Commencement and Conduct of the War*, some Passages from that Pamphlet 179, 181
Brown, Commodore, arrives in *England* 306
Buckingham, late Duke of, a Speech of his against Placemen 96
Buckingham Man of War separated from Sir *Chaloner Ogle*'s Fleet in a Storm 559
Buckingham. *See* Instructions
Burials, Monthly Account of 50, 102, 154, 198, 250, 302, 358, 406, 458, 510, 562, 614. Yearly Account of 613

C.

CADIZ Squadron sails 199. Arrives at *Ferrol* 244, 245
Call of the House, Debate on the Question relating to it 565—579
Cambridge, the Commencement there, and Degrees confer'd 350
Candidates, Meeting of the Liverymen to nominate four for the next General Election 560
Canuleus, his Speech 248
Carmarthen. *See* Instructions
Carolina, Account of the Insurrection of the Negroes there 151, 152
Carthagena, a Plan of it 194. Bombarded by Admiral *Vernon* 299
Carvilius, Sp. his Speech in favour of the Pension Bill 623
Cassius Longinus, L. his Speech and Motion for an Address 201. His Speech against the Pension Bill 621
Cathcart, Lord, the Declaration, 'tis said, he is to publish in *America* 545
Cato, M. his Speech and Motion in relation to a Bill for encouraging Seamen 305, 306. His second Speech in favour of that Motion, and his Reasons for making it 361, 362, &c. His Answer to the Objections against the Motion, and against the Bill itself 366, 367, 368. His Speech in favour of the Motion for raising the Marines by Draughts from the Regiments of Foot 415. His Speech in favour of the Place-Bill 521. His Speech and Motion for a Call of the House 565
Cavendish, Admiral, commands the Fleet in the Absence of Sir *John Norris* 456
Cecil, of the Comparison between him and the present Minister 395 F. His Character, and the Cause of his Popularity 442. The bad Measures he avoided 443
Celibacy, the Fault of those who recommend it

it as a Chriſtian Perfection, and their Arguments anſwer'd 230, 231
Chagre, authentick Account of Admiral *Vernon*'s Succeſs there 341. Remarks upon it 342. Plan of the Place 404
Characters, Miſapplication of 129
Charles II. Bribery and Corruption began in his Reign 14 D. He ſells *Dunkirk* to the *French* 582
Charles XII. of *Sweden*, Story of him 34 D
Charles V. Emperor, a pleaſant Story of him and a Cobler at *Bruſſels* 66 D
Charter-Houſe, new Governor choſen 101
Chimney-Sweepers and Negroes, political Obſervations on them 75
Chriſtenings. *See* Burials
Cibber, Mr. his political Allegory 344
Cicerejus, C. his Speech in relation to his Majeſty's Meſſage of *February* 12. 463. His Speech againſt the Penſion Bill 628
Cicero, Q. his Speech againſt the Penſion Bill 579
Citizens, their Conduct at the Election of Lord Mayor in 1739, juſtified 64
City Addreſs on the taking of *Porto Bello* 189
Claudius Nero, C. his Speech againſt the Paragraph in the Addreſs, about Heats and Animoſities 272
Cleland, Capt. his Bravery and Succeſs 155
Club, an Account of one in the North of *England* 21
Coals, exorbitant Price of 81, 147
Cobham, Lord, Characters of the Worthies at his Seat at *Stowe* 335
Cobler at *Bruſſels*. See *Charles* V.
College of Phyſicians conſulted by the Lords of the Admiralty 403
Common Council, their Thanks to the four Repreſentatives 297
Common Law's humble Petition to *Common Senſe* 388
Common Senſe's Poſtſcript concerning a political Pamphlet 31. His Poſtſcript with regard to the *Craftſman*'s Anſwer to the *Spaniſh* Declaration of War 40. *Piſtol*'s threatening Letter to him 137
Commons, Houſe of, the Freedom of our Government conſiſts in it 10. Whether the Danger of having it brought under the abſolute Direction of the Crown be ſufficiently guarded againſt 174. Ridiculous to have a Majority of Placemen in it ibid. D
Conclave for chuſing a new Pope 199
Conſtantinople, Tumults and Conſpiracies there 408
Conſtituents, their Right and Duty with regard to their Repreſentatives 57, 58, 63
Conſtitution, the true Method of fixing it 88. Of *tinkering* it 91 G. *See* Government
Convention, the late one cenſur'd 263. Vindicated 266. Of its being approv'd by Parliament 268, 277. Arguments in favour of it anſwer'd 274
Converſation 603
Corn, Diſturbances on Account of the Exportation of it 1550
Corrupt Influence, Dangers from it 58, &c. Of declaiming on it 431
Corruption pav'd the Way to Slavery among the *Romans* 61. Difference between private and publick Corruption 63. When it is dangerous, and when it may be neceſſary 514. It is not the Effect, but the Cauſe of a general Depravity of Manners 526. How it may be propagated 537, 538
Corſica, Proceedings of the *French* there 603
Courland, Duke of, appointed Regent during the Minority of the young Czar 563. Is on a ſudden diveſted of the Regency, and arreſted 615
Cowper, Capt. of the *Townſhend* Packet, Extract of a Letter from him, of his being taken by the *Spaniards* 358
Craftſman's Anſwer to the *Spaniſh* Declaration of War 35. His Remarks on the *Gazetteer*'s Arguments againſt a Place-Bill 44 F, 90. His Remarks on a *Hague* Letter 284, 285. His Remarks occaſion'd by a Paragraph in the *Gazetteer*, reflecting on the late Sir *William Wyndham* 338 G
Cromwell, *Oliver*, Extracts from his Declaration againſt *Spain* 447. Remarks on it 448 G, 449. *Jamaica* and *Dunkirk* taken under his Protectorate 582
Crown, two dangerous Maxims refuted relating to the Power of it 54, 55. How almoſt the whole executive Power came to be lodg'd in it 55 E. Its Influence at Elections and in Parliament never became dangerous, till after the Reſtoration 56. Difference between it and the People, with regard to inquiring into, and judging of the Behaviour of Members of Parliament 64, 65. Its Power during the Receſs of Parliament 115. Of diſtinguiſhing between the Reſpect due to it, and that claim'd by the Miniſters 310. No Wonder that Miniſters ſhould be againſt taking any diſcretionary Power from it 386
Cumberland, Duke of, his Birth-Day celebrated 196. Eſpouſes the Princeſs *Mary* for the Prince of *Heſſe* 247. Goes on board the Fleet at *Spithead* 550. Returns to St. *James*'s 556
Czarina, the Plot againſt her 51. The Ratifications of the Peace between her and the *Turks* 109. Her Death, and Appointment of her Succeſſor, &c. 563

D.

DAMPIER, Story from 178
D'Aubo, Mareſchal, his Fate 288 D
Danes, how they loſt their Liberties 33 D
Danger of Mercenary Parliaments, written in the Reign of K. *William* 436—442
DEBATES in the Learned and Political Club, &c. in relation to a Place-Bill 1—20, 53—65. In relation to his Majeſty's Meſſage about the Treaty with *Denmark*,

Mark, and for a Vote of Credit 105—118, 157—168. On the Bill for allowing the direct Exportation of Sugars from our Colonies to foreign Parts 168—175. Occasion'd by his Majesty's Speech at the Opening of the Session in 1739, 201—219, 253—279. On the Question, whether a Bill ought to be brought in for encouraging our Trade in *America*, and for encouraging Seamen to enter into his Majesty's Service 305—330, 357—369. On the Question, whether an Address should be presented to his Majesty, humbly to recommend to him the raising of the intended Body of Marines, by Draughts from the Regiments of Foot 369—380, 409—432. On the Question, whether the sending his Majesty's Message of *Feb.* 12. to the House of Commons singly, was derogatory to the Privileges of the House of Lords 432—436, 461—482. On the Question, whether a Bill should be brought in, for the better securing the Freedom of Parliaments, by limiting the Number of Officers to sit in the House of Commons 482—489, 513—538. On the Question relating to the Call of the House 565—579. On the Pension Bill 579—581, 617—635

Debates, who are usually cool, and who warm in them 409, 421

Declaration of War, the Form of it commended 262, 263, 277

Denmark, Extracts from Lord *Molesworth*'s Account of it, with Remarks 33. Debate occasion'd by his Majesty's Message concerning the Treaty with that Crown, 105, &c. 108, &c.

Dependency, the several Sorts of, explain'd, 4, &c. Methods for preventing the most pernicious 7. A constitutional and an anti-constitutional Dependency 8. Of natural and honest, and corrupt and scandalous Dependencies 132

Derbyshire. *See* Instructions

De Rhode, Marchioness, her Death, and that of her Steward 103

Dewell, comes to Life again after he was hang'd 560

Dictatorial Power of the Crown 159, 163

Discretionary Powers of the Crown should be as few as possible 326

Division, the only one of late Years amongst us 260 C. Whether there can be one between the whole People on one Side, and the Ministers on the other 271, 276. *See* Heats and Animosities

Doddington, Mr. resigns his Office of Commissioner of the Treasury 508

Domitius Ahenobarbus, *Cn.* his Speech against raising the Marines by Draughts from the Regiments of Foot 413

Domitius Calvinus, *Cn.* his Speech on his Majesty's Message relating to the Treaty with *Denmark*, and a Vote of Credit 105. In Defence of the Paragraph about Heats and Animosities in the Address 212. In relation to his Majesty's Message of *Feb.* 12. 479

Dormer, Rev. Mr. and his Wife kill'd in the great Storm at the Beginning of *November* 557

Dormer, *John*, Esq; the Judgment in his Favour, in the Cause between him and Judge *Forteſcue Aland* 558

Drew, Mr. *Charles*, his Trial and Execution for the Murder of his Father 193, 195. His Confession 248

Duillius, *C.* his Speech against the Motion for a Bill for encouraging Seamen 315

Dunkirk, the *French* Works there 456, 459. Memorial of Lord *Waldegrave* on that Occasion 511. The *French* Minister's Answer ibid. Extracts from a Pamphlet, entitled, *The Case of* Dunkirk *considered* 547. It was taken by *Cromwell*, and sold by K. *Charles* II. 582. Account of it since, to the present Time 583

Duronius, *L.* his Speech against the Motion, that the sending his Majesty's Message of *Feb.* 12. to the House of Commons singly was derogatory to the Privileges of the House of Lords 434. He moves for the previous Question 464 F

Dutch resolve to augment their Army and Navy 459

Dutch Ship taken by the *Vernon* Privateer 611

Dutch Vessels taken by a *Spanish* Privateer 459

Duty, four Measures of it 119

E.

EArthquake in *Sicily* 251. Of one who liv'd many Years after having been swallowed up by an Earthquake 456

Echoing back the King's Speech in Addresses, the Custom of 259, 260, 264, 274

Election of Parliament Men, a Letter from a Gentleman in the Country, in the Beginning of Queen *Anne*'s Reign, relating to it 120

Elections, of Disturbances and Tumults at them 63

Elizabeth, Queen, the Practice of influencing Electors in her Reign 99 F. Her wise Conduct 367 F. How she treated her Parliaments, and the Reason of it 486, 487

Embargo, a new one 100. Taken off 196. Another on Ships laden with Corn, *&c.* 611

Embargo in *Ireland* 508

Emperor, the Ratifications of the Peace between him and the *Turks* 511. His Death 511. The Disputes that are likely to follow in the Empire 563

English Language, an Apology for it, to be us'd in Treaties and Negotiations 598

English

Engliſh Ships taken by *Spaniſh* Privateers 199, 300, 303, 350, 351
Epernon, Duke of, his Character 287 G. His Letter to *Lewis* XIII. 288
Eſtimates, of laying them before the Commons only 468
Exciſe-Scheme, of the late one 525
Executions at *Tyburn*, &c. 101, 241, 402, 560
Executive Power ſubordinate to the Legiſlative 534

F.

FABIUS Maximus, Q. his Speech againſt the Propoſal of *C. Plinius Cæcilius*, and his Motion for an Amendment in relation to the Paragraph about Heats and Animoſities 278
Fancies, of indulging extravagant ones 587
Faſhionable Education diſplay'd 139
Faſhionable Style 129
Faſt, national, obſerv'd 47. Proclamation for another 613
Fat, Mr. his Promotion 75
Fawning and Cringing, the Science of, Propoſals for teaching it 83
Female Government, a ſeptennial one, being a new Project for the thorough Reformation of the Males 27. An Amendment propos'd by Mrs. *Welldone* 72. Mr. *Oſborne*'s Letter to Mr. *D'Anvers* on the Occaſion 74
Ferrol Squadron, Advice of it 244, 303. It ſails 408, 455
Flattery, how to apply it 84 E
Fleuri, Cardinal, of his Love of Peace 184
Foundling Hoſpital, Proceedings of the Governors and Guardians 47, 147, 151, 245, 299, 506, 557, 612
Four-Wheel Carriages, a Diſſertation upon them 380—386
France, Rumour of a ſpeedy Rupture with it 355. Of the Number of military Officers there 412, 422. The Apprehenſions of a Rupture with it increaſe 459
Free Conſtitution, no Seaſon ſo dangerous to it as the Time of a popular War 379 B
Freeholders and Farmers of *England*, an Addreſs to them 394, 443
Freeman's Petition to the Maſter of the Swineries 228. His Plan of Pacification 282
French our Rivals in the Sugar Trade 171 D
French Court, their Proceedings 303, 459. With regard to *Dunkirk* 511
French Influence, &c. a Quotation from that Pamphlet 584
French King's Manifeſto concerning the Departure of the *Breſt* and *Toulon* Squadrons 545
French Mediation 343
French Play, Extract from 390
Froſt, the great one this Year 48. Accounts from abroad of the Severity of it 100. A remarkable Account from *Holland* of the Intenſeneſs of it ibid. When it abated here 101. Account of the Weather afterwards 248. Another ſevere, but ſhort Froſt 612
Fulvius, *Cn.* his Speech againſt raiſing the Marines by Draughts from the Regiments of Foot 409
Furius Camillus, *M.* his Speech in favour of the Place-Bill 533

G.

G—*GE* L—d, his Speech in favour of the Place-Bill 219. His Speech againſt the Bill for *regiſtering Seamen*, &c. 221
Gazetteer, Extracts from it 79, 183, 228, 499, 549, 597. Its Invectives againſt a n—ble L—d 123. Remarks upon it 178, 225, 542. Its Treatment of Admiral *Vernon* and the City of *London* 291. Remarks on a Paragraph in it, reflecting on the late Sir *W. Wyndham* 336 G. Its Defence of the M——r examin'd 489
Geganius, *L.* his Speech relating to the Call of the Houſe 576
General Elections, the People's Approbation of our paſt Meaſures argu'd from them 267
Gibraltar, Courts of Judicature appointed there 245. A Plan of it 298
Godſchall, Sir *Robert*, his Letter to the Liverymen 508
Gonſon, Sir *John*, a threatning Letter ſent to him 197
Good Nature, and the Abuſe of that Word 129, 131
Government, Difference between a free and a ſlaviſh one 2. In all free ones there muſt be an Aſſembly of the People, either by themſelves or their Repreſentatives 3, 4. None can be really free, unleſs ſuch Aſſembly be free and independent 4. Inconveniencies of a Government abſolutely free or popular 9. Ours a mixt Government, and its Freedom conſiſts in the Houſe of Commons 10. State of it from the Conqueſt to *Henry* VII. and the Alteration made by him 11. State of it under *James* and *Charles* I. ibid. Changes in Government, and of the *Athenian* and *Spartan* Governments 339 G, 340. Of the *Turkiſh* Government 344. The Forms of a free one retained, when Liberty is loſt 468, 469
Grecian Prince, a pleaſant Story of one 587
Greenwich-Hoſpital, of the Act for applying the Profits of the late Lord *Derwentwater*'s Eſtate to it 491
Guildford Church falls down 196
Guildry of *Edinburgh*'s Compliments to the Duke of *Argyll* 455

H.

HABEAS-Corpus Act 542
Haddock, Admiral, cannonades a *Spaniſh* Fort, but retires without Succeſs 563
Hanover, the Poor relieved there 251
Hanover, Treaty of, and our warlike Preparations after it 254. Account of the Charges the Nation has been put to by our warlike

warlike Preparations and pacific Measures, since that Treaty to 1738 257, 258
Hart-Hall erected into a College 456
Havanah, a Plan of it 192
Hasbecke, Alderman, chose Lord Mayor, but declines 506. Is excus'd by the Common-Council 506, 507
Heats and Animosities, the War charg'd upon them 202. Debate upon the Paragraph relating to them in the propos'd Address 204. Of mentioning them in his Majesty's Speech 206. Reasons against mentioning them in an Address 212. Whether his Majesty meant them of those without Doors, or within 213, 218. What must be intended by them at this Time 218 G. The Cause of them 253, 258. How they have been put an End to, and what may revive them 259. Between whom they have been 261. The best Way to prevent the Renewing of them 263 D. The Cautions against them have been ever since the *Excise Scheme* 276
Heiress, Trial and Judgment for seducing one 101
Helvius, *C.* his Speech in favour of the Paragraph in the Address, about Heats and Animosities 264
Henry VI. the Judges declar'd that he *erred* in appointing a Sheriff 550, 551
Henry VIII. the first who prorogu'd Parliaments 540, 541. A Parliament in his Reign pass'd an Act to annihilate all Debts he had contracted upon Loans 618 B
Herennius, *C.* his Speech in favour of the Motion for a Bill for encouraging Seamen 323
Hesse. Prince of. See *Mary*, Princess
Hodge, *Richard*, Esq; chosen Alderman 196
Homer, a Passage of his apply'd to Admiral *Vernon* 291
Honesty or Roguery, whether is the best Policy 31 A
Horatius Barbatus, *M.* his Speech and Motion, that the sending his Majesty's Message of *Feb.* 12. to the House of Commons singly was derogatory to the Privileges of the House of Lords 432. His Speech in favour of the Pension Bill 618
Horse-Race Bill, Clauses in it 248
Hortensius, *L.* his Speech against the Motion for a Bill for encouraging Seamen 321
Hounslow-Heath, the Camp there 297, 299. Humorous Observations on an Accident that befel it 449
Hudibras, Verses from him, of going to Law, and the Practices of Lawyers 387, 388
Hutia, an Animal in the *West-Indies*, *Dampier's* Account of it 178
Human Life, Reflexions on 283
Hungary and *Bohemia*, the Emperor's eldest Daughter proclaim'd Queen of, but her Title disputed by the Elector of *Bavaria* 583. An Ambassador arrives from her 612. She associates her Husband the Duke of *Tuscany* with her in the Government 613
Huntingdon. See Instructions

I.

JACKSON, *Daniel*, condemn'd for the Murder of his Wife, and dies in *Newgate* 612
Jamaica, our Possession of it owing to *Cromwell* 582
James II. happy for the Nation that he attack'd our Religion 11, 12
Icilius, *L.* his Speech about Heats and Animosities 278
Jenkins, Capt. the Man who cut off his Ear found at *Porto Bello* 150
Jews, their wearing a distinguishing Badge at *Rome*, apply'd to Pensioners 620 C
Impeachments in Parliament, when it is imprudent and impracticable to proceed to them 465 B
Ingrossers of Corn, Order for inforcing the Law against them 350
Innocence betray'd, or a Warning to the Fair Sex 594
Innovations gradually introduc'd 565
Institution of a Prince, &c. Extracts from it 70, 284
Instructions to Representatives about a Place-Bill, from the County of *Huntingdon* 38. From *Carmarthen* ibid. From *Stamford* 78. From the County of *Middlesex* 245. From *London* 297. From *Buckinghamshire*, and the Town of *Buckingham* 352, 353. From *Derbyshire* 455. From *Somersetshire* ibid. From *Truro* in *Cornwall* 543
Insuring-Trade, an Argument from it against the Bill relating to the Sugar Colonies 170. Answer'd 174 D
Invasion, of one from *Spain* singly, or from *France* and *Spain* together 417, 418
Jobb, Mr. *Robert*, a Placeman, Dialogue between him and *George Manston*, Esq; a West-Country Gentleman 590
Ireland, the Embargo there 508
Irene, Story of her asking Advice of *Æsculapius* 338
Irish Play, Extract from 338 F, 339
Italy, of the late War there 255
Julius Cæsar and the *Romans*, Case of 5 B, 66
Junius Brutus, *L.* his Speech in favour of the Motion for a Bill for encouraging Seamen 309. His Speech and Motion for an Address to his Majesty to raise the Marines by Draughts from the Regiments of Foot 369. His Speech and Motion for a Place-Bill 482

K.

KEITH, General, introduc'd to his Majesty 48
KING, his Answer to the Address of both Houses on the Taking of *Porto-Bello* 188. To the City Address on the same Occasion 189. To an Address of the Common ibid.

ibid. Debate in the Political Club, occasion'd by his Speech at the Opening of the Session in 1739 201—219, 253—279. Of his Journey to *Hanover*, and various Opinions about it 232, 234. His Speech at the End of the Session 240. His Answer to the Compliments of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen on the Princess *Mary*'s Marriage 244. He sets out for *Hanover* 245. Lands at *Helvoetsluys* 248. He returns from *Hanover* to *England* 507. His Answer to the Compliments of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen on that Occasion ibid. His Birth-Day celebrated 509. His Speech at the Opening of the present Session 558. His Answer to the Lords Address 560
Kirkaldy in *Scotland*, the melancholy Accident near that Place 47
Knowles, Capt. his Success 153
Kouli-Kan, his Success against the *Great Mogul* 51. The vast Riches he carried out of his Country 460

L.

LADIES, of the affected Dress of some of them 338 B
Ladies consulting their Looking-glasses 497
Land-holders, the true Way of relieving them 367
Land-Tax Bill pass'd 612
The *Laureat*, &c. Remarks on that Pamphlet, and Extracts from it 596
Law, the Caution that should be used in making any perpetual 319
Law, of the present Practice of it 387
Laws which had their Rise from the Country Party 492
Leucippe, her Case, as related by herself 594
Lewis XIV. a remarkable Passage concerning him 184
Liberties, of a proper Time for securing them, and the Example of the *Romans* and of our Ancestors in the Reign of *Richard* II. 18. They consist not in our having the Resemblance of a Parliament 524. Gentlemen of Fortune and Interest may betray them 536
Lord Mayor, Proceedings relating to the last Election of 457. A particular Account of that Affair 506, 507, 508
Lords Address 559
Lords Justices appointed 244
Lottery, the Drawing of it finish'd 48. The Drawing of the other begins 611
Love of Country, antient and modern Methods of inspiring the People with it 230. Causes of its Decay among *Britons* ibid. A
Louisa, Princess, her Birth-Day celebrated 611
Lucilius and *Clodius*, their Characters 446
Luxury, the Mischiefs of it 185
Lycurgus, his Speech in relation to a Place-Bill 58

M.

MACHIAVEL's Letter from the Dead 538
Mackey, Capt. his Bravery 245
Mahon, Plan of the Town and Harbour, *&c.* 246
Mails robb'd 189
Majorca, Account from thence 225
Malt-Tax Bill, Observations on it 565
Man of Honour, and Person of Honour, of the Distinction between them 446
Manius Valerius, his Speech 24
Marchmont, late Earl of, his Character 187. Of his two Sons 128
Marines, Debate on the Question, Whether they should be rais'd by Draughts from the Regiments of Foot 363—380, 429—432. Objection against it from the usual Form of Proceedings 410. Of forming the Marines into Regiments 411, 422, 423. Difference between them and Soldiers 413 B. What they are 415. The Land Service for which they are design'd 423. Whether they should be form'd into independent Companies, or Regiments 429. Of their Field and other Officers 430
Marines, additional Ones 300
Marriage a Duty of Morality 230. Proposal for an Intelligence-Office for it 286
The *Martial Feast* 227
Mary, Princess, her Birth-Day celebrated 101. His Majesty's Message concerning her Marriage with the Prince of *Hesse* 147. The Form of Solemnization of her Espousals 241, 242. The Archbishop's Speech and Benediction on the Occasion 242. Compliments of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen 244. Her Answer ibid. She sets out for *Hesse-Cassel* 297. Order of St. *Catherine* conferr'd on her by the Czarina 352. She with her Consort waits on the King at *Herenhausen* 406
Masters and Mistresses, their peevish Temper expos'd, in a Scene from a *French* Play 490
Mecænas, his Speech for raising the Marines by Draughts from the Regiments of Foot 378. His Speech in favour of the Place-Bill 487. His Speech relating to the Call of the House 574
Member of Parliament, his Duty 415, 416
Mercenary Parliaments, the Danger of 436
Merchants, Arguments for considering them in the Prizes taken from the Enemy, as well as the Captors 307, 308, 330. The most proper and effectual Way of shewing Compassion for them 323, 367
Message from the Crown, of waiting for one 306, 307, 313, 315, 317
Message, his Majesty's of *Feb.* 12. Debate on the Question, Whether the sending it to the House of Commons was derogatory to the Privileges of the House of Lords 432—436, 463—481. Of the Message to the Commons on 736, in which they were called the Parliament 467, 471. See Vote of Credit.
Messages, three Sorts of, usually sent to both or either House 475, 476. Of those for

a Vote or an Act of Credit 478 E. A great Difference between those in Writing, and verbal ones 480. The Method of sending them to Parliament but of late Date 481
Middlesex Election and Instructions 245
The *Minister*, in several Chapters 182
Minister, of one assuming Authority over the rest 287
Ministerial Language 599
Ministerial Power, of lodging the Whole of it in one Person 233
Ministerial Writers, their Conduct 39. Their Arguments against a Place-Bill, answer'd 90. Of their reckoning Places but at 3 Years Purchase ibid. A
Ministers ought to be the Advisers of every Speech from the Throne 275 E. Of distinguishing between the Respect due to the Crown, and that claim'd by them 310. No Wonder they should be against taking any discretionary Power from the Crown 326. Of the Treatment they generally meet with 376 D. Their Invasions more frequent than the Invasions of Foreigners 416
Ministers, wicked, their Arts and Practices 133
Mitrbell, Capt. Commander of the *Buckingham*, separated from Sir *Chaloner Ogle* by a Storm 559. Made Commander of the *Argyle* 560
Mogul beaten by *Kouli-Kan* 51
Money Bills, a Speech said to have been deliver'd on the presenting them 223
Monson, Sir *William*, a remarkable Passage in his Naval Tracts 444
Mucius Scævola, C. his Speech against the Paragraph about Heats and Animosities 268
Munich, Count, has Poison given him, but recovers 407. He arrests the Duke of *Courland* 615
Murders 191, 193, 195, 350, 612
Mussin Puskin, Count; his Tongue pluck'd out, and his odd Behaviour 407
Mutiny Bill, an Argument drawn from it against one Part of the Vote of Credit 113. Answer'd 116 G, 117. The Argument made good 166. Of a Clause propos'd in the last 136 B. The Arguments against it ibid. D. Observation on the Bill in general 565

N.

NAVY, Ways and Means to man it, &c. 134
Negative, resolved that the Court of Aldermen have not the Power of putting it upon the Framing of a Question 557, 558
Negroes. See *Carolina*, and Chimney-Sweepers
New-rais'd Troops, of sending them upon an Expedition 419
Norris, Sir *John*, hoists his Flag on board the *Victory* 299. Comes to an Anchor at *St. Helen's*, his Ship having receiv'd Damage 351. Sails again 352. Is Wind-bound at *Torbay*, and sails again 403. Returns to *Torbay* 435. Arrives at *Spithead* 436

O.

O*BRIAN* stands in the Pillory 612
Officers civil and military, of their Number and Influence 412, 423
Ogle, Sir *Chaloner*, List of Ships under him 457. He sails for the *West-Indies* 508, 509. Account of him by the *Buckingham*, which was separated from him in a Storm 559
Oglethorpe, General, his Proceedings against the *Spaniards* 197. *St. Augustine* besieged by him 403. The Siege raised 563
Oppius, C. his Speech in relation to his Majesty's Message of *Feb.* 12. 464
Opposition justify'd 273
Orange, Prince of, of his Interest in the United Provinces 459
Ormond, late Duke of, arrives at the *Spanish* Court 199. Prepares for his Return to *Avignon* 459
Osborne, Mr. his Letter to Mr. *D'Anvers* 74

P.

PARLIAMENT of *England*, and Parliaments of *France*, Conversation with a *French* Nobleman about them 112 A
Parliament, how its Consent ought to be given 165. The Crime of misrepresenting it to the King 218. Of the Choice of one 343 C. Its Duties 483. The antient Constitution of it 540 D. When the Custom of proroguing it began 540, 541
Parliamentary Enquiries very rare of late 535
Parsons, *Humphry*, Esq; chose Lord Mayor a second Time 507, 508. Sworn in 509
Parties, three different ones in the Kingdom 530 F
Peace, Rumours of 285 B, E, 303, 355
Peddie, Capt. *John*, loses his Ship in the great Storm 557. Rewarded with the Command of the *Basilisk*, and with considerable Presents and Contributions 561
Peerage Bill in 1718, and the Message relating to it 480
Pension, a Distinction between it and a Bribe 620 A
Pension Bill, Debate on it 579—581, 617—635
Pensioners, their Character 620
People, in all free Governments there must be an Assembly of them, either by themselves or their Representatives 3, 4. Of their Power 494. Their Voice should be attended to 517
Perquisites, some Thoughts upon 339
Persian Tales, a Story from them apply'd 289
Phocion, his Speech in relation to a Place-Bill 1
Pine and *Rocque*, Mess. shew their new Plan of *London* to the Prince of *Wales* 615
Pintado, Admiral, remov'd from the Command of the *Ferrol* Squadron 355
Piso, L. his Speech in relation to a Vote of Credit

Credit 162. Againſt the Paragraph in the Addreſs about Heats and Animoſities 259. In relation to his Majeſty's Meſſage of *Feb.* 12 472
Piſtol's threatning Letter to *Common Senſe* 137
Place-Bill, Debate in relation to it 1—20, 53—65. The Reaſonableneſs of it 24 F. Farther Thoughts on it 30. Inſtructions to Members about it 38, 78, 245, 297, 352, 353, 455, 543. The great Importance of it 39, 40, 488. *Craftſman's* Remarks on the Arguments againſt it 40 F, 90. Whether this be a proper Time for it 58, &c. The Fate of the Bill in the laſt Seſſion, and the *Gazetteers* Triumphs upon it 79. Whether ſuch a Bill would alter our Conſtitution 92. L—d *G—ge's* Speech in favour of it 219. The Neceſſity of a well regulated one 340 F. Summary of the Objections and Anſwers in a late Diſpute upon it 392. A new Debate upon it 482—489, 513—538. Not intended to exclude all Placemen from Parliament 516. The good Effects of ſuch a Bill 517. A remarkable Contradiction in the Arguments made uſe of againſt it 527
Placemen and Penſioners, Conſequences of a Majority of them in both Houſes 13, 30 F. Ridiculous to have a Majority of them in the Houſe of Commons 17 D. The late Duke of *Buckingham's* Speech againſt them 36. Incapacitating them to ſit in the Houſe of Commons no Innovation in our Conſtitution 54. Greater Reaſon to exclude Placemen than Penſioners, who are already excluded by Law 521, 522. Difference between the Foreſight and Feeling of Placemen, and the Foreſight and Feeling of the Nation 523. In Parliament they muſt in many Caſes be both Judges and Parties 534, 535. A ſeaſonable Admonition to them 588
Plantation Trade, of the former Regulations with regard to it 168 A
Plantations, of the Oppreſſions of our Governours there 170, 171
Play Houſe, a Diſturbance there 47, 100
Plinius Cæcilius, C. his Speech on his Majeſty's Meſſage relating to the Treaty with *Denmark*, and a Vote of Credit 114. His Speech in favour of the Paragraph in the Addreſs, about Heats and Animoſities 270. His Propoſal concerning a Motion for an Amendment 278. His Speech againſt the Motion relating to his Majeſtys Meſſage of *Feb.* 12. 461. His Speech giving his Opinion of the Motion 475
Plunder, Peter, his Letter to *Common Senſe* 280
Pocket Sheriffs 550
Political Club, Liſts of the Noblemen and Gentlemen, whoſe Characters the Members of it have aſſum'd 219, 279, 436, 489, 538. Debates in it. See DEBATES
Political Phyſicians 575 F, G. 578
Pomponius Atticus, his Speech relating to the Call of the Houſe 575
Pope, his Death 103. A new one choſen 407
Porto Bello, a particular Account of the Taking of it by Vice-Admiral *Vernon* 147, &c. A Deſcription of it, and the Trade that us'd to be carried on there 149. The Addreſs of both Houſes on the taking of it, and his Majeſty's Anſwer 150, 151. A farther Account of ſome remarkable Particulars in the taking of it 175. City Addreſs on the taking of it, with the King's Anſwer 189. A Plan of it 190. *Spaniſh* Commandants and Officers that were in it order'd to be proſecuted 199
Portugal Merchants wait on the Lords of the Admiralty 47
Poſthumius, A. his Speech againſt the Paragraph about Heats and Animoſities in the Addreſs 217 G
Pragmatick Sanction takes Place, but is diſputed by the Elector of *Bavaria* 563
Prerogatives of the Crown, under the Cognizance of Parliament 360
Previous Queſtion, when it is proper 465
Prices of Grain, Stocks, *&c.* 50, 102, 154, 250, 302, 354, 406, 458
Prime Vizir remov'd, and a new one appointed 408. Obſervations on his Fall 601
Princes, the Importance of a right Behaviour in them towards the People 227 G
Printing, the Advantages of it, and of the Liberty of the Preſs 551
Printing-Office, its Hierarchy 279
Privateers ſeldom attack each other 327 E
Privateers, *Spaniſh*, their Boldneſs and Succeſs 355
Privateers and private Adventurers, a new Law neceſſary for impowering them to ſail within the Limits of the *S. S.* Company's Charter 328
Prize-Office in Q. *Anne's* Reign 311, 315 F, 318. Without an Act of Parliament, the Grievance of it muſt ſtill remain 327
Prizes, that our ſuffering Merchants ſhould be conſider'd in them, as well as the Captors 307, 308, 330. Reaſons for giving the Whole of them to the Captors 312, 320. Four publick Services, to which, or to one or other of which, the Produce of them ought to be applied 329
Proteſtions, Order about them 196
Proteſtants, their State in the Empire 407
Pruſſia, King of, his Edict againſt ſeducing young Girls 103. Our Intereſt with regard to him 109 F. His Death 297. Proceedings of the new King, with his remarkable Declaration 303. How he addreſs'd himſelf to his Queen 355. Of his Acceſſion, and the popular Meaſures he began with 386. Diſpute between him and the Biſhop of *Liege* 459
Punch turn'd Miniſterial Writer 444. Obſervations on his Letter 605

Q.

QUAKER's Letter to the *Craftſman* 388 G
Quaſification Act 91, 444
Quartering Soldiers, &c. 136
Queen's College in *Oxford*, a Jubilee kept there 403
Quintius, T. his Speech againſt the Paragraph in the Addreſs, about Heats and Animoſities 253. His Speech in favour of the Motion, that the ſending his Majeſty's Meſſage of *Feb.* 12. to the H. of Commons ſingly was derogatory to the Privileges of the H. of Lords 435. His Speech in favour of the Penſion Bill 617

R.

READ, Capt. See *Sea-Horſe*
Re-election Act 91 D
Religion, its firſt Principles neceſſary to the Preſervation of Liberty 118
Revenue, publick, State of it before and after the Reſtoration 163. State of it ſince the Revolution 164
Revolution, our unhappy Neglect at that Time 14, 15. The only effectual Securities for our civil Rights we obtain'd afterwards 15
Reward of 5*l.* in the Reign of Q. *Anne*, for every Man on board a Ship taken from the Enemy 313 C
Rice, in *Carolina*, Caſe of it 172 F
Richard II. a remarkable Anſwer of his Parliament to a Meſſage about Supplies, and their Act concerning Taxes 588 A
Richardſon, Mr. his Letter concerning the taking of *Porto Bello* 175
Robinſon, Sir *Thomas*, a magnificent Ball at his Houſe, and who were preſent at it 189
Roman People would not aſſiſt in the Wars till their Grievances were redreſſed 23
Roman Tribunes, and the Speech of one to the Senate 29, 30
Romans, Corruption pav'd the Way to Slavery among them 61
Roſe Man of War takes a *Spaniſh* Privateer 558. Extract of a Letter from on board it 611
Ruſſia, an Account of the great Conſpiracy there 51, 103. The *French* Ambaſſador's Reception there 51. Other Accounts from thence 155, 303. See *Courland* and *Czarina*

S.

SALARIES and Perquiſites, *Bob Short's* Hint about them 183
Saxe-Gotha, Dutcheſs of, her Death 507
Scotland, Struggles about the Election of Magiſtrates there 456
Sea-Horſe, Copy of a Letter from her Commander, giving an Account of his being taken by the *Spaniards*, and their Cruelty to him and his Crew 300
Seamen, Proclamation for encouraging them 100. Obſervations on a Bill *for regiſtering them*, &c. 138. L—d *G—ge's* Speech againſt it 221. Debate on the Queſtion, whether a Bill ought to be brought in for encouraging them to enter into his Majeſty's Service 305—330, 357—369. Their Hardſhips and Diſcouragements 365. Caſe of the Bill for regiſtering them 490
Seceſſion, the late, condemn'd 571, 572, 575. Juſtified 568, 569, 574, 577. Acts paſs'd in that Interval 576
Seckendorff, Count, his Affair determin'd 51
Sempronius Atratinus, *A.* his Speech againſt the Place-Bill 484
Septennial Act 91 E. *See* Triennial
A Serious Exhortation to the Electors of Great Britain, &c. Abſtract of that Pamphlet 330—335
Servilius Priſcus, his Speech againſt the Motion for a Bill for encouraging Seamen 306. His Speech againſt the Place-Bill 517
Seſſions at the *Old Bailey* 47, 147, 196, 247, 350, 456, 507, 612. Numbers condemn'd there and order'd for Tranſportation, this Year and the laſt 507
Seville, Treaty of, and the Conſequences of it 255
Shaftſbury, Lord, a fine Paſſage from his *Characteriſticks* 587
Sheriffs, how they were antiently appointed 549 G. The Nature of their Office ibid. 550. Of the preſent Method of appointing them 550. Pocket Sheriffs ibid.
Sheriffs for the Counties appointed 613
Sheriffs of *London* and *Middleſex* choſen 299. Sworn in 457
Sicilian King, the Anſwer to his Miniſter's Letter about a Treaty of Neutrality 247. Trade encourag'd in his Dominions 251
Sidney, Mr. tried for uſing falſe Dice 350
Sinking Fund 395
Slight often worſe than an Injury 474
Society, the Ends of 1, 2
Soldier ſhot for Deſertion 147
Somerſetſhire Inſtructions 455
Son, the Complaint of one 87
Spain, King of, of his reſigning and afterwards reſuming the Crown 573, 578
Spain, Queen Dowager of, her Death 335
Spanberg, Capt. his Diſcoveries 155
Spaniards, Story of a Wag, how we *ſurpriz'd* them 69 F. Uncertain Accounts from abroad of their Preparations and Succeſſes, as alſo of their Misfortunes 103. A Remittance made to them, and their Orders relating to Privateers, and Edict for the more ſtrict Prohibition of Commerce with *Great Britain* 155. Of ſtealing a War upon them 160. On what only their Hopes are founded 167, 209 C. To what their Obſtinacy ought to be imputed 206 F. What encourag'd them to treat us as they have done 261 C. They are in Want of Money 303. Their great Number of Privateers ibid. How we might annoy them even in *Europe* 419 D

Spaniſh Regiſter Ship, *&c.* arrives 199
Spaniſh Ships taken by the *Engliſh* 196, 197, 248, 251, 297, 299, 403, 558
Speech ſaid to be deliver'd on preſenting the Money-Bills 223
Spittlefields Rioters tried 47
Stair, Lord, his Speech at *Wigtown* 509
Stamford. *See* Inſtructions
State of the Riſe and Progreſs, &c. *Common Senſe*'s Poſtſcript concerning it 31. Extracts from it 184
State Elixir, the admirable one 179
Steel, Sir *Richard*, his Letter to the Lord Treaſurer *Oxford* 286
Stephens, Mrs. receives the 5000*l.* Reward for the Diſcovery of her Medicines for the Stone 150
Stonehenge, Abſtract of Dr. *Stukeley*'s Account of it 20
Storms, remarkable ones 557, 611, 613
Stowe, the Seat of the Rt. Hon. the Lord *Cobham*, Characters of the Worthies there 335
Strafford, Lord, the Uſe he propos'd to make of military Men in Parliament 25 G
Sugar-baking Trade 169, 173
Sugar Colonies, Debate on the Bill relating to them 168—175
Sugar Trade, to what the Decay of it is owing 170 B. The *French* now our Rivals in it 171 D
Sulpicius, *C.* his Speech in favour of the Place-Bill 515
Sulpicius, the *Roman* Conſul, a Speech of his paraphras'd 67, &c.
Supplies, of the Right of granting them, and Diſputes about it 479
Sweden, State of the two Parties there 105 B. The *French* Party prevails there 106. Treaty between *Sweden* and the *Turks* 255. Compliments between *Sweden* and the *Ruſſians* 407. The general Diet convok'd there 460
Swedes, how they loſt their Liberties 33 G, 34
Swift, Dr. his Birth-Day celebrated 611

T.

TAXES and Exciſes 394
Terence, a fine Paſſage from him 87 C
Tinkering the Conſtitution 91 G
Toulon and *Breſt* Squadrons ſail 455, 459. *See* *Breſt*
Townſhend-Packet taken by the *Spaniards* 351
Trade, ſeveral Things propos'd for promoting it 497
Treſilian, Sir *Robert*, hang'd in *Richard* IId's Time, and for what 550 C
Trials 47, 101, 191, 193, 195, 247, 350, 508, 558, 612
Triarius, *C.* his Speech relating to the Call of the Houſe 571
Triennial Act, of its Repeal 495. Arguments that were made uſe of againſt the Repeal of it 540
Truro Inſtructions 543
Tullius Cicero, *M.* his Speech againſt the Motion for a Bill for encouraging Seamen, *&c.* 328. His Speech againſt raiſing the Marines by Draughts from the Regiments of Foot 425. His Speech againſt the Place-Bill 528
Turkiſh Ambaſſador makes a great many Difficulties about the Ceremonial of his publick Entry at *Vienna* 407. Account of his Entry 459
Turkiſh Government 344
Twenty-Gun Ships put in Commiſſion 189, 196

V.

VALERIUS *Corvus*, *M.* his Speech in favour of the Bill relating to the Sugar Colonies 171. In favour of the Bill for encouraging Seamen 325
Valerius Flaccus, *L.* his Speech againſt raiſing the Marines by Draughts from the Regiments of Foot 374. His Speech againſt the Place-Bill 513
Venality and Corruption, how they may be propagated 537, 538. The Venality of many of our little Boroughs 538
Vernon, Admiral, takes *Porto Bello* 147, &c. 175. Made free of the City of *London* 151. Remarks on the Succeſs of his Majeſty's Arms under his Command 177. Liſt of Ships under him 197. Queries relating to him 226. The News of his Succeſs differently receiv'd 228. Advice from him 248. A Paſſage in *Homer* apply'd to him 291. The *Gazetteer*'s Treatment of him ibid. He bombards *Carthagena* 299. Takes *Chagre* 341. His Birth-Day celebrated 558
Vernon Privateer takes a *Dutch* Ship laden with Ammunition for the *Spaniards* 611
Verſailles, Tumult of the Bakers, &c. there 459
Victualling-Office, Advertiſement from it, concerning two Paragraphs in the *Craftſman* 85
Vienna, Number of Burials and Chriſtnings there 48
Vote of Credit, Debate on his Majeſty's Meſſage relating to it 103—118, 157—168. Such Votes are of modern Date 112. Why no ſuch Meſſages before the Revolution 115 A, 116

W.

WALES, Prince of, his Birth-Day celebrated 47. A Letter occaſioned by his entertaining himſelf with the Maſque of *King Alfred* 393. Account of that Entertainment 402
Walmoden, Madam *Amelia Sophia*, naturaliz'd 100. Created Counteſs of *Yarmouth* 553
War, Conſiderations relating to the preſent 80. Who ought to be the Directors of it 205. To what it ought to be imputed 206 F. The true Method of ſhortening it 208.

Some

Some Thoughts on it 342, 343. The Importance of bringing it to a ſpeedy Concluſion, for which a vigorous Proſecution of it is neceſſary 363. Two Things chiefly to be regarded in the Proſecution of it 370. The Circumſtances of it very different from thoſe of the War in Q. *Anne*'s Reign 375. *M. Cato*'s Opinion of our Conduct at the Beginning and in the Progreſs of it 418. Frugality neceſſary at the Beginning of a War 420, 421. Of our Management in the preſent War 499, 585

Ways and Means to man the Navy, &c. Abſtract of that Pamphlet 134

Wife, the Complaint of one 86

Wigtown, Lord *Stair*'s Speech there 509

William, King, his Sentiments about attacking the *Spaniards* in the *Weſt-Indies* 208 His Example urged for mentioning Heats and Animoſities in a Speech from the Throne 213. Anſwer'd, from the preſent Circumſtances being very different from his 218

Winter. *See* Froſt

Wolinſki, M. Miniſter of State in *Ruſſia*, executed 355. Obſervations on his Fall 602

Wool, *Spaniſh*, Project for the King of *Spain*'s monopolizing it 251

Worthies at *Stowe*. See *Stowe*.

Wyndham, the late Sir *William*, the *Craftſman*'s Remarks on a Paragraph in the *Gazetteer* relating to him 336 G

Y.

YEARLY Bill of Mortality 613

York-Buildings Company, Decree in favour of their Creditors 508

Young Couple, the remarkable Stories of two 231

Young Lords, the Advantages of a Spirit of Virtue and Liberty in them 466, 467, 474

Young Men, of their marrying old Women 338

Z.

ZEAL for Forms and Ceremonies, prejudicial to true Religion 120

A.

ADDISON, Mr. a Poem found among his Papers 292

Alamode Ænigmatical Looking-Glaſs for pretty Maſter ——— at *Bath* 93

Almira, Verſes to her 45

Ad *Amicum* 145

Archimedes's Globe 502

Arne, Mrs. on hearing her perform in the Character of *Roſalinda* 188

Aſtrop-Wells, Verſes written extempore at them 453

B.

BADGERINA 401

Bally-Spelling, by D—n *S—t* 500. Anſwer to it 554

Baptizatio Ruſtica 553

Beard, Mr. on hearing him ſing in *David*'s *Lamentation* 188

Beauty and Innocence 239

Berkeley, Dean, Epigram on him 397

Boetius, an Ode on reading Lord *Preſton*'s Tranſlation of him 295

Britons and *Spaniards*, a *Latin* Ode on 43

Buckingham, late Duke of, on his Tomb and Image 99

C.

IN *Carbonarium quendam Edinburgenſem, qui ſub ſpecie carbonum gelu vendidit* 239

Charity, or the Munificence of Perſons of the higheſt Diſtinction during the rigorous Seaſon 96

To *Chloe*, from *Catullus* 239

To *Chloe*, who quoted *Salus Populi*, &c. 502

City Mouſe and Country Mouſe, a Fable 607

Complaint of a Father 346

Conolly, Hon. Mrs. Verſes on her 142

The Conſolation 606

Coſmelia, Verſes to her 398

Country, on the Pleaſures of 451

Country Gentleman 42

Country Parſon to a Country Squire 296

Country Walk, attempted in Rhyme, from *Milton* 505

D.

DAVID's *Lamentation* over *Saul* and *Jonathan*, paraphras'd 141

Declaration of War, Verſes on it 45

The Dedication 607

Devereux, Hon. *Pryce*, Eſq; Epithalamium on his Marriage 399

Deut. xxxii. 1—6, paraphras'd 294

Dialogus inter Chriſtianum & Jeſuitam 142

Diſtreſs'd Chaplain, a Fable 96

Diverſions of *Denby*'s, a new Ballad 552

Divine Beauty 295

Dog's Collar, Verſes engrav'd on it 452

The Dream 146. Another 610

The Duck and the Bulruſh 555

E.

EDINBURGH Beauty, on an antiquated one 501

Emmets, a Fable 144

Enamour'd Scholar 141

Enigma 235. Solution 296. Another Solution 346. Another Enigma 454. Solutions 556

Epigram, with its Anſwer 296

Epigram from *Martial*, *Engliſh'd* 348

Epigram on Dean *Berkeley* 397

Epigram on the Pope's Election *Ibid.*

Epigram by *W. B.* 399

Epiſtle from a Country Parſon to a Country 'Squire 296
Epiſtle to *Myrtillo* 345
Epiſtolary Ode, written in the late Froſt 235
Epithalamium 504
Epithalamium on the Marriage of the Hon. *Pryce Devereux*, Eſq; 399
Eſſay on Man, to the Author of it 42. On ſeeing ſome Lines from it, beautifully tranſcrib'd by an eminent Writing Maſter 608
Eve's Fondneſs to *Adam* 346
Evening, a Deſcription of 235
Exodus, Part of the 19th Chapter paraphras'd 238

F.

FABLE from *Common Senſe* 146
Fan, Verſes wrote upon one that was thought to be Miſs *W*——'s 95
Fatal Requeſt 146
Father. *See* Complaint
To *Favonius*, an Ode 295
Feſtum Luſtrale, ſive Baptizatio Ruſtica 553
Fidelia and *Conſtans* 146
Florella, Canticum, Latine redditum 453
Fly painted on Spectacles 502
Fortune, a Petition to her, by an Adventurer in the *Bridge-Lottery* 610
To a Friend 348, 400, 501, 504, 556
On Friendſhip 187

G.

GIBBONS, Mr. *Thomas*, Imitation of an Ode of *Horace* addreſſed to him 348
Gippo's Cataſtrophe 398
Gnat burnt in a Candle 46
A Good Man's a King 348
Griffin, Mr. to his Memory 141
Gunn, Mr. Verſes to him, on his late muſical Entertainments at *Birmingham* 608

H.

HAPPY Man, an Ode 505
Haſtings, Lady *Elizabeth*, Extract from the Verſes on her 451
Horace, ſeveral of his Odes imitated 43, 46, 98, 99, 235, 236, 238, 296, 348, 501
Hoſier's Ghoſt 294. *Vernon*'s Anſwer to it 352
Hymn to the divine Being 45. On divine Love 145. In a Spring Morning 236

I.

IMPORTANT Memento 236
Italian Sonnet *Engliſh'd* 555. The Original 556
Juggins, or the accompliſh'd Cook 606

L.

LADY, to a young one, occaſion'd by ſeeing her Picture 44. On a young Lady's Recovery from Sickneſs 99. To a Lady who ſaid her Heart was Steel 141. To a Painter who lately drew a very beautiful Lady's Picture 349. Upon a Lady's painting a *Cupid* ibid. To a young Lady, who aſk'd what there could be in her to excite Deſire 454. To a young Lady inoculating 502. To a young Lady on a Patch ſhe wore 505. On a Lady who ſ–rted at Church 555
Laureat's *Sermo pedeſtris*, Verſes on it 397
Lawyer and his Client 238
Lions whelp'd in the Tower, Verſes on 301
Love, Verſes on it 145
Love, Art to be happy in it 292
Love, Temple of 349
Love and Anger 454, 501
Love and War, an Ode 145

M.

MAJESTY of GOD, from the *Pſalms* 45
Maw-Wallop 347
Milton's Addreſs to *Light*, attempted in *Latin* Verſe 607
M——l, Miſs *Polly*, on her ſinging 610
Molly Mogg tranſvers'd 143
Morning, Deſcription of it, on the Arrival of the Spring 143
Morning Star, a Rhapſody, occaſion'd by the glorious Beginning of the War 185
Muſic, Verſes on it 96
Myrtillo, Epiſtle to 345

N.

NEÆRA, to her, on her Breach of Promiſe 46
Nightingale, Verſes on it 93
Nightingale and Owls, a Fable 95
Nightingales and Thruſhes kill'd by the late ſevere Winter 346
Noble Actions, that they are the moſt laſting Monument 556

O.

ORPHEUS and *Eurydice*, or the unfaſhionable Huſband 452

P.

PAINTER, to one who lately drew a very beautiful Lady's Picture 349
Pake, Miſs, Epiſtle inſcrib'd to her 398
To the Paragon, my dear *Chloe*, &c. 239
Paſtoral of the *Eaſt*, and that of the *Weſt*, a Compariſon between them, in two Parts 450
P—rs, Captain, Song on him, by *Sylvia* 453. The Anſwer 501
A Pertinent Word to an impertinent Author 397
Phœbe ſinging 556
Poet's Apology 143
Poets, an Addreſs to them on the late Marriage 397
Pope, on his Election 397
Porto Bello, on the Taking of it, a Song 187
Prologue to a Play, ſhortly intended for the Preſs 239
Pſalm I. paraphras'd 238

R.

AD *Ruſum, de lepore quem ab illo dono miſſum Corinna renuit* 98. The ſame in *Engliſh* ibid
Ruins of Rome, Extract from that Poem 188
Rural Pleaſures, to a Friend inviting him to them 501

S.

SEPHALISSA sleeping 44
Silence in Love, written by a young Lady 505
S—, Sir H—, on the much lamented Death of his *Norway* Owl 92. The same in *Latin* ibid
Somervile, William, Esq; two Poems by him 42
Songs, *viz.* Wit and Beauty 44. Love 98. To *Sylvia* 99. *Molly Mogg* transvers'd 143. On the Taking of *Porto Bello* 187. Admiral *Hosier*'s Ghost 294. *Vernon*'s Answer to it 352. On Capt. *P—rs* 453. The Answer 501. The political *Tweed-Side* 503. The Diversions of *Derby*'s 552
Soul, Verses occasion'd by the Denial of its future Existence 505
Spanish Rodomontado 400
The Spiders, a Fable 180
Spring, to a Friend on it 93
Spring Morning, a Hymn 236
Sylvia, to her, on her grieving for some Alteration in her Face 99. In Answer to her Verses on Capt. *P—rs* 501

T.

TALBOT, Miss, on a certain Lawyer's conversing with her at *Bath* 504
Temple of Love 349
Terence's *Self-Tormenter*, on reading an Observation on it 46
T—n, Miss, Verses to her 502
Truth, Verses on it 400
Tuscany, late Duke of, Pastoral Song on his Death 454
Tweed-Side, political 503

V.

VERNON, Admiral, Verses on him 186. His Answer to *Hosier*'s Ghost 352. On his Birth-Day 554. On his taking *Porto-Bello* 609
Virgil's first Eclogue newly attempted in *English* 396
Unfashionable Husband 452

W.

WATCH, Verses on it 146
The Wish 99, 295
Wit and Beauty, a Song 44
Wit and Constancy, or the Art to be happy in Love 292

X.

XANTIPPE *rediviva* 452. The same in *English* ibid

Y.

YARD, Mr. the Taylor, just 3 Foot high 397

INDEX of NAMES to the MARRIAGES, BIRTHS, DEATHS, PROMOTIONS, &c. 1740.

A.

ABBOT 153
Abney 562
Acherly 198
Ackland 301
A'Court 510
Addetley 509
Ailesford 301
Aldred 457
Allen 458, 562
Alveris 457
Ambrose 458
Ames 49
Amyand 353
Annesley 249
Anthony 561
Antrim 48
Arnold 100
Arundel 197
Ashby 405, 561
Astell 197
Astley 248
Atkins 509
Auchmuty 302
Audley 561
Aylmer ibid.
Aynscombe 509

B.

BAIRD 457
Baker 353, 354, 405
Bankrupts 50, 153, 154, 250, 302, 354, 406, 458, 510, 562, 614
Barcham 561
Barker 457, 510, 561
Barnard 509
Barnes 354
Barrington 457
Barry 48
Basket 49
Bateman 198, 301
Batson 510
Bayly 561
Baynes 509
Beauclerk 48, 153, 198, 301
Bedford 102, 614
Belcher 48
Belk 249
Bell 406, 509
Bendish 240
Bennet 48
Bentley 101
Bernard 153
Bertie 458, 562
Best 457
Bethune 48
Bigg 405
Bignall 302
Bindon 249
Bineham 457
Bishop 301
Blackwall ibid.
Blondeau 353
Bolton 250
Bond 102
Booth 614
Bootle 198
Bosworth 613
Bowmont 197
Boyle 613, 614
Breton 153
Bridcoake 510
Bridges 102, 153, 249, 353
Brite 302
Brook 250
Bronker 509
Broughton 49, 197
Browne 613
Browning 614
Bucks 249
Budgen 301
Burchett 153, 301
Burgoyne 457
Bute 406
Butler 249
Butts 197
Byng 509

C.

CÆSAR 561
Calvert 457
Cambis 101
Carmichael 198
Carr 49, 458
Carter 198
Castlehaven 561
Caswall 614
Cathcart 102
Cavendish 562
Cecil 249
Chamberlaine 614
Chambers 249
Chapple 248
Cheek 509
Chichester 198, 249, 613
Child 198
Cholmondeley 562

Chowne

Chowne 561
Church 49, 198
Clanrickard 353
Clarke 50, 249, 457
Clarkſon 198
Clifton 301
Clinton 458
Clive 48
Comarque 49
Comyns 249, 561
Congreve 248
Cook 561
Cookes 457
Coombes 613
Cooper 198
Coote 510
Coppleſton 198
Corbett 101, 509
Cornwallis 102, 249
Cotterell 302, 458
Cowliſhaw 405
Cowper 102
Coxeter 406
Cracherode 49
Crane 613
Crawford 354
Crawley 301
Crew ibid.
Criſpe 353
Croſby 198
Culpeper 197
Cumberland 198
Cunningham 198, 405

D.

DAlrymple 614
D'Anvers 49
Davenport 249
Davies 153
Davis 198, 405
Dawney 249, 405
De Coſta 102
Delorain 101
Dennis 153
Denniſon 458
Denton 153
Deveniſh 249
Devereux 405
Dickens 406
Dingley 48
Ditton 458
Dives 457
Dixie 153
Donerayle 48, 49
Dopping 561
Dormer 250
Downes 354, 405
Downing 198, 458
Drake 49
Du Bois 510
Dudley *and* Ward 249
Dyſart 198, 509

E.

EARBERY 509
Earle 562, 614
Eaton 302
Eden 457
Edwards 101, 510
Ekings 614
Elderton 457
Elphin 198, 249
Elwill 101
Elwood 249
Erſkine 614
Effington 510
Eſte 354
Evans 101
Eyles ibid.
Eyles Styles 153
Eyre 153, 406

F.

FAGG 457
Farmer 301
Faukenberg 353
Felton 197
Fenwick 562
Fielding 353
Finch 49
Fiſher 153
Fleming 48, 197
Floyd 509
Foley 197
Fonnereau 198
Foreſter 197, 458
Fowler 302
Fownes 48
Francis 561
Frank 613
Frankland 153, 354
Frederick 406
Freebairn 49
Freeman 153, 249
Fremoult 49
Frogmore ibid.
Fydell 101
Fynes 301
Fyſhe 48
Fytch 405

G.

GAinſborough 301
Ganning 561
Gardiner 49, 510
Garth 405
Geddes 406
Gibbs 153
Gilbert 249, 561
Gilkart 458
Glaſgow 301
Godfrey 405
Godolphin 198
Gonſon 153
Gooſtry 614
Gordon 198
Gofling 301
Gould 406, 614
Gowell 457
Gower 353
Græme 197
Green 353
Greenville 197
Grey 457
Griffin 102
Grimſtead 614
Groſvenor 405
Guy Dickens 406

H.

HALL 101, 509
Hallam 301
Hamilton 405, 561
Hammond 249
Hare 198
Hargrave 48
Harper 249
Harpur 353
Harris 153, 249, 457, 458
Harriſon 405
Hartley 614
Harvey 613
Haſelden 249
Haſtings 48
Hatton 353
Hawley 49, 250
Hay 354, 405
Herbert 48, 153, 197, 198, 613
Hereford 509
Heron 614
Hertford 250
Hervey 198
Hewer 49
Hilderſon 458
Hill 248, 249
Hoadley 458
Hoare 196
Hobart 102
Hodges 613
Hoghton 101
Holbourn 49
Holden 301
Holderneſs 614
Honywood 250, 561
Hopton 198
Horſenail 457
Howard 198
Hucks 613
Hughes 613
Hunter 354
Huſſey 510
Hutchinſon 153, 249, 405
Hyde 153
Hyndford 250

J.

JACOB 197
James 353
Jeffreys 613
Jennings 509
Jerſey 250
Inglis 249
Joddrell 613
Johnſon 509
Joliffe 406
Jones 198
Juxon 102

K.

KAYE 405
Kelly 405
Kendall 153
Kennet 249
Kent 301
Kerr 197, 354
Killaloe 102
Kincardine 197
King 153, 197, 198
Knight 614
Knightly 613
Knowler 249
Kynaſton 102, 301

L.

LACEY 458
Lade 405
Lamb 248
Lambert 509
Lamond 509
Landaff 242
Langley 153
Lawton 301
Lee 405, 509, 613
Leeds 301
Legg 49, 301, 613
Leigh 561
Leighlin *and* Ferns 249
Leſtock 406
Lever 614
Levett 561
Liddell 301, 510
Limbury 249
Limeburner 354
Lloyd 301, 405, 510
Long 198
Longueville 49, 50
Lonſdale 250
Lucas 510
Lucy 301
Luffington 301
Lumbarr 614
Lund 249
Lyde 457
Lyell 249

M.

MACHEN 614
Mackenzie 561
Makepeace 406
Maltus 102
Manchester 353
Manlove 561
Mann 250
Manſell 561
Marchmont 153
Marlborough 197, 250
Marley 561
Marriot 198
Marſh 48
Martin 458
Maſon 509
Maſſey 354
Mawſon

Mawſon 249
Maynard 249
Meadows 153
Meerkerk 301
Members, new ones 50, 102, 153, 198, 245, 562, 614
Mills 249
Monk 457
Montagu 250
Moor 353
Mordaunt 562
Morgan Bray 198
Morley Trevor 153
Morres 510
Morrice 614
Morris 198, 614
Moſes 101
Moſtyn 197
Moyle 249
Mure 614
Murray 248, 562

N.

NAiſborough 614
Naſſaw Pawlett 101
Naylor 510
Negus 561
Nevil 561
Newark 153
Newton 509
Nichols 458
Nicolls 354
Norris 197
North 613, 614
North *and* Guildford 101
Nowel 198

O.

OBrian 405
Ockham 153
O Farell 614
Ogle 197, 562
Onſlow 301, 562
Orlton 562
Orrery 561
Oſborn 406, 458
Oſgood 561

P.

PALMER 561
Pane 49
Parker 102, 198
Parkyns 457
Parſons 48
Pawlett 354, 562
Pembroke 197, 249
Penkethman 249
Penrice 49
Perrira 249
Perrot 101
Pett 354
Philpot 561
Pierce 561
Pinkney 614
Pleydell 48
Plumptree 102
Pottinger 197
Powys 561
Poyntz 613
Price 197
Primroſe 249
Probyn 562
Puleyn 48
Putland 405

R.

RAMSEY 510
Rawlinſon 405
Reeves 198, 561
Reynell 510
Reynolds 198
Rich 250
Richards 249
Richardſon 301
Rick 614
Ridding 562, 613
Robinſon 198, 301, 614
Rogers 250
Rooke 561
Roundtree 353
Rudge 153
Ruſh 101
Rutter 458
Rycaut 458
Ryder 250

S.

SAckville 458
Saint Aubyn 353
Salmon 153
Salter 250
Sambroke 353
Savage 561
Sayer 197, 561
Scarborough 101
Scawen 405
Scott 198
Searle 457
Seeres 561
Seward 510
Seymour 457
Shannon 614
Shard 48
Sharp 353
Shaw 562
Shelbourn 561
Sheriffs appointed 50, 102, 613
Sibthorp 457
Simpſon 101, 562
Singleton 302
Skinner 509
Sly 249
Smalbroke 249
Smallwood 302
Smart 457
Smelt 301
Smith 102, 198, 301, 406
Smithſon 353, 457
Smyth 301, 614
Snelling 49
Somerville 353
Speed 49
Speke 198
Spillet 198
Springal 153
Stamford 457
Stanhope 509
Stanley 405, 561
Sanyford 198
Stapleton 49
Stapylton 561
Steers 153
Stephens 48
Stirling 302
Stokes 561
Stone 249, 562
Stonehouſe 353
Story 102
Strange 250
Strickland 302, 353
Sturges 510
Synge 249

T.

TALBOT 49, 102, 198
Tanner 101
Tarver 198
Taylor 249, 406
Temple 405
Thomas 301, 406
Thompſon 406
Thomſon 561
Thorpe 406
Tidcombe 249
Tilly 458
Tindal 49, 561
Tinker 153
Tottenham 102
Townſhend 406
Trebeck 198
Treby 510
Trefuſis 48
Trelawney 353
Trench 153
Trevanion 406
Trevor 49, 101, 458
Tucker 458, 614
Turner 49
Tynte 405

V.

VAnacker Sambroke 353
Vanbrugh 561
Vanderlint 102
Vandermeer 301
Vawdrey 509
Venables Vernon 102
Ventris 301
Vernon 510
Villiers 49
Vincent 353
Unwin 405

W.

WADE 301
Wager Purvis 354
Wake Jones 153
Wale 353
Walker Ward 302
Wallingford 301
Wallop 353
Walmodun 153
Walpole 249
Walters 509
Walton 49
Warcope 509
Warren 353
Warrington 198
Warwick 301
Waterford 249, 354
Waterland 614
Watſon 48
Watts 153
Way 457
Webſter 406
Wentworth 353
Weſtcombe 561
Weſtmorland 49
Whetham 250
Whitaker 153
Whitmore 48
Wilbraham 101
Wilkinſon 249
Wilks 457
Williams 49, 102, 153, 354, 406, 510
Wilſ s 614
Wilſon 49, 354, 458
Winchelſea *and* Nottingham 613
Windſor 561
Winſmore 153
Wolſeley 457
Woodward 353
Worſley 153
Worth 405
Wright 101, 102, 562
Wylde 198
Wyndham 301
Wynn 457
Wyville 249, 457

Y.

YArmouth 153
Yorke 249

CLASSICAL, PHILOLOGICAL, &c.

Antiquitates Linguæ Arabicæ 52
Art of Musick 156
Baily's Ovid's Tristia 460
Banyer's Mythology 252
Bentley's Horace ibid.
Bowles on the Lat. Tongue 104
Conference on Painting 564
English Dict. J. K. 156
Fletcher's Arithm. 252
French Rudiments 156
Greenwood's Gram. 304
Horatii Opera 564
Horace's Odes 104
Lysiæ Orationes 512
Maximus Tyrius 564
Musical Dictionary 252
New General Dict. 156
Spanish Dictionary 104
Sproson's Spelling 304
Stirling's Pantheon 156
——— Rhetorick 460
——— Virgil 616

ENTERTAINMENT, PLAYS *and* POETRY.

ÆSOP's Fables 52
Alfred 408
Alfred and Isabel 200
Antiochus ibid.
Arminius 104
Art of breeding Bees 512
Ballad on Porto Bello 200
Bandello's Novels 560
Barber's Works 512
Bench ibid.
British Admiral 408
Britannia & Batavia 304
Canterbury Tales 200
Cheshire Huntress 156
Chinese Tales 104
City Struggle 512
Cook's Hesiod 252
Countess of Corbon 616
David's Lamentation 200
Deity 104
Description of Merryland 564
Don Blas 408
Dove-Cote 156
Elmerick ibid.
Epistle from Ld. Lovel 564
——— to Pope 200
Essay on Physick 52
Faction 564
Fair Thinker ibid.
Fortunate Country Maid 260
Ghost and Miller 356
Gotham Election 304
Hardyknute 252
Hobbinol 104
Horace's Instructions 52
——— Imitated 512
——— Sixth Epistle 200
In Laudem Vernon 512
Juvenal Imitated 104
Laugh upon Laugh 200
Liberty regain'd 252
Libros di Fortuna 616
Lusus Westmonasterienſis 512
Merope 304
Mock Companion 356
Money 104
Muff 200
Mum 564
Ode to Argyle 616
——— his Majesty 512
——— the Patriot 52
Operator 104
Orpheus 52
——— and Eurydice 156
Persius Imitated 200
Pitts's Virgil ibid.
Poem on the War 52
——— Vernon 564, 616
Poemata Italorum 200
Præ-existence 512
Progress of the War 104, 512
Protestant Knock 200
Prude ibid.
Rosalinda 116
Ruins of Rome ibid.
Sailor's Rehearsal 52
Scamnum 200
Seasonable Admonition 252
Sheppard's Kalendar 52
Statesman 460
Theobald's Shakespear 200
Torbay Expedition 512
Truth 616
Vernon's Glory 512
Verses on Lady Hastings 252
View of the Creation 564
Virtue rewarded ibid.
Unfortunate Princess ibid.
Volminia's Complaint 460
Weather-Menders 564
Woman unmask'd 304
Winter Evening's Entertainment 564

HISTORY *and* LIVES.

ACCOUNT of Carthagena 200
Annals of Europe 512
Biographia Classica 408
Burleigh's Papers 252
Cave's Hist. Literaria 156
Chronicle of Kings 200
Clarendon's Ireland 104
Coasts in the West-Indies 616
Credibility of Gospel History 52
Curiosities of the Tower 616
Forbes's Transactions 200
Foreigner's Guide 52
Geography reform'd ibid.
History of Adam 356
——— Belles Lettres 512
——— Buccaniers 564
——— David 408
——— Guild-Hall 304
——— the Heavens 156
——— Jamaica 304
——— Kouli-Kan 252
——— Peter I. 460
——— Pope Joan 408
——— Prayer ibid.
——— Saxony 512
James's Voyage 408
Life of Acosta 156
——— Bacon 252
——— Cibber 200
——— Drew ibid.
——— Gaveston 564
——— Roger Johnson 460
——— Gilb. Langley ibid.
——— Luther and Calvin 52
——— Prince Edward 252
——— Turenne 156
Lives of the Gresham Professors 616
Memoirs of O. Cromwell 512
——— Hesse-Cassel ibid.
——— Milton ibid.
——— Ripperda 356
——— Rozelli ibid.
Memorials and Characters 512
Military Hist. of Charles XII. ibid.
New Roman History 408
Norrh's Examen 616
Revolu. of Portugal 156
Rollin's History 200
Scotch Compendium 616
Siege of Calais 156
Spanish Armada 200
——— Coasts 304
Stukeley's Stonehenge 200
Survey of Down 304
Vertot's Rom. Revo. 564
Uncertainty of Rom. History 52
Universal History 356
Whitefield's new Journal 616

MISCELLANEOUS.

ACcount of Drew 200
——— Frosts 104
——— Whitefield 304
Advice to young Clergy 52
Alkibla 156
Antient and modern Ceremony 512
Art of Angling 356
Atterbury's Dissertat. 252
Bellamy's Miscellanies 356
British Liberality 161
Buchanan compar'd 460
Calvinism and Nonconformity 200
Case of Haynes 512
Character of Iapis 304
Compleat Family Book 512
Confirmation, what 104
Defence congratulat. Letter 200
——— Duty of Man 408
Dissertation on Du Halde 252
Directions for young Students 52
Divisions of Dissenters 564
Dodson's Tables 304
Don John display'd 564
Drew's Trial 252
Duties of a Sovereign ibid.
Essay on the Apocryp. 156
Experimental Fowler ibid.
Family Magazine 512
Farriery improv'd 200
Foundlings Charter 408
French King's Ordinance 104
Gardener's Dict. Vol. II. 356
Gibbs's Defence 156
Gonson's Charges 304
Greenwood's Case 616
——— Narrative 408
——— Trial ibid.
Grove's Posthumous Works 616
Guide to Travellers 252
Harmony without Uniformity 156
Hayes's Book-keeping 564
Hewit on Monies 304
Jewish Spy 356
Immoral Philosopher 564
Imposture of Methodism 460
Journey to the Moon 616
Keith's Tracts 156
Laureat 616
Letters concerning Coin 104
Letter to Bate 252
——— Coad 564
——— a Friend 200
——— a Gentleman 156
——— Dr. Trapp 356
——— Wesley 200
——— Whitefield 304
List of Officers 252
Lowman's Dissertat. 200
——— Appendix 564
Manners of the Romans 252
Matrimonial Expences 512
Maxims of Education 304
Methodists Impostures 356
Modern Antiquaries 252
Moral Conversations 52
Moral Philosopher, V. III. 408
Murder of Mrs. Branch's Servant 304
Narrative of Duell 616
Numismata Scotiæ 156
Parish Corruption ibid.
Popish Impostor 564
——— Fisherman 156

Provision for the Poor 408
Quakero-Methodism 52
Quakers defended 304
Quakers and Methodists compar'd ibid.
Rat-catcher of Chelsea 408
Reply to Bowman 616
Sailors Companion 356
Scotch Presbyterian Eloquence 460
Seward's Journal 356
Spirit of the Martyrs 52
——— Methodism 304
Supplem. to London Brewer 200
Table of Assays 512
——— Officers Pay ibid.
Temple's Works 252
Three Dissertations 616
Trial of Mrs. Branch 304
——— Cibber 356
Turenne's Maxims 200
Turnbull's Moral Philosophy 104
——— Universal Law 616
Verney Oratio 512
Vindication of the Quakers 52
Universal Pocket Book 200
Warburton's Letters 304
Welch Charity 52, 616
Whitefield's Letter 408
World display'd 156
——— in Miniature 252
Young Sportsman 156

PHILOSOPHY, PHYSICK, *&c.*

ALLEN's Synopsis 460
Analysis of Bristol Waters 304
Bacon's Works 252
Becket's Surgery 52
——— Tracts 356
Boerhaave de Calculo 564
Compendious Astron. 356
Cosmotheoria Puerilis 252
Emptiness of Space 200
Experimental Philos. 260
Extemporaneous Dispensatory 616
Hales on Stephens's Medicines ibid.
Health restor'd 200
Hilary on the S. Pox 356
Hoadley's Lectures 200
Hospital Dispensatory 52
Index Horti Chelseiani 460
Lobb on the S. Pox 616
Martinius de Animalibus 252
Martin's Essays 408
——— of Medicines 52
Miles's Measuring 564
Milward's Letter 156
Nicholl's Oratio 460
Robins against Jurin 356
Sharp's Surgery 304
Simson's Essays 616
Thompson's Anatomy 104
——— on the Gout ibid.
Tilbury Water 52
Turner's Syphilis 460
Ward's Mathematicks ibid.
Warren of Fevers 564
Wintringham's An. Structure 408

LAW, POLITICAL, TRADE.

ADvocates Place-Bill 52
American Trade ibid.
Anti-Machiavel 616
Appeal to the Publick 104
Are these Things so? 564
Cases in Chancery 104
Clerk's Instructor ibid.
Conduct of the Duke of Argyle 252
Continuing the Parl. 200
Cromwell's Manifesto 616
Danger of Incapacities 52
Disputes with Spain ibid.
Essay on Trade 156
European Race 104
Exhortation to Electors 356
Faction displayed 52
French Influence 564
——— Revenues 616
General Remonstrance 512
G. Britain's Complaint 564
——— Memorial 616
——— Mistakes 156
——— Supplement to it 252
Great Man's Answer 616
Have at you ibid.
His Majesty's Journey 304
K. of Spain's Conduct 52
Law of Estates 252
Letter from a Counsellor ibid.
——— Gallipoli 304
——— to a Minister 564
Leviathan hook'd ibid.
Library of the Law 408
Liveryman ibid.
Managem. of the War 52
National Debt 252
Nature of Government 616
Notes of Cases ibid.
Observations on the War 52
Operations of the War 564
Point of Conduct 304
Political Writers 512
Proceedings at Guild-hall ibid.
Prohibition of Trade 52
Properties of Places 200
Rise of the War 304
Rules of the King's Bench 616
——— Practice 104
Secret Expeditions 252
Septennial Act 304
Serious Remonstrance 104

SERMONS.

ARNOLD on the Fast 104
Asaph (Bp. of) Correspond. Societies 252
Bangor (Bp. of) on Jan. 30. 104
Barton on the Fast 52
Bateman, Sons of the Clergy 304
Bedford, at Lady Moyer's Lectures 512
Blair's Sermons 252
Bristol (Bp. of) at St. Brides 252
Brown, at Hertford Assizes 460
Collet at St. Paul's 616
Collier on the Fast 156
Copping at a Visitation 460
Cradock on Provid. ibid.
——— at Eaton 512
Crowe, Trustees of Georgia 252
David's (Bp. of) Charity Children 512
Denne at St. Bride's 252
——— on the Fast 104
Dinsdale on Charity 408
Felton at Lady Moyer's Lectures 356
Gloucester (Bp. of) Propag. Gospel 200
Goodwyn in Hare Court 156
Grosvenor on Dr. Harris 356
Guise on the Fast 104
Harris on the Fast ibid.
Harte on the Fast ibid.
Hebden on Orig. Sin 304
Hoggart at Birstal 200
Houlton at Spithead 156
Hutchinson at Oxford 104
Johnson's Discourses 252
——— at Great Torrington 104
Lardner on Dr. Harris 356
Machin on present Affairs 304
Meadowcourt on Nov. 5. 104
Miller at Roehampton 52
Moore on Miracles 564
Moss on the Fast 104
——— on June 11. 356
Newton on the Fast 304
Oxford 512
Norwich (Bp. of) on the Fast 52
Parker at Durham Assizes 564
Partington on Aug. 1. 408
——— the Fast 52
Pearsal's Fun. Serm. 304
Pitts at Chelmsford 200
Sermon on the Frost 1684 200
——— Eternal Misery 104
Shakespear at Lancaster Assizes 512
Smith's Sermons 460
——— at Charles Town 564
Smyth on the Fast 104
Snashall on Nov. 11. 52
Speeke on Jan. 30. 156
Trebeck at S. George's 104
Trevanian at Exeter Assizes 460
Waterland on Tit. 3. 5. 52
Whalley on Jan. 30. 104
Whitefield's 3 Serms. 304
Wright on New-year's Day 104
Zinzendorf's Disc. 200

THEOLOGICAL.

ABernethy's Disc. 356
Arch-deacon's Examination 460
Barnes's Treatises 52
Call to Humiliation ibid.
Chubb's Inquiry 156
Doctrine of Orig. Sin 304
Durham (Bishop of) his Charge 460
Ely (Bp. of) his Charge 564
Essay on the Sabbath 252
Expounder expounded 564
Family Expositor 512
Flavel's Works 460
Flower of Union 252
Free Grace ibid.
Future Rewards 304
Gospel Sanctuary 252
Happiness of a Holy Life 52
Heath of Existence 252
Leland's Div. Author. 304
Moore of Inf. Baptism 564
New New-year's Gift 616
Perronet's Inquiry 564
Phelps's reveal'd Relig. 252
Pocock's Works 156
Remarks on Chubb 104
Rule of Life 304
Scougal's Reflections 512
Simon's publick Worsh. 52
Social Religion 460
Three Discourses 104
Turnbull of Provid. 304
Waterland of Sacrifice 104
Whitefield's Spirit 304
Wilson (Bishop) on Instruction 252

The End of the IX.